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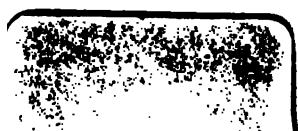
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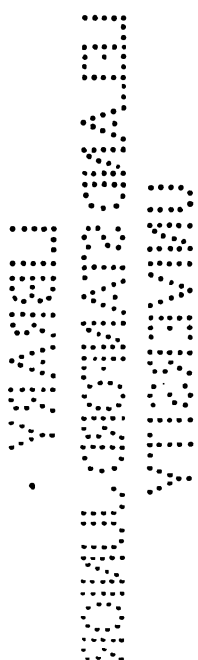
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THE
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ART. I.—1. *Digest and Manual of the Rules and Practice of the House of Representatives, to which are added the Constitution of the United States of America, with the Amendments thereto.* Compiled by the Journal Clerk of the House of Representatives. Washington, Government Printing Office. Second Session, 47th Congress.

2. *The Federalist. A Commentary on the Constitution of the United States.* By Alexander Hamilton, Jay, and Madison. Edited by John C. Hamilton. Philadelphia, 1877.

3. *American Statesmen.* Edited by John T. Morse, Jun. Boston, 1883.

4. *Eighty Years of Republican Government in the United States.* By Louis J. Jennings. Second Edition. London, 1868.

THE Constitution of the United States of America is much the most important political instrument of modern times. The country, whose destinies it controls and directs, has this special characteristic, that all the territories into which its already teeming population overflows are so placed, that political institutions of the same type can be established in every part of them. The British Empire contains a much larger population, but its portions lie far apart from one another, divided by long stretches of sea, and it is impossible to apply the popular government of the British islands to all of them, and to none of them can it be applied without considerable modifications. Russia has something like the compactness of the United States, and her population is at present more numerous, although her numbers seem likely to be overtaken in no long time by those included in the American Federation. All the Russian Empire is nominally governed through the sole authority of the Emperor, but there are already great differences between the bureaucratic despotism of Western Russia and the military autocracy which presides over the East; and, when-

ever the crisis comes through which Russian institutions seem doomed to pass, the difference between the eastern and western systems of Russian Government cannot fail to be accentuated. But the United States of America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Canadian lakes to the Mexican border, appear destined to remain for an indefinite time under the same political institutions; and there is no evidence that these will not continue to belong to the popular type. Of these institutions, the most important part is defined by the Federal Constitution. The relative importance, indeed, of the Government of the United States and of the State Governments did not always appear to be as clearly settled as it appears at the present moment. There was a time at which the authority of the several States might be thought to be gaining at the expense of the authority of the United States; but the War of Secession reversed this tendency, and the Federation is slowly but decidedly gaining at the cost of the States. Thus, the life and fortunes of the most multitudinous and homogeneous population in the world will, on the whole and in the main, be shaped by the Constitution of the United States.

The political liberty of the United States exercises more or less influence upon all forms of free government in the older world. But to us of the present generation it has the greatest interest for another reason. The success of the United States has sustained the credit of Republics—a word which was once used with a good deal of vagueness to signify a government of any sort without an hereditary king at its head, but which has lately come to have the additional meaning of a government resting on a widely-extended suffrage. It is not at all easy to bring home to the men of the present day how low the credit of Republics had sunk before the establishment of the United States. We recently called attention* to the language of contempt in which the writers of the last century speak of the Republics then surviving. The authors of the famous American collection of papers called the 'Federalist,' of which we shall have much to say in this article, are deeply troubled by the ill-success and ill-repute of the only form of government which was possible for them. The very establishment of their independence had left them a cluster of Republics in the old sense of the word, and, as hereditary kingship was out of the question, their Federal Constitution was necessarily Republican. They tried to take their own

* 'The Prospects of Popular Government;' 'Quarterly Review,' vol. 155, p. 555.
Republic

Republic out of the class as commonly understood. What they chiefly dreaded was disorder, and they were much impressed by the turbulence, the 'fugitive and turbulent existence,' of the ancient Republics. But these, they said,* were not Republics, in the true sense of the name. They were 'democracies,' commonwealths of the primitive type, governed by the vote of the popular assembly, which consisted of the whole mass of male citizens met together in one place. The true Republic must always be understood as a commonwealth saved from disorder by representative institutions.

But soon after the emancipated Americans began their great experiment, its credit had to be sustained against a much more terrible exemplification of the weaknesses of republican institutions, for the French Republic was established. The black shadow of its crimes still hangs over the century, though it is fading imperceptibly into the distance. But what has not been sufficiently noticed, is its thorough political miscarriage. It tried every expedient by which weak governments, directed by unscrupulous men, attempt to save themselves from open discomfiture. It put to death all who were likely to oppose it, and it conducted its executions on a scale unknown since the Tartar invasions. It tried foreign war, and it obtained success in the field beyond its wildest hopes. It tried military usurpation, and it sent the most distinguished and virtuous of the new constitutional school of French politicians, which was beginning to control it, to perish in tropical swamps. Yet it sank lower and lower into contempt, and died without a struggle. There are not many of the charges brought against Napoleon Buonaparte which are altogether unjust, but he must at any rate be acquitted of having destroyed a Republic, if by a Republic is to be understood a free government. What he destroyed was a military tyranny, for this had been the character of the French Government since the September of 1797; and he substituted for this military tyranny another still severer and infinitely more respected.

As a matter of fact, there is no doubt that the credit of American Republican institutions, and of such institutions generally, did greatly decline through the miserable issue of the French experiment. The hopes of political freedom, which the Continental communities were loath to surrender, turned in another direction, and attached themselves exclusively to Constitutional Monarchy. American publicists note the first fifteen years of the present century as the period during which their

* 'Federalist,' No. 10 (Madison).

country was least respected abroad, and their Government treated with most contumely by European diplomacy.* And just when the American Federation was overcoming the low opinion of all Republics which had become common, a set of events happened close to its doors which might have overwhelmed it in general shame. The Spanish Colonies in North and South America revolted, and set up Republics in which the crimes and disorders of the French Republic were repeated in caricature. The Spanish American Republicans were to the French what Hébert and Anacharsis Clootz had been to Danton and Robespierre. This absurd travesty of Republicanism lasted more than fifty years, and even now the curtain has not quite fallen upon it. Independently, therefore, of the history of the United States, it would have seemed quite certain what the conclusion of political philosophy must have been upon the various forms of Government as observed under the glass of experience. If we clear our mental view by adopting the Aristotelian analysis, and classify all governments as governments of the One, governments of the Few, and governments of the Many, we shall see that mankind had had much experience of government by the One, and a good deal of government by the Few, and also some very valuable experience of attempts at combining these two forms of Government, but that of government by the Many it had very slight experience, and that whatever it had was on the whole decidedly unfavourable. The antecedent doubt, whether government by the Many was really possible—whether in any intelligible sense, and upon any theory of volition, a multitude of men could be said to have a common will—would have seemed to be strengthened by the fact that, whenever government by the Many had been tried, it had ultimately produced monstrous and morbid forms of government by the One, or of government by the Few. This conclusion would, in truth, have been inevitable, but for the history of the United States, so far as they have had a history. The Federal Constitution has survived the mockery of itself in France and in Spanish America. Its success has been so great and striking, that men have almost forgotten that, if the whole of the known experiments of mankind in government be looked at together, there has been no form of government so unsuccessful as the Republican.

* See the language employed by Canning, as lately as 1821, in conversation with John Quincy Adams, then American Minister in London (Morse's 'Life of J. Q. Adams,' p. 141, a volume of the very valuable series, called 'American Statesmen.')

The antecedents of a body of institutions like this, and its mode of growth, manifestly deserve attentive study; and fortunately the materials for the enquiry are full and good. The papers called the 'Federalist,' which were published in 1787 and 1788 by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, but which were chiefly from the pen of Hamilton, were originally written to explain the new Constitution of the United States, then awaiting ratification, and to dispel misconstructions of it which had got abroad; but they show us with much clearness the route by which the strongest minds among the American statesmen of that period had travelled to the conclusions embodied in its provisions. The 'Federalist' has generally excited something like enthusiasm in those who have studied it, and among these there have been some not at all given to excessive eulogy. Talleyrand strongly recommended it; and Guizot said of it that, in the application of the elementary principles of government to practical administration, it was the greatest work known to him. An early number of the 'Edinburgh Review' (No. 24) described it as a 'work little known in Europe, but which exhibits a profundity of research and an acuteness of understanding, which would have done honour to the most illustrious statesmen of modern times.' The American commendations of the Federalist are naturally even less qualified. 'I know not,' wrote Chancellor Kent, 'of any work on the principles of free government that is to be compared in instruction and in intrinsic value to this small and unpretending volume of the "Federalist;" not even if we resort to Aristotle, Cicero, Machiavel, Montesquieu, Milton, Locke, or Burke. It is equally admirable in the depth of its wisdom, the comprehensiveness of its views, the sagacity of its reflections, and the freshness, patriotism, candour, simplicity, and eloquence, with which its truths are uttered and recommended.' Those who have attentively read these papers will not think such praise pitched, on the whole, too high. Perhaps the part of it least thoroughly deserved is that given to their supposed profundity of research. There are few traces in the 'Federalist' of familiarity with previous speculations on politics, except those of Montesquieu in the 'Esprit des Lois,' the popular book of that day. The writers attach the greatest importance to all Montesquieu's opinions. They are much discomposed by his assertion, that Republican government is necessarily associated with a small territory, and they are again comforted by his admission, that this difficulty might be overcome by a confederate Republic. Madison indeed had the acuteness to see that Montesquieu's doctrine is as often polemical as philosophical,

phical, and that it is constantly founded on a tacit contrast between the institutions of his own country, which he disliked, with those of England, which he admired. But still his analysis, as we shall hereafter point out, had much influence upon the founders and defenders of the American Constitution. On the whole, Guizot's criticism of the 'Federalist' is the most judicious. It is an invaluable work on the application of the elementary principles of government to practical administration. Nothing can be more sagacious than its anticipation of the way in which the new institutions would actually work, or more conclusive than its exposure of the fallacies which underlay the popular objections to some of them.

It is not to be supposed that Hamilton, Jay, and Madison were careless of historical experience. They had made a careful study of many forms of government, ancient and modern. Their observations on the ancient Republics,* which were shortly afterwards to prove so terrible a snare to French political theorists, are extremely just. The cluster of commonwealths woven together in the 'United Netherlands'† is fully examined, and the weaknesses of this anomalous confederacy are shrewdly noted. The remarkable structure of the Romano-German Empire‡ is depicted, and there is reason to suspect that these institutions, now almost forgotten, influenced the framers of the American Constitution, both by attraction and by repulsion. But far the most important experience to which they appealed, was that of their own country, at a very recent date. The earliest link had been supplied to the revolted Colonies by the first or American 'Continental' Congress, which issued the Declaration of Independence. There had subsequently been the 'Articles of Confederation,' ratified in 1781. These earlier experiments, their demonstrable miscarriage in many particulars, and the disappointments to which they gave rise, are a storehouse of instances and a plentiful source of warning and reflection to the writers who have undertaken to show that their vices are removed in the Constitution of 1787-89.

Nevertheless, there is one fund of political experience upon which the Federalist seldom draws, and that is the political experience of Great Britain. The scantiness § of these references is at first sight inexplicable. The writers must have understood Great Britain better than any other country, except their own. They had been British subjects during most of their lives.

* 'Federalist,' No. 14 (Madison). † Ibid., No. 20 (Hamilton and Madison).

‡ Ibid., No. 19 (Hamilton and Madison).

§ References to Great Britain occur in 'Federalist,' No. 5 (Jay); and (for the purpose of disproving a supposed analogy) in 'Federalist,' No. 69 (Hamilton).

They

They had scarcely yet ceased to breathe the atmosphere of the British Parliament and to draw strength from its characteristic disturbances. Next to their own stubborn valour, the chief secret of the colonists' success was the incapacity of the English generals, trained in the stiff Prussian system soon to perish at Jena, to adapt themselves to new conditions of warfare, an incapacity which newer generals, full of admiration for a newer German system, were again to manifest at Majuba Hill against a meaner foe. But the colonists had also reaped signal advantage from the encouragements of the British Parliamentary Opposition. If the King of France gave 'aid,' the English Opposition gave perpetual 'comfort' to the enemies of the King of England. It was a fruit of the English party system which was to reappear, amid much greater public dangers, in the Peninsular War; and the revelation of domestic facts, the assertion of domestic weakness, were to assist the arms of a military tyrant, as they had assisted the colonists fighting for independence. Various observations* in the 'Federalist' on the truculence of party spirit may be suspected of having been prompted by the recollection of what an Opposition can do. But there could be no open reference to this in its pages; and, on the whole, it cannot but be suspected that the fewness of the appeals to British historical examples had its cause in their unpopularity. The object of Madison, Hamilton, and Jay, was to persuade their countrymen; and the appeal to British experience would only have provoked prejudice and repulsion. We hope, however, to show that the Constitution of the United States is coloured throughout by political ideas of British origin, and that it is in reality a version of the British Constitution, as it must have presented itself to an observer in the second half of the last century.

It has to be carefully borne in mind, that the construction of the American Constitution was extremely unlike that process of founding a new Constitution, which in our day may be witnessed at intervals of a few years on the European Continent, and that it bore even less resemblance to the foundation of a new Republic, as the word is now understood. Whatever be the occasion of one of these new European Constitutions, be it ill success in war, or escape from foreign dominion, or the overthrow of a government by the army or the mob, the new institutions are always shaped in a spirit of bitter dissatisfaction with the old, which, at the very best, are put upon their trial. But the enfranchised American colonists were more than satisfied with the bulk of their institutions, which were those of the

* 'Federalist,' No. 70 (Hamilton

several colonies to which they belonged. And, although they had fought a successful war to get rid of the King of Great Britain and of the British Parliament, they had no quarrel with kings or parliaments as such. Their contention was, that the British King and the British Parliament had forfeited by usurpation whatever rights they had, and that they had been justly punished by dispossession. Born free Englishmen, they were not likely to deny the value of parliaments, and, even as to kings, it is probable that many of them had at one time shared the youthful opinion of Alexander Hamilton, who, while totally denying the claim of parliamentary supremacy over the British colonies, except so far as they had conceded it, had argued that the 'connecting, pervading principle,' necessary to unite a number of individual communities under one common head, could only be found in the person and prerogative of the King, who was 'King of America by virtue of a compact between the colonists and the Kings of Great Britain.'* When once, however, the war had been fought out, and the connection with the Parliament and the King alike had been broken, the business in hand was to supply their place. This new constitutional link had now to be forged from local materials. Among these, there were none for making an hereditary King, hardly any for manufacturing an hereditary Second Chamber; but yet the means of enabling the now separated portion of the British Empire to discharge the functions of a fully organized State, as completely as they had been performed by the kingdom from which it was severed, must somehow be found on the west of the Atlantic. The Constitution of the United States was the fruit of signal sagacity and prescience applied to these necessities. But, again, there was almost no analogy between the new undertaking and the establishment of a modern Continental Republic. The commonwealth founded in America was only called a Republic because it had no hereditary king, and it had no hereditary king because there were no means of having one. At that time every community without an hereditary monarchy was considered to be republican. There was a King of Poland elected for life, but his kingdom was styled the Polish Republic. In the style of the elective Romano-German Empire there were still traces of the old Roman Republican Constitution. The Venetian Republic was a stern oligarchy; and, in fact, the elective Doges of Venice and Genoa were as much kings of the old type as those ancient Kings of Rome who originally gave its name to Royal authority. Many of the Swiss Cantons were Republics

* See Preface to J. C. Hamilton's Edition of the 'Federalist,' p. 10.

of the most primitive kind, where the whole population met once a year in assembly to legislate and elect public officers; but one canton held another in the hardest subjection. Nowadays, however, the establishment of a Republic means the substitution, in all the functions of government, of the Many for the One or the Few—of the totality of the community for a determinate portion of it—an experiment of tremendous and perhaps insuperable difficulty, which the colonists never thought of undertaking. The suffrage, as we shall have to show, was extremely limited in many of the States, and it is unnecessary to state that about half of them were slave-holding communities.

We now propose to take in turn the great Federal institutions set up by the Americans—the President of the United States, the Supreme Court, the Senate, and the House of Representatives—and, in summarily considering them, to point out their relation to pre-existing European, and especially British institutions. What we may say will perhaps serve in some degree as a corrective of the vague ideas betrayed, not only in the loose phraseology of the English platform, but by the historical commonplaces of the Americans themselves.

On the face of the Constitution of the United States, the resemblance of the President of the United States to the European King, and especially to the King of Great Britain, is too obvious for mistake. The President has, in various degrees, a number of powers which those who know something of Kingship in its general history recognize at once as peculiarly associated with it and with no other institution. The whole Executive power is vested in him.* He is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy.† He makes treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate, and with the same advice and consent he appoints Ambassadors, Ministers, Judges, and all high functionaries. He has a qualified veto on legislation. He convenes Congress, when no special time of meeting has been fixed. It is conceded in the 'Federalist' that the similarity of the new President's office to the functions of the British King was one of the points on which the opponents of the Constitution fastened. Hamilton replies‡ to their arguments, sometimes with great cogency, sometimes, it must be owned, a little captiously. He urges that the only alternative to a President was a plural Executive, or Council, and he insists on the risk of a paralysis of Executive authority produced by party opposition in such a body. But he mainly relies on the points in which the President differs from the King—on the terminability of the office, on the par-

* C. of U. S. Art. II. † Ibid. 1, 2. ‡ 'Federalist,' No. 69 (Hamilton).
ticipation

ticipation of the Senate in the exercise of several of his powers, on the limited nature of his veto on Bills passed by Congress. It is, however, tolerably clear that the mental operation through which the framers of the American Constitution passed was this: they took the King of Great Britain, went through his powers, and restrained them whenever they appeared to be excessive, or unsuited to the circumstances of the United States. It is very remarkable that the figure they had before them was not a generalized English king nor an abstract Constitutional monarch; it was no anticipation of Queen Victoria, but George III. himself whom they took for their model. Fifty years earlier, or a hundred years later, the English king would have struck them in quite a different light. There had been a tacit compact between the first two Georges and the Whig aristocracy, that the King should govern Hanover, and the Whig Ministry Great Britain; and such differences as arose between the King and his subjects were attributable to the fact, that European wars began in the Hanoverian department. But George III. cared nothing for Hanover and much for governing England. He at once took a new departure in policy by making peace, and setting himself to conduct the Government of England in his own way. Now, the original of the President of the United States is manifestly a treaty-making king, and a king actively influencing the Executive Government. Mr. Bagehot insisted that the great neglected fact in the English political system was the government of England by a Committee of the Legislature, calling themselves the Cabinet. This is exactly the method of government to which George III. refused to submit, and the framers of the American Constitution take George III.'s view of the kingly office for granted. They give the whole Executive government to the President, and they do not permit his Ministers to have seat or speech in either branch of the Legislature. They limit his powers and theirs, not, however, by any contrivance known to modern English constitutionalism, but by making the office of President terminable at intervals of four years.

If Hamilton had lived a hundred years later, his comparison of the President with the King would have turned on very different points. He must have conceded that the Republican functionary was much the more powerful of the two. He must have noted that the royal veto on legislation, not thought in 1789 to be quite lost, was irrecoverably gone. He must have observed that the powers which the President shared with the Senate had been altogether taken away from the King. The King could make neither war nor treaty; he could appoint
neither

neither Ambassador nor Judge; he could not even name his own Ministers. He could do no executive act. All these powers had gone over to Mr. Bagehot's Committee of Parliament. But, a century ago, the only real and essential difference between the Presidential and the Royal office was, that the first was not hereditary. The succession of President to President cannot therefore have been copied from Great Britain. But there is no reason to suppose that the method of election was suddenly evolved from the brain of American statesmen. Two features of the original plan have very much fallen out of sight. The President, though appointed for four years only, was to be indefinitely re-eligible;* the practical limitation of the term of office to a maximum period of eight years was settled only the other day. And again, the elaborate machinery of election† provided in the Constitution was intended to be a reality. Each State was to appoint Electors, and the choice of a President was to be the mature fruit of an independent exercise of judgment by the electoral college. Knowing what followed, knowing how thoroughly the interposition of electors became a futile fiction, and what was the effect on the character of elections to the Presidency, one cannot but read with some melancholy the prediction of Hamilton, that 'this process of election affords a moral certainty that the office of President will seldom fall to the lot of any man who is not in an eminent degree endowed with the requisite qualifications.' Understanding, then, that there was to be a real election, by a selected body, of a President who might conceivably serve for life, we must recollect that elective Kings had not died out of Europe. Not long before the War of Independence, at the commencement of the troubles about the American Stamp Act, a King of the Romans—who, as Joseph II., turned out to be much more of a Radical Reformer than ever was George Washington—had been elected by the Electoral College of the Empire, and the unfortunate Government, called the Polish Republic, had chosen its last King, the luckless Stanislaus Poniatowski. It seems probable that the framers of the Constitution of the United States deliberately rejected the last example, but were to a considerable extent guided by the first. The American Republican Electors are the German Imperial Electors, except that they are chosen by the several States. The writers in the 'Federalist' had made an attentive study of the Romano-German Empire, which is analysed in much detail by Hamilton and Madison.‡ They

* 'Federalist,' No. 69 (Hamilton).

† Ibid., No. 68 (Hamilton).

‡ 'Federalist,' No. 19 (Hamilton and Madison).

condemn it as a government which can only issue commands to governments themselves sovereign, but not for the mode of electing its executive head. There is some interest in observing that the Electoral Colleges of the United States and of the Empire failed in exactly the same way. The electors fell under the absolute control of the factions dominant in the country. The German electors came to belong* to the French or Austrian party, just as the American electors took sides with the Federalists, or with the old Republicans, or with the Whigs, the new Republicans, or the Democrats.

The Supreme Court of the United States, which is the American Federal institution next claiming our attention, is not only a most interesting but a unique creation of the founders of the Constitution. The functions which the Judges of this Court have to discharge under provisions of the Constitution arise from its very nature. The Executive and Legislative authorities of the United States have no powers, except such as are expressly conferred on them by the Constitution itself; and, on the other hand, the several States are forbidden by the Constitution to do certain acts and to pass certain laws. What then is to be done if these limitations of power are transgressed by any State, or by the United States? The duty of annulling such usurpations is confided by the Third Article of the Constitution to the Supreme Court, and to such inferior Courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. But this remarkable power is capable only of indirect exercise; it is called into activity by 'cases,' by actual controversies,† to which individuals, or States, or the United States, are parties. The point of unconstitutionality is raised by the arguments in such controversies; and the decision of the Court follows the view which it takes of the Constitution. A declaration of unconstitutionality, not provoked by a definite dispute, is unknown to the Supreme Court.

The success of this experiment has blinded men to its novelty. There is no exact precedent for it, either in the ancient or in the modern world. The builders of Constitutions have of course foreseen the violation of constitutional rules, but they have generally sought for an exclusive remedy, not in the civil, but in the criminal law, through the impeachment of the offender. And, in popular governments, fear or jealousy of an authority not directly delegated by the people has too often caused the

* The account of the intrigues, French and Austrian, which preceded the election of a King of the Romans forms one of the most amusing portions of the *Duo de Broglie's* recent work, '*Frédéric II. et Marie Thérèse.*'

† '*Const. of U. S., Art. III. s. 2.*'

difficulty to be left for settlement to chance or to the arbitrament of arms. 'Je ne pense pas,' wrote De Tocqueville, in his '*Démocratie en Amérique*,' 'que jusqu'à présent aucune nation du monde ait constitué le pouvoir judiciaire de la même manière que les Américains.'

Yet, novel as was the Federal Judicature established by the American Constitution as a whole, it nevertheless had its roots in the Past, and most of their beginnings must be sought in England. It may be confidently laid down, that neither the institution of a Supreme Court, nor the entire structure of the Constitution of the United States, were the least likely to occur to anybody's mind before the publication of the '*Esprit des Lois*.' We have already observed that the '*Federalist*' regards the opinions of Montesquieu as of paramount authority, and no opinion had more weight with its writers than that which affirmed the essential separation of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial powers. The distinction is so familiar to us, that we find it hard to believe that even the different nature of the Executive and Legislative powers was not recognised till the fourteenth * century; but it was not till the eighteenth that the '*Esprit des Lois*' made the analysis of the various powers of the State part of the accepted political doctrine of the civilized world. Yet, as Madison saw, Montesquieu was really writing of England and contrasting it with France. 'The British † Constitution was to Montesquieu what Homer has been to the didactic writers on Epic poetry. As the latter have considered the works of the immortal bard the perfect model from which the principles and rules of the epic art were to be drawn, and by which all similar works were to be judged, so the great political critic appears to have viewed the Constitution of England as the standard, or, to use his own expression, as the mirror, of political liberty; and to have delivered, in the form of elementary truths, the several characteristic principles of that particular system.' The fact was that, in the middle of the eighteenth century, it was quite impossible to say where the respective provinces of the French King and of the French Parliaments in legislation, and still more of the same authorities in judicature, began and ended. To this indistinctness of boundary Montesquieu opposed the considerable but yet incomplete separation of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial powers in England; and he founded on the contrast his famous generalization.

* It occurs in the *Defensor Pacis* of the great Ghibelline jurist, Marsilio da Padova (1327), with many other curious anticipations of modern political ideas.

† '*Federalist*,' No. 47.

Montesquieu adds to his analysis the special proposition, 'there is no liberty, if the Judicial power be not separated from the Legislative and the Executive;' and here we have, no doubt, the immediate source of the provisions of the American Constitution respecting the Federal Judicature. It is impossible to read the chapter (chap. 6, liv. xi.) of the '*Esprit des Loïs*,' in which the words occur, without perceiving that they must have been suggested to the writer by what was, on the whole, the English practice. There were, however, other practices of their English kinsmen which must have led the framers of the American Constitution to the same conclusion. They must have been keenly alive to the inconvenience of discussing questions of constitutional law in legislative assemblies. The debates in both Houses of Parliament, from the accession of George III. to the recognition of American Independence, are astonishingly unlike those of the present day in one particular. They turn to a surprising extent on law, and specially on Constitutional law. Everybody in Parliament is supposed to be acquainted with law, and, above all, the Ministers. The servants of the Crown may not plead the authority of its Law officers for their acts; nay, even the Attorney and Solicitor-General may not publicly admit that they have been consulted beforehand, but have to pretend that they are arguing the legal question before the House on the spur of the moment. There is an apparent survival of these strange fictions in the doctrine which still prevails, that the opinions of the Law Officers of the Crown are strictly confidential. During the whole period of the bitter controversies provoked by the grievances of Wilkes and the discontent of the colonies, it is hard to say whether Parliament or the Courts of Law are the proper judges of the points of law constantly raised. Sometimes a Judge of great eminence speaks with authority, as Lord Camden on general warrants, and Lord Mansfield on Wilkes's outlawry; but Parliament is just as often the field to which the perpetual strife is transferred. The confusion reaches its height, when Lord Chatham in the House of Lords declares the House of Commons to be open to a civil action for not giving Wilkes a seat, when Lord Mansfield covers this opinion with ridicule, and when Lord Camden to some extent supports Lord Chatham. These are the true causes of the unsatisfactory condition of English Constitutional law, and of its many grave and dangerous uncertainties.

The impression made on American minds by a system under which legal questions were debated with the utmost acrimony, but hardly ever solved, must have been deepened by their familiarity

familiarity with the very question at issue between the mother-country and the colonies. On this question Englishmen, content as is their wont with the rough rule of success or failure as the test of right or wrong in national undertakings, have generally accepted the view of the Whig Opposition. And it must be allowed that the statesmen of the most unpopular country in Europe ought to have known that it could not attempt to subdue a great and distant dependency, without bringing its most powerful European enemies on its back. As for American opinion, the merits of the issue have been buried deep in the nauseous grandiloquence of the American panegyric historians. Yet, in reality, the question was in the highest degree technical, in the highest degree difficult, in the highest degree fitted for adjudication by an impartial Court, if such a tribunal could have been imagined. What was the exact significance of the ancient constitutional formula which connected taxation with representation? When broadly stated by the colonists, it must have struck many Englishmen of that day as a mischievous paradox, since it seemed to deny the right of Parliament to tax, not only Massachusetts, but Manchester and Birmingham, which were not represented in any intelligible sense in the House of Commons. On the other hand, the American contention is largely accounted for by the fact, that the local assemblies in which the colonists were represented 'were not formally instituted, but grew up by themselves, because it was the nature of Englishmen to assemble.'* They were a natural product of soil once become British. The truth is that, from the popular point of view, either the affirmation or the denial of the moot point led straight to an absurdity; and when the dispute was over, its history must have suggested to thoughtful men, who had once recovered their calmness, the high expediency of judicial mediation in questions between State and State acknowledging the same sovereignty.

Let us finally note that the Constitution of the United States imposes (Art. III., s. 2) on the Judges of the Supreme Court a method of adjudication which is essentially English. No general proposition is laid down by the English tribunal, unless it arises on the facts of the actual dispute submitted to it for adjudication. The success of the Supreme Court of the United States largely results from its following this mode of deciding questions of constitutionality and unconstitutionality. The process is slower, but it is freer from suspicion of pressure, and

* See Seeley, 'The Expansion of England.' Professor Seeley, at p. 67 of this excellent book, quotes from Hutchinson the statement—'This year (1619) a House of Burgesses broke out in Virginia.'

much less provocative of jealousy, than the submission of broad and emergent political propositions to a judicial body ; and this submission is what a foreigner thinks of when he contemplates a Court of Justice deciding on alleged violations of a constitutional rule or principle.

The Congress or Legislature of the United States, sharply separated from the Executive in conformity with Montesquieu's principle, consists, we need scarcely say, of the Senate and the House of Representatives. And here we may follow Mr. Freeman in noting this two-chambered legislature as a plain mark of the descent of the American Constitution from the British. If we could conceive a political architect of the eighteenth century endeavouring to build a new Constitution in ignorance of the existence of the British Parliament, or with the deliberate determination to neglect it, he might be supposed to construct his Legislature with one Chamber, or three, or four ; he would have been in the highest degree unlikely to construct it with two. The 'Federalist,' no doubt, seems * to regard the Senates of the ancient world as in some sense Second Chambers of a Legislature, but these peculiar bodies, originally consisting of the old men of the community, would have been found on closer inspection to answer very slightly to this conception.† The first real anticipation of a Second Chamber, armed with a veto on the proposals of a separate authority, and representing a different interest, occurs in that much misunderstood institution, the Roman Tribune. In the modern feudal world, the community naturally distributed itself into classes or Estates, and there are abundant traces of legislatures in which these classes were represented according to various principles. But the Estates of the Realm were grouped in all sorts of ways. In France, the States-General were composed of three orders, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the rest of the Nation as the *Tiers État*. There were three orders also in Spain. In Sweden there were four, the Clergy, the Nobility, the Burghers, and the Peasants. The exceptional two Houses of the British Constitution arose from special causes. The separate Parliamentary representation of the Clergy came early to an end in England, except so far the great dignitaries of the Church were summoned to the House of Lords ; and the Knights of the Shire, who represented the great mass of landed proprietors, were disjoined from the nobility, and sat with the representatives of the towns in the House of Commons.

The Senate of the United States, constituted under section 3 of

* 'Federalist,' No. 63 (Hamilton).

† See Maine, 'Early Law and Custom,' pp. 24, 25.

the First Article of the Federal Constitution, is at this moment one of the most powerful political bodies in the world. In point of dignity and authority, it has in no wise disappointed the sanguine expectations of its founders. As we have already said, it is not possible to compare the predictions of the 'Federalist' with the actual history of the Presidency of the United States, without being forced to acknowledge that in this particular the hopes of Hamilton and his coadjutors have failed of fulfilment. But the Senate has, on the whole, justified the hopes of it which they expressed.

'Through the medium of the State legislatures, which are select bodies of men, and who are to appoint the members of the National Senate, there is reason to expect that this branch will generally be composed with peculiar care and judgment; that these circumstances promise greater knowledge and more comprehensive information in the national annals; and that, on account of the extent of country from which will be drawn those to whose direction they will be committed, they will be less apt to be tainted by the spirit of faction, and more out of the reach of those occasional ill-humours, or temporary prejudices and propensities, which in smaller societies frequently contaminate the public deliberations, beget injustice and oppression towards a part of the community, and engender schemes which, though they gratify a momentary inclination or desire, terminate in general distress, dissatisfaction, and disgust.'*

We may not reasonably doubt that the Senate is indebted for its power—a power which has rather increased than diminished since the Federal Constitution came into force—and for its hold on the public respect, to the principles upon which it was deliberately founded, to the mature age of the Senators, to their comparatively long tenure of office, which is for six years at least, and above all to the method of their election by the legislatures of the several States.

It is very remarkable that the mode of choosing the Senate finally adopted did not commend itself to some of the strongest minds employed on the construction of the Federal Constitution. Its First Article provides (in s. 3) that 'the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislatures thereof, for six years.' Hence it follows that the Senate is a political body, of which the basis is not equality, but inequality. Each State elects no more and no fewer than two Senators. Rhode Island, Delaware, and Maryland, have the same representation in the Senate, as the great and populous States of New York and Pennsylvania. The

* 'Federalist,' No. 27 (Hamilton).

Constitutional composition of the Senate is therefore a negation of equality. Now, the writer, whose prediction we quoted above, is Alexander Hamilton, and Hamilton himself had proposed a very different mode of constituting a Senate. His plan had been that the Senate should consist of 'persons to be chosen by Electors, elected for that purpose by the citizens and inhabitants of the several States who shall have in their own right, or in right of their wives, an estate in land for not less than life, or a term of years whereof, at the time of giving their votes, there shall be at least fourteen years unexpired.' The scheme further provided that each Senator should be elected from a District, and that the number of Senators should be apportioned between the different States according to a rule roughly representing population. The blended political and economical history of Europe has now shown us that Hamilton's plan would not, in all probability, have proved durable. It is founded on inequality of property, and specially on inequality of landed property. We are now, however, in a position to lay down, as the result of experience and observation, that, although popular government has steadily extended itself in the Western world, and although liberty is the parent of inequalities in fortune, these inequalities are viewed by democratic societies with a peculiar jealousy, and that no form of property is so much menaced in such societies as property in land. When the Federal Constitution was framed, there were property qualifications for voting in the greater number of the American States, and it will be seen that these limitations of the suffrage were allowed to have influence in the House of Representatives. But they have given way almost everywhere to a suffrage very little short of universal, and the foundation of Hamilton's Senate would probably have undergone a similar change. Nevertheless, though inequalities of fortune are resented by modern democracy, historical inequalities do not appear to be resented in the same degree—possibly to some extent because the consideration which Science has finally secured for the heredity of the individual has insensibly extended to the heredity of commonwealths. Now the Senate of the United States reflects the great fact of their history, the original equality of the several States. Since the War of Secession and its event in the triumph of the North, this fact has become purely historical; but it illustrates all the more an apparent inference from modern European experiments in constitution-building, from the actual history in Europe of Constitutional Kings, Presidents of a Republic, and Second Legislative Chambers, that nothing but an historical principle can be successfully opposed to the principle of making all public powers

powers and all parliamentary assemblies the mere reflection of the average opinion of the multitude. On all questions connected with the Federal Senate, Hamilton unconsciously took the less Conservative side. Not only would he have distinguished the electoral body choosing the Senate from the electoral body choosing the House of Representatives by a property qualification solely, but he would have annulled from the first the self-government of the States by giving the appointment of the Governor or President of each separate State to Federal authority.*

The House of Representatives, which shares with the Senate the legislative powers of the United States, is unquestionably a reproduction of the House of Commons. No Constitution but the British could have suggested section 7 of Article I. of the Federal Constitution, which lays down a British principle, and settles a dispute which had arisen upon it in a particular way. 'All Bills raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as in other Bills.' There is a common impression in this country, that the American House of Representatives was somehow intended to be a more democratic assembly than our House of Commons. But this is a vulgar error. The constitutional provision on the subject is contained in section 2 of the First Article, which is to the effect, that the House is to be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and that the electors in each State are to 'have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.' The 'Federalist' expressly tells us that the differences in the qualification were at that time 'very material.' 'In every State,' it adds,† 'a certain proportion of the inhabitants are deprived of this right by the constitution of the State.' Nor had the provision for biennial elections the significance which would have been attached to it at a later date. Our present ideas have been shaped by the Septennial Act, but it is quite evident that in Hamilton's day the Septennial Act was still regarded as a gross usurpation, and that the proper English system was thought to be one of triennial Parliaments. Election every two years seems to have been taken as a fair mean between the systems of the States which made up the Federation. There were septennial elections in Virginia, which had been one of the most forward of the States in pressing on the Revolution;

* Alexander Hamilton's scheme of a Constitution is printed at page 31 of Mr. J. C. Hamilton's edition of the 'Federalist.'

† 'Federalist,' No. 54 (Hamilton).

but in Connecticut and Rhode Island there were actually half-yearly elections, and annual elections in South Carolina.

The House of Representatives is a much more exclusively legislative body than either the Senate of the United States or than the present British House of Commons. Many of the Executive powers vested in the President cannot be exercised save with the consent of the Senate. And, as the Congress has not yet repealed the legislation by which it sought to trammel the recalcitrant President, Andrew Johnson, after the War of Secession, the Executive authority of the Senate is now probably wider than it was ever intended to be by the framers of the Constitution. The House of Representatives has no similar rights over the province of the Executive; and this restriction of power is itself a feature connecting it with the British House of Commons, as known to the American statesmen of the Revolution. The far-reaching and perpetual interference with the Executive Government, which is now exercised by the House of Commons through the interrogation of the Ministers, was then at most in its first feeble beginnings; and moreover the right of the House to designate the public servants, who are nominally the Ministers of the Crown, had for a considerable time been successfully disputed by the King. George I. and George II. had, on the whole, carried out the understanding that their Ministers should be taken from a particular class; but George III. had conducted the struggle with the Colonists through servants of his own choosing, and, when the Americans were framing their Constitution, he had established his right for the rest of his reign. It is to be observed that the Constitution of the United States settles the quarrel in the sense contended for by the King of England. The heads of the Executive Departments subordinated to the President do not sit in the Senate or in the House. They are excluded from both by section 6 of Article I., which provides that 'no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.'

We are here brought to one of the most interesting subjects which can engage the attention of the Englishman of our day, the points of difference between the Government of the United States, as it works under the provisions of the Federal Constitution, and the Government of Great Britain as it has developed itself independently of any express controlling instrument. In order to bring out a certain number of these differences clearly, we will first describe the manner in which the American House of Representatives carries on its legislation, and its method of regulating that occasional contact
between

between the Executive authorities and the Legislature, which is inseparable from free government. We will then contrast the system with that which is followed by the British House of Commons at this moment. The difference will be found to be striking, and, to an Englishman, perhaps disquieting.

The House of Representatives distributes itself, under its Tenth Rule, into no less than forty Standing Committees, independently of Joint-Committees of Senators and Representatives. The subjects over which these Committees have jurisdiction comprise the whole business of Government, from Financial, Foreign, and Military Affairs, to the Codification of the Law and the Expenditure on Public Buildings. The Eleventh Rule provides that 'all proposed legislation shall be referred to the Committees named in the Tenth Rule.' As there are no officials in the House, all Bills are necessarily introduced by private members, who draft them as they please. We believe that, practically, every such Bill is allowed to go to the appropriate Committee, but that the proportion of them which are 'reported' by the Committees and come back to the House is extremely small. Lawyers abound in the House, and the Committee, in fact, re-draws the Bill. Every measure, therefore, has its true beginning in the bosom of a strictly legislative body. How this contrasts with the early stages of British legislation will be seen presently. The differences in the mode of contact between the House and the Executive Departments differ still more widely in the two countries. This contact is governed in the United States by the Twenty-fourth Rule of the House. First of all, if information be required from the Secretary of State or other Ministers, a resolution of the House must be obtained. Once a week, under the Rule, and on that occasion only, 'resolutions of enquiry directed to the heads of the Executive Departments shall be in order for reference to appropriate Committees, which resolutions shall be reported to the House within one week thereafter. Sometimes, we believe, the Minister attends the Committee; but, if he pleases, he may answer the resolution by a formal communication addressed to the Speaker of the House. This carefully guarded procedure answers to the undefined and irregular practice of putting and answering questions in our own House of Commons.

The procedure of the American House of Representatives, both in respect of the origination of bills and of the interrogation of Ministers, is that of a political body which considers that its proper functions are not executive, but legislative. The British House of Commons, on the other hand, which the greatest part

of the world regards as a legislative assembly (though it never quite answered to that description), has, since 1789, taken under its supervision and control the entire Executive government of Great Britain, and much of the government of her colonies and dependencies. There are no theoretical limits to its claim for official information, not merely concerning general lines of policy, but concerning the minute details of administration. It gives effect to its claim by questions put publicly to Ministers on the Treasury Bench, and, independently of all other results of this practice, the mere time consumed by the multitude of questions and replies is beginning to encroach very seriously on the time available for legislation. A singularly small number of these questions appear to have their origin in the interest which a member of the House of Commons may legitimately feel in foreign and domestic policy. Some, no doubt, spring from innocent curiosity; some from pardonable vanity; but not a few, we are sorry to say—and we refer more particularly to those respecting Ireland and India—are deliberately intended to work public mischief. It is a minor objection, that the number of questions which are flagrantly argumentative is manifestly increasing.

All legislative proposals which have any serious chance of becoming law, proceed in the United States from Committees of the Senate or of the House of Representatives. Where are we to place the birth of an English legislative measure? He who will give his mind to this question will find it one of the obscurest which ever perplexed the political observer. Some Bills undoubtedly have their origin in the Executive Departments, where the vices of existing laws or systems have been disclosed in the process of actual administration. Others may be said to be conceived in the House of Commons, having for their embryo a resolution of the House which, according to a modern practice, suggested no doubt by the difficulties of legislation, has taken the place of the private members' Bill. But if we may trust the experience of last year, by far the most important measures, measures fraught with the gravest consequence to the whole future of the nation, have a much more remarkable beginning. One of the great English political parties, and naturally the party supporting the Government in power, holds a Conference of gentlemen, to whom we hope we may without offence apply the American name 'wire-pullers,' and this Conference dictates to the Government, not only the legislation which it is to submit to the House of Commons, but the order in which it is to be submitted. Here we are introduced to the great modern paradox of the British Constitution.

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While the House of Commons has assumed the supervision of the whole Executive Government, it has turned over to the Executive Government the most important part of the business of legislation. For it is in the Cabinet that the effective work of legislation begins. The Ministers, hardly recruited from the now very serious fatigues of a Session which lasts all but to the commencement of September, assemble in Cabinet in November, and in the course of a series of meetings, extending over rather more than a fortnight, determine what legislative proposals are to be submitted to Parliament. These proposals, sketched, we may believe, in not more than outline, are then placed in the hands of the Government draftsman; and, so much is there in all legislation which consists in the manipulation of detail and in the adaptation of vaguely conceived novelties to pre-existing law, that we should not probably go far wrong if we attributed four-fifths of every legislative enactment to the accomplished lawyer who puts into shape the Government Bills. From the measures which come from his hand, the tale of Bills to be announced in the Queen's Speech is made up, and at this point English legislation enters upon another stage.

The American political parties of course support and oppose particular legislative measures. They are elated at the success of a particular Bill, and disappointed by its failure. But no particular consequences beyond disappointment follow the rejection of a Bill. The Government of the country goes on as before. In England it is otherwise. Every Bill introduced into Parliament by the Ministry (and we have seen that all the really important Bills are thus introduced) must be carried through the House of Commons without substantial alteration, or the Ministers will resign, and consequences of the gravest kind may follow in the remotest parts of an empire extending to the ends of the earth. Thus a Government Bill has to be forced through the House of Commons with the whole strength of party organization, and in a shape very closely resembling that which the Executive Government gave to it. It should then in strictness pass through a searching discussion in the House of Lords; but this stage of English legislation is becoming merely nominal, and the judgment on it of the Crown has long since become a form. It is therefore the Executive Government which should be credited with the authorship of English legislation. We have thus an extraordinary result. The nation, whose constitutional practice suggested to Montesquieu his memorable maxim concerning the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial powers, has in the course of a century falsified it. The formal Executive is the true source of legislation; the formal
Legislature

Legislature is incessantly concerned with Executive Government.

After its first birth, nothing can be more equable, and nothing can be more plain to observation, than the course of an American legislative measure. A Bill, both in the House of Representatives and the Senate, goes through an identical number of stages of about equal length. When it has passed both Houses, it must still commend itself to the President of the United States, who has a veto on it which, though qualified, is constantly used, and is very difficult to overcome. An English Bill begins in petty rivulets or stagnant pools. Then it runs underground for most of its course, withdrawn from the eye by the secrecy of the Cabinet. Emerging into the House of Commons, it can no more escape from its embankments than the water of a canal; but, once dismissed from that House, it overcomes all remaining obstacles with the rush of a cataract, and mixes with the trackless ocean of British institutions.

The very grave dangers entailed on our country by this eccentric method of legislation arise from its being followed, not only in the enactment of ordinary laws, but in the amendment of what, if it be still permitted to us to employ the word, is called the British Constitution. 'En Angleterre,' writes De Tocqueville, '*la Constitution peut changer sans cesse ; ou plutôt elle n'existe pas.*' There are doubtless strong Conservative forces still surviving in England; they survive because, though our political institutions have been transformed, the social conditions out of which they originally grew are not extinct. But of all the infirmities of our Constitution in its decay, there is none more serious than the absence of any special precautions to be observed in passing laws which touch the very foundations of our political system. The nature of this weakness, and the character of the manifold and elaborate securities which are contrasted with it in America, may be well illustrated by considering two measures, of whose relative right to precedence in the counsels, not indeed of Parliament, but of the Government, we have heard much recently—the Reform of the London Corporation, and the group of deeply penetrating political changes known by the inadequate name of the County Franchise Bill. The reconstruction of the London Municipality, though a very difficult undertaking, would belong in America to the ordinary State legislatures. The legislature of New York State has, in fact, several times attempted to remodel the municipality of New York City, which has repeatedly shown itself to be corrupt, unmanageable, and inefficient; and these attempts call for no special remark, except that they have hitherto met
with

with only the most moderate success. But a measure distantly resembling the suggested English County Franchise Bill * would be, both from the point of view of the several States and from the point of view of the United States, a Constitutional amendment. In the least considerable, the least advanced, and the most remote American State, its enactment would have to be coupled with carefully devised precautionary formalities. If the most usual of these were observed, a law would be passed by the ordinary State legislature providing that, at some future day, a special assembly should be elected to consider the proposed innovations; and this 'Convention,' as it is commonly called, would discuss this one subject and none other, and in all probability would only be empowered to make such changes as two-thirds, or even three-fourths, of its members agreed upon. If an American County Franchise Bill were proposed to be enforced by Federal authority, the designed difficulty of carrying it would be vastly greater. As a rule, the Federal Constitution does not interfere with the franchise; it leaves the right of voting to be regulated by the several States, gradually and locally, according to the varying circumstances of each, and the political views prevailing in it. But the rule has now been departed from in the new Article, securing the suffrage to the negroes; and there is no question that, if a measure were contemplated in America, bearing to the entirety of American institutions the same relation which the so-called County Franchise Bill bears to the entirety of ours,—nay, even if a simple change in the franchise had to be introduced into all the States, or into the bulk of them, simultaneously—the object could only be effected by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States. It would therefore have to be dealt with under the Fifth Article of the Constitution. This article, which is the keystone of the whole Federal fabric, runs as follows:

'The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.'

The mode, therefore, of proceeding with a measure requiring

* The Chancellor of the Exchequer, fresh from the discussion of this Bill in the Cabinet, placed it (at Pontefract on Dec. 5, 1883) at the head of three measures which he described as the most important which had been passed since 1689, the grand epoch of modern English Constitutional history.

an amendment of the Constitution would be this. First of all, the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives must resolve, by a two-thirds majority of each Chamber, that the proposed amendment is desirable. The amendment has then to be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States. Now, there are at the present moment thirty-eight States in the American Union. The number of legislatures which must join in the ratification is therefore twenty-nine. We believe, however, that there is no State in which the Legislature does not consist of two Houses, and we arrive therefore at the surprising result that, before a constitutional measure of the gravity of the English County Franchise Bill could become law in the United States, it must have at the very least in its favour the concurring vote of no less than fifty-eight separate legislative chambers, independently of the Federal Legislature, in which a double two-thirds majority must be obtained. The alternative course permitted by the Constitution, of calling separate special Conventions of the United States and of the several States, would prove probably in practice even lengthier and more complicated.

The great strength of these securities against hasty innovation has been shown beyond the possibility of mistake by the actual history of the Federal Constitution. On March 4, 1789, the day fixed for commencing the operation of the new Federal Government, the Constitution had been ratified by all the States then established, except three. One of the first acts of the new Congress was to propose to the States, on September 25, 1789, a certain number of amendments on comparatively unimportant points, which had no doubt been suggested by the discussions on the draft-Constitution, and the several States ratified these amendments in the course of the following year. A amendment of more importance, relating to the power of the Supreme Court, was declared to have been ratified on September 5, 1794; and another, remedying a singular inconvenience which had disclosed itself in the original rule regulating the election of the President and of the Vice-President, had its ratification completed in September 1804. After these early amendments, which were comparatively easy of adoption through the small number of the original States, there was no change in the Federal Constitution for sixty years. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, which became part of the Constitution in the period between the beginning of 1865 and the beginning of 1870, were the fruits of the conquest of the South by the North. They abolish slavery, provide against its revival, forbid the abridgment of the right to vote on the
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ground of race or colour, impose penalties on the vanquished adherents of the seceding States, and incidentally give a constitutional guarantee to the Public Debt of the Federation. But they could not have been either proposed or ratified, if the South had not lain under the heel of the North. The military forces of the United States controlled the Executive Governments of the Southern States, and virtually no class of the population, except the negroes, was represented in the Southern Legislatures. The War of Secession, which was itself a war of Revolution, was in fact succeeded by a Revolutionary period* of several years, during which not only the institutions of the Southern States, but the greater part of the Federal institutions were more or less violently distorted to objects not contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. But the form of the Federal institutions was always preserved, and they gradually recovered their reality, until at the present moment the working of the Constitution of the United States does not, save for the disappearance of negro slavery, differ from the mode of its operation before the civil convulsion of 1861-65.

The powers and disabilities attached to the United States and to the several States by the Federal Constitution, and placed under the protection of the deliberately contrived securities we have described, have determined the whole course of American history. That history began, as all its records abundantly show, in a condition of society produced by war and revolution, which might have condemned the great Northern Republic to a fate not unlike that of her disorderly sisters in South America. But the provisions of the Constitution have acted on her like those dams and dykes which strike the eye of the traveller along the Rhine, controlling the course of a mighty river which begins amid mountain torrents, and turning it into one of the most equable water-ways in the world. The English Constitution, on the other hand, like the great river of England, may perhaps seem to the observer to be nowadays always more or less in flood, owing to the crumbling of the banks and the water poured into it from millions of drain-pipes. The observation is, however, worth making, that the provisions of the Constitution of the United States which have most influenced the destinies of the American people are not always those which the superficial student of it would first notice. Attention is easily attracted by Article IV., section 4, which makes the United States

* The work of Mr. Louis J. Jennings on 'Republican Government in the United States' has much historical interest, containing, as it does, a striking account of the perversion of the Constitution during this revolutionary interval, now brought to a close.

guarantee to every State in the Union a Republican form of government, and on the other hand protection against domestic violence; and again, by sections 9 and 10 of Article I., which prohibit the United States and the several States from granting titles of Nobility. No man can mistake the importance of the portions of the First Article which forbid the several States to enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation, to make anything but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts, and (without the consent of Congress) to keep troops or ships of war in time of peace. But a hasty reader might underestimate the practical effects of the provisions in Article I. which empower the United States 'to promote the progress of science and the useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;' and, again, of the parts of the same Article which prohibit the United States and the several States from laying any tax or duty on articles exported from any State; and, lastly, of the remarkable provision which forbids a State to pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts. The power to grant patents by Federal authority has, however, made the American people the first in the world for the number and ingenuity of the inventions by which it has promoted the 'useful arts;' while, on the other hand, the neglect to exercise this power for the advantage of foreign writers has condemned the whole American community to a literary servitude unparalleled in the history of thought. The prohibition against levying duties on commodities passing from State to State is again the secret both of American Free-trade and of American Protection. It secures to the producer the command of a free market over an enormous territory of vast natural wealth, and thus it secondarily reconciles the American people to a tariff on foreign importations as oppressive as ever a nation has submitted to. We have seen the rule which denies to the several States the power to make any laws impairing the obligation of contracts criticized as if it were a mere politico-economical flourish; but in point of fact there is no more important provision in the whole Constitution. Its principle was much extended by a decision of the Supreme Court,* which ought now to interest a large number of Englishmen, since it is the basis of the credit of many of the great American Railway Incorporations. But it is this prohibition which has in reality secured full play to the economical forces by which the achievement of cultivating the soil of the North

* In *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, a case argued by Daniel Webster in 1818.

American Continent has been performed; it is the bulwark of American individualism against democratic impatience and Socialistic fantasy. We may usefully bear in mind that, until this prohibition, as interpreted by the Federal Courts, is got rid of, certain communistic schemes of American origin, which are said to have become attractive to the English labouring classes because they are supposed to proceed from the bosom of a democratic community, have about as much prospect of obtaining practical realization in the United States as the vision of a Cloud-Cuckoo-borough to be built by the birds between earth and sky.

It was not to be expected that all the hopes of the founders of the American Constitution would be fulfilled. They do not seem to have been prepared for the rapid development of party, chiefly under the influence of Thomas Jefferson, nor for the thorough organization with which the American parties before long provided themselves. They may have expected the House of Representatives, which is directly elected by the people, to fall under the dominion of faction, but the failure of their mechanism for the choice of a President was a serious disappointment. We need hardly say that the body intended to be a true Electoral College has come to consist of mere deputies of the two great contending parties, and that a Presidential Elector has no more active part in choosing a President than has a balloting paper. The miscarriage has told upon the qualities of American Presidents. An Electoral College may commit a blunder, but a candidate for the Presidency, nominated for election by the whole people, will, as a rule, be a man selected because he is not open to obvious criticism, and will therefore in all probability be a mediocrity. But, although the President of the United States has not been all which Washington and Hamilton, Madison and Jay, intended him to be, nothing has occurred in America to be compared with the distortion which the Presidency has suffered at the hands of its copyists on the European Continent. It is probable that no foreigner but an Englishman can fully understand the Constitution of the United States, though even an Englishman is apt to assume it to have been much more of a new political departure than it really was, and to forget to compare it with the English institutions of a century since. But, while it has made the deepest possible impression on Continental European opinion, it has been hardly ever comprehended. Its imitators have sometimes made the historical mistake, of confounding the later working of some of its parts with that originally intended by its founders. And sometimes they have fallen into the practical error, of attempting to combine its characteristics with some of
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the modern characteristics of the British Constitution. The President of the Second French Republic was directly elected by the French people in conformity with the modern practice of the Americans, and the result was that, confident in the personal authority witnessed to by the number of his supporters, he overthrew the Republic and established a military despotism. The President of the Third French Republic is elected in a different and a safer way; but his Ministers mix in the debates of the French Legislature and are responsible to it, like an English Cabinet. The effect is, that there is no living functionary who occupies a more pitiable position than President Grévy. The old Kings of France reigned and governed. The Constitutional King, according to M. Thiers, reigns, but does not govern. The President of the United States governs, but he does not reign. It has been reserved for the President of the French Republic neither to reign nor yet to govern.

The Senate has proved a most successful institution except in one particular. Congress includes many honourable as well as very many able men, but it would be affectation to claim for the American Federal Legislature as a whole that its hands are quite clean. It is unnecessary to appeal on this point to satire or fiction, to such books as 'Democracy' and 'Through One Administration;' the truth is, that too many Englishmen have been of late years concerned with Congressional business for there to be any want of evidence that much money is spent in forwarding it which is not legitimately expended. One provision of the Constitution has here defeated another. One portion of the 6th section of the First Article provides securities against corruption on the part of Senators and Representatives, but the portion immediately preceding provides that 'Senators and Representatives shall have a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States.' This system of payment for legislative services, which prevails throughout the whole of the Union, has produced a class of professional politicians, whose probity in some cases has proved unequal to the strain put upon it by the power of dealing with the public money and the public possessions of what will soon be the wealthiest community in the world. It is a point of marked inferiority to the British political system, even in its decline.

It may be thought that a great American institution failed on one occasion conspicuously and disastrously. The Supreme Court of the United States did not succeed in preventing by its mediation the War of Secession. But the inference is not just. The framers of the Constitution of the United States, like succeeding generations of American statesmen, deliberately thrust the

the subject of Slavery as far as they could out of their own sight. It barely discloses itself in the method of counting population for the purpose of fixing the electoral basis of the House of Representatives, and in the subsequently famous provision of the Fourth Article, that persons 'bound to service or labour in one State' shall be delivered up if they escape into another. But, on the whole, the makers of the Constitution pass by on the other side. They have not the courage of their opinions, whatever they were. They neither guarantee Slavery on the one hand, nor attempt to regulate it on the other, or to provide for its gradual extinction. When then, about seventy years afterwards, the Supreme Court was asked to decide whether the owner of slaves taking them into one of the territories of the Union, not yet organized as a State, retained his right of ownership, it had not in reality sufficient materials for a decision. The grounds of its judgment in the *Dred Scott* case may have been perhaps satisfactory to lawyers, but in themselves they satisfied nobody else. It is extremely significant that, in the one instance in which the authors of the Constitution declined of set purpose to apply their political wisdom to a subject which they knew to be all-important, the result was the bloodiest and costliest war of modern times.

Let us repeat the points which we trust we have done something towards establishing. The Constitution of the United States is a modified version of the British Constitution ; but the British Constitution which served as its original was that which was in existence between 1760 and 1787. The modifications introduced were those, and those only, which were suggested by the new circumstances of the American Colonies, now become independent. These circumstances excluded an hereditary king, and virtually excluded an hereditary nobility. When the American Constitution was framed, there was no such sacredness to be expected for it as before 1789 was supposed to attach to all parts of the British Constitution. There was every prospect of political mobility, if not of political disorder. The signal success of the Constitution of the United States in stemming these tendencies is, no doubt, owing in part to the great portion of the British institutions which were preserved in it ; but it is also attributable to the sagacity with which the American statesmen filled up the interstices left by the inapplicability of certain of the then existing British institutions to the emancipated colonies. This sagacity stands out in every part of the 'Federalist,' and it may be tracked in every page of subsequent American history. It may well fill the Englishmen who now live *in facie Romuli* with wonder and envy.

- ART. II.—1. *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*. By Charles J. Abbey, M.A., Rector of Checkenden, late Fellow of University College, Oxford; and John H. Overton, M.A., Vicar of Legbourne, late Scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford. 2 vols. London, 1878.
2. *William Law: Nonjuror and Mystic*. By John H. Overton, M.A. London, 1881.
3. *The Student's English Church History. From the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Silencing of Convocation in the XVIIIth Century*. By G. G. Perry, M.A., Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Waddington. Second edition. London, 1880.

IN spite of the numerous books which have been written to illustrate its history, political, social, and intellectual; in spite also of its nearness to ourselves; it is perhaps true that the eighteenth century is less known to us than either of those immediately preceding it. There is no Revolution, Rebellion, or Reformation, to compel attention by the greatness of the issues involved. There are but few striking and commanding characters—but few incidents of absorbing interest. In short, there are wanting in the eighteenth century the elements of the romantic and the picturesque. Hence the view taken of that period is, for the most part, rapid and superficial. It is looked upon as a feeble duplicate of our own times, with the advantage all in favour of ourselves. Its literature is but little read. Its school of poetry has fallen into disrepute. Its essays are voted dry and jejune. Its architectural efforts are viewed with a shudder. Its philosophy is regarded as incipient and undeveloped.

But in no respect, perhaps, has the eighteenth century been so superficially and hastily judged as in the matter of religion, and in the estimate of the amount of earnestness to be found in the Church and the sects. The caricature types of Fielding and the novelists have furnished the ideas prevalent as to the social status of the clergy. Some stray volumes of dry sermons have suggested the estimate of pulpit oratory; and, for the rest, exaggerated and untruthful stories as to the Wesleys and the Revivalists have created the notion, that practical religion was scarcely to be found in the land before their appearance. This ignorance as to the conditions of religious life in the eighteenth century is in a great measure excusable. Until very recently no attempt had even been made to narrate the history of the Church of England during this period. Historians were content to write the history of the Reformation, or at any rate to break off

off their narrative at the Revolution, leaving all between that date and modern days a blank. But that there is very much to tell of the religious life of England in that century, recent writers have abundantly shown. The volumes which represent the joint labours of Messrs. Abbey and Overton are a welcome and valuable contribution towards the history of the period. They do not, indeed, in themselves constitute a history. The essay form into which they are cast involves gaps and omissions in the narrative, while it often produces repetition and undue prolixity. We cannot think the form of the book judicious. But the Essays are ably written, and replete with valuable information. Still higher praise may be given to Mr. Overton's 'Life of William Law.' This is an admirable biography up to the period when the subject of it gets lost in a cloud of mysticism, into which the writer is unfortunately tempted to follow him. Aided by these helps, and by others which it is not necessary to particularize, we propose now to attempt to indicate some of the chief points of interest in the religious life of England during the eighteenth century.

The century opens in a storm. Convocation, silenced since the Revolution, had at last met. A controversy had been raised as to its right to meet concurrently with the Parliament, and the clergy had become so excited, that King William's last ministry made it a condition of their taking office that it should be allowed to meet and deliberate. Its deliberations consisted in a series of squabbles and recriminations between the Upper and Lower Houses. The Bishops were Whigs, the Presbyters were Tories. Atterbury, whose book had been the chief exciting cause of the movement, was the ruling spirit in the Lower House, and was never tired of thwarting and decrying the House of Bishops. Throughout the whole of the succeeding reign the bitterness between the two Houses prevailed. An enquiry into the cause of this may furnish us with a clue to many false notions which have prevailed as to the English Church at this period.

At the Revolution it is unquestionable that the hearts of the great majority of the clergy were with the expelled King. A momentary exasperation against him had prevailed among them—due to his tyranny and proselytizing—but this was not enough to induce them to accept the principle of a change of dynasty. They would have acquiesced in a Regency, but they would not go further. Hence the same bishops who went to the Tower became nonjurors. The four hundred clergy who refused to take the oaths to King William were not a tithe of those who disliked his accession. They were simply the men who had the

courage of their opinions; but the great mass of clergy, holding the same opinions, remained grumbling and discontented on their cures. They were Tories and Jacobites in heart, and the measures taken by William's government did not tend to make them less so. For it was the policy of William's government to select carefully for bishops men who were known to be thoroughly Whig and upholders of the Revolution. This was done after Queen Mary's death by a committee of Whig bishops appointed for this purpose, among whom Burnet was the ruling spirit. Tory Presbyters, however distinguished for learning or devotion, knew well that promotion was absolutely impossible for them. Thus the bishops became, as it were, a class hostile to the clergy, and hence when bishops and presbyters met face to face came the explosions of ill-will and bitterness. It follows from this, that it is utterly unfair to judge the clergy of that day by the bishops—which, it is believed, is what is ordinarily done. The bishops were courtiers, fine gentlemen, of liberal and latitudinarian views. They were to be seen at St. James's, or at 'the Bath,' or occasionally in a stately procession through their dioceses. The clergy were altogether of a different class—with different habits, tastes, principles. And if the clergy of the eighteenth century are not to be judged fairly by the bishops, neither is their character and value to be estimated by the controversialists. It was indeed a controversial age, and a large number of clergy took part in the various controversies which were rife, displaying no inconsiderable amount of learning in their writings. But the great mass of the clergy were not controversialists. They were living quiet unobtrusive lives in the midst of their flocks; men indeed often of the type of the rector sketched by George Eliot, 'who had no lofty aims, no theological enthusiasm'—content to give practical lessons on the duties of life—but men also in many cases with much of earnestness and spiritual-mindedness. The preservation of these good qualities among the lower clergy, qualities which were conspicuously absent in some of the most prominent of their order, was in a great measure due to the Religious Societies, which were established at the end of the seventeenth century, and which gradually extended their organization through the land. The history of these societies has never been adequately written, and their importance has been greatly overlooked. When the subject is fully investigated, it will be found that not only were these organizations the means of preserving spiritual religion in the land, but that the revival movement of the Wesleys was entirely founded on them, and would not have been possible but for their co-operation. We look in vain in Messrs. Abbey and

and Overton's volumes for any account of these societies. We must endeavour to supply the omission from other sources.

It was in the year 1678, when the most appalling profligacy was rife, that certain young men who had been impressed by the sermons of Dr. Anthony Horneck, Mr. Smithies, and Dr. Beveridge, formed themselves into an Association or Guild for religious purposes. They had weekly meetings for prayer, singing hymns, and religious conference. They gave alms for the poor on a fixed ratio, undertook to attend daily service at the church, and the Holy Communion weekly and on all festivals. They procured also the establishment of preparation lectures. The clergy and some of the bishops supported this association, and the scheme of organization spread rapidly. Forty-two of these societies were soon in existence in London and Westminster. Similar associations were quickly to be found in every town of England and Ireland. In all of them the greatest loyalty to the Church was a fundamental rule. Every church service was to be attended, while 'counsels of perfection' were given, that the members should use prayers seven times a day, and exert themselves to the utmost in good works. The great effect produced by these organizations is witnessed to by a Dissenting writer. 'They so improved their finances by collections, that they were able to remunerate the attendance of many clergymen to read prayers: these aids to devotion were in a short time afforded at so many different hours, and extended to so many places, as to include every hour of the day. On every Lord's day there were constant sacraments in many churches. Greater numbers attended at prayers and sacraments, and greater appearances of devotion were diffused through the City, than had been observed in the memory of man.'* It will be seen that, when John and Charles Wesley established their religious coterie at Oxford, they were doing nothing more than starting among the undergraduates one of these religious societies, which were then everywhere well-known. The practices of the 'Methodist Club' were exactly identical with those of the other kindred bodies. The success of these religious societies led, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, to the formation of another class of societies, called 'Societies for Reformation of Manners.' These were intended to be aggressive, and to enforce the laws which then existed against profanity and immorality. To these societies the clergy generally belonged, and they met here on common ground not only with laymen but also with

* Toulmin, 'History of Dissenters,' p. 416.

Dissenting teachers. In his essay on Robert Nelson, Mr. Abbey says :

‘He had taken an active interest in the religious operations of young men, which sprang up in London and other towns and villages about 1678. A few years later, when “Societies for the Reformation of Manners” were formed to check the immorality and profaneness which were gaining alarming ground, he gave his hearty co-operation both to Churchmen and Dissenters in a movement which he held essential to the welfare of the country.’—‘English Church,’ i. 109.

But the fact that clergy and Dissenters were joined in this work excited the most lively apprehensions in some of the bishops. In the correspondence of William Nicolson (then Archdeacon, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle) we have the most vigorous protests against the clergy taking any part in this work. Yet in one of his letters he describes the ‘articles’ subscribed by the members as ‘such as were legal and commendable; obliging them to reform their own families, to inspect the conversation of their neighbours, to reprove the vicious, to inform against the obstinate, and to meet weekly to consult how most effectually to carry on so good a work.’* It would seem that these societies were very generally accepted by the clergy. We find them simultaneously in Cumberland, Cheshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, as well as in London. Archbishop Sharp, who could not bring himself altogether to approve of them, says: ‘They are on foot everywhere.’† In the market-towns the clergy preached a lecture on the first market-day of the month, before which they read the Act against profane cursing and swearing, with the proclamation against immorality. In some places the meetings were conducted on strict church principles,‡ in others the clergy seem to have fraternized with the Dissenting teachers. Whether or no the proceedings were always strictly in order, at any rate the very general establishment and activity of these societies testifies to a considerable amount of activity among the country clergy at the beginning of the century. Of the other class of societies, previously spoken of, in which also the clergy were engaged, the organization was more enduring and the effects more important. For a testimony of their close connection with the revival movement we turn to the latest historian of John Wesley.

‘The religious societies formed in the days of Dr. Horneck, and revived in the reign of Queen Mary, were not confined to London and

* Nicolson’s ‘Correspondence,’ p. 147.

† Wotton to Nicolson, ‘Correspondence,’ p. 168.

‡ Ibid. p. 155.

Westminster, but existed in different towns throughout the kingdom. We find them in Oxford, Nottingham, Gloucester, Bristol, Newcastle, Dublin, Kilkenny, and other places, and all acting substantially according to the same rules and regulations. They met to pray, sing psalms, and read the Scriptures together; and to reprove, exhort, and edify one another by religious conference. They also carried out designs of charity, such as supporting lectures and daily prayers in churches, releasing imprisoned debtors, relieving the poor, and sending their children to school. . . . Such were the religious societies which existed for more than half a century before the formation of the united societies of the people called Methodists, and in whose rooms and meetings in London, Bristol, and elsewhere, Whitefield and the Wesley brothers, for a few years, were accustomed to read and explain the Scriptures almost every night. On arriving in Bristol, Wesley found such societies as these assembling in Castle Street, in Gloucester Lane, in Weavers' Hall, in Nicholas Street, in the Back Lane, and in Baldwin Street, and at once began expounding to them the Epistle to the Romans and other portions of the New Testament.'—*'Life and Times of Wesley,'* by Rev. L. Tyerman, i. 254.

The vigorous vitality exhibited by these religious societies, and the widespread influence exercised by them in preparing the way for what is called the Evangelical revival, invite a closer attention to their constitution and history than they have yet received. Of devout books calculated to be of use to them the eighteenth century was not unfruitful. The *'Private Thoughts on Religion'* of one who was almost their founder* would no doubt be highly valued. So also, we are quite sure, was Robert Nelson's *'Fasts and Festivals,'* of which 10,000 copies were sold in a very short time. But probably no books were more frequently in the hands of the members, and none would be more frequently given to their flocks by the clergy, than the devout works of William Law, *'Christian Perfection'* and the *'Serious Call.'* A very good account of these works, so celebrated in their day, is given by Mr. Overton in his *'Life of Law.'* Of the first he writes:

'Intending the work to be exclusively what he termed it, "a practical treatise," Law carefully avoided all nice points of doctrine and defined "Christian perfection" at the outset in a way to which no one who accepted Christianity at all could take exception, viz. as "the right performance of our necessary duties;" it is "such as men in cloisters and religious retirements cannot add more, and at the same time such as Christians in all states of the world must not be content with less."† Of the value of the *'Serious Call'*—one of those books which sets its mark upon an age—we can have no more striking testimony than that of the historian Gibbon. He says of it:

* Bishop Beveridge.

† *'Life of Law,'* p. 42.

"Its precepts are rigid; but they are founded on the Gospel; its satire is sharp, but it is drawn from the knowledge of human life, and many of his portraits are not unworthy the pen of La Bruyère. If he finds a spark of piety in his reader's mind, he will soon kindle it to a flame; and a philosopher must allow that he exposes with equal severity and truth the strange contradiction between the faith and practice of the Christian world."—*'Life of Law,'* p. 111.

Scarce any religious book has had a more remarkable effect than this. It first influenced and awakened John Wesley, who, though he was afterwards much at variance with Law, never ceased to admire it. Charles Wesley and Whitefield were also greatly impressed by it. Among those who have borne testimony to its searching power, may be reckoned Henry Venn, Thomas Scott, John Newton, and Thomas Adam. Dr. Johnson has left it on record that Law was 'an overmatch' for him. Bishop Horne and William Jones of Nayland have borne emphatic witness to its merits. This book was very widely read, and highly valued by the clergy. Dr. Bray's Libraries for clergy existed in considerable numbers. Keble in his *'Life of Bishop Wilson,'* mentions the Bishop's 'enriching the clerical libraries' with copies of Law's works. Mr. Overton quotes a case of a clergyman having presented every parishioner with a copy of the *'Serious Call.'*† But when William Law quitted the safe ground of practical teaching, and allowed himself to plunge into the unfathomable depths of mystical religion, his influence over his age was lost. 'The eighteenth century,' says Mr. Abbey, 'was an age when sober religion would hear of no competitor.' 'It may be said without any disparagement of a host of eminent English divines of the eighteenth century, that their entire sympathies were with the reasonable rather than with the spiritual side of religion.'‡ It is, in our judgment, exactly this special characteristic of the clergy of the eighteenth century that has caused them to be so undervalued and underestimated. Practical religion—the recommendation of the duties of life—cannot be put into the attractive form in which spiritual rhapsodies may be clothed. The clergy of the eighteenth century were rather diligent pastors than popular preachers. They did not perhaps deliver 'awakening' sermons, but they guided their people in the way of godliness, without which all 'awakening' is a mere farce. 'The whole theology of the eighteenth century,' says Mr. Leslie Stephen, 'has a specially moral turn. Religion was regarded far less as providing expression for our deeper

* Keble's *'Life of Wilson,'* p. 716.

† *'Life of Law,'* p. 112.

‡ *'English Church,'* i. 554, 3.

emotions, or as a body of old traditions invested with the most touching poetical associations, than as a practical rule of life.' * Many of the clergy were, no doubt, too secular; many were negligent of their work. But as a class they have been far too generally condemned. One special reason for this is well put by Mr. Abbey:

The leaders of the Evangelical revival, who were misunderstood and in many cases cruelly treated by the clergy of their day, could scarcely help taking the gloomiest possible view of the state of the Church at large, and were hardly in a position to appreciate the really good points of men who were violently prejudiced against themselves, while their biographers in later times have been perhaps a little too apt to bring out in stronger relief the brightness of their heroes' portraits by making the background as dark as possible.—'English Church,' ii. 3.

'There were,' says one who will not be suspected of over-great tenderness for the clergy, 'during the first half of the century, many religious leaders whose devotion has not been exceeded in more recent times.'† This observation is not intended to apply to the Wesleys and the Revivalists, whose triumphs have been sufficiently glorified in numerous books in these modern days; but to others less known to fame, but not less useful in their generation. Of these we select one who is scarcely mentioned in the two ponderous volumes of Messrs. Abbey and Overton, but who assuredly deserves a different treatment in any account of the English Church of the eighteenth century—William Jones of Nayland. As a controversialist, Mr. Jones is quite equal in learning, acuteness, humour, and point, to William Law. But it is not in that capacity that we desire to speak of him. He was also admirable as a parish priest, but it is especially as a censor of the follies and evil habits of the day that we admire him. Thus he raises his voice against the heathenish taste which transformed churches into hideous mausoleums:

'The fabulous objects of the Grecian mythology have even got possession of our churches; in one of which I have seen a monument with elegant figures as large as life of the three Fates—Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos—spinning and clipping the thread of a great man's life. . . In our rural ornaments we have temples to all the Pagan deities; and in the city a pantheon wherein there is a general assembly of all the sons and daughters of pleasure under the auspices of heathen demons. How strange it would have been if, while the temples of the heathens had been dedicated to Venus, Mars, and Bacchus, their gardens had been adorned with statues of Moses and

* 'English Thought,' ii. 2.

† Leslie Stephen, 'English Thought,' ii. 384.
Aaron,

Aaron, and the walls of their houses painted with the destruction of Sodom, the overthrow of Pharaoh, the delivery of the two tables on Mount Sinai, and such-like subjects of sacred history! Who would not have inferred in such a case that their temples were frequented out of form, while their inclinations were towards the law of Moses and the God of the Hebrews? But alas! no heathens were ever found to be so inconsistent.'—Jones, 'On the Growth of Heathenism.'

Not less severe is he on the prevailing taste in poetry:—

'If a stranger were to judge of our religion from the practice of our poets and tragedians, he would take Paganism to be the established religion of the country; for besides hymns to Venus and Bacchus, and wood-nymphs and water-nymphs, we see virtues and attributes impersonated and deified as of old. We have odes to Liberty, odes to Health, odes to Contentment; in which Health is prayed to for health, and Contentment is intreated to give contentment, that is to be the cause of itself. If the nativity and genius of some learned man is to be celebrated, Lucina presides at his birth, Minerva teaches, Phoebus inspires him. When his death is to be lamented, what can his surviving friend say for him but wish himself Orpheus, that so with his lyre he might go down to hell and prevail on Pluto (the keeper of all dead Christians!) to restore him back again.'—*Ibid.*

With his fine vein of humour and his facile pen Mr. Jones stood ready to assail every form of mischief and folly which appeared in his day. Lord Chesterfield's miserable book was gibbeted by him, as was also Archdeacon Blackburne's *Latitudinarianism*. The eccentricities of the Methodists did not escape him, and he has a pungent word for the mysticism of Mr. Law, whose practical works he had greatly admired. We must venture, at the risk of wearying our readers, to exhibit the antidote which he provided to the mischievous novel literature of his day:—

'The end of a novel is to please, and, how is this end to be obtained? Nothing will please loose people but intrigues and loose adventures; nothing will please the unlettered profligate but blasphemous sneers upon religion and the Holy Scriptures; nothing will please the vicious but the palliation of vice and the contempt of virtue; therefore novelists and comic writers, who study popularity either for praise or profit, mix up vice with amiable qualities to cover and recommend, while virtue is compounded with such ingredients as have a natural tendency to make it odious. I have sometimes been struck with the reflection, that few writers who forge a series of events, look upon their attempt in a serious light and consider the hazard of the undertaking; how they are in continual danger of giving us false notions of the consequences of human actions, and of misrepresenting the ways of Divine Providence.'—Jones, 'Letters of a Tutor to his Pupils.'

Of a similar spirit to Mr. Jones, uniting keen practical insight to earnest Christian principle, was George Horne, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. He also is only slightly mentioned by Messrs. Abbey and Overton, though pronounced in his day to be 'without exception the best preacher in England.' Horne, in his 'Apology,' made an admirable defence of true sound Scriptural teaching, in which the moral duty and its religious basis are not allowed for a moment to be severed. It is curious to observe that Horne in his day strongly objected to an attempt at making a Revised Version of Scripture, which was advocated by Dr. Kennicott, the famous Hebrew scholar, on the ground that it would unsettle men's minds. He also much disliked the practice of illustrating and supporting Scripture from heathen mythologies and fables. We shall have something to say presently on the unwarranted assertion that the Methodists were driven out of the Church, but in passing we may note that this charge cannot at any rate be brought against Bishop Horne, who authorized his clergy to allow the Wesleys, or any ordained clergymen, the use of their pulpits if they thought fit. The great enemies of the Wesleyans were not the genuine Church of England men, but the Calvinistic Evangelicals.

In noting the indications of sound practical religion in the Church of England of the eighteenth century, apart from the labours of the Wesleys and the Revivalists, we are brought, curiously enough, to the rectory of Epworth, the home of the future apostles, where their good father was content to live and labour for the souls of his people on the old lines of the Church of England. It is well observed by Mr. Overton that—

'The picture given us of the family at Epworth Rectory is an illustration of the remark, that the wholesale censure of the whole body of the parochial clergy in the early part of the eighteenth century has been far too sweeping and severe. Here is an instance, and it is not spoken of as a unique or even as an exceptional instance, of a worthy clergyman, who was with his whole family living an exemplary life, and adorning the profession to which he belonged.'—*'English Church,'* ii. 66.

But the enquirers after genuine religion and its upholders will find perhaps their richest treasure in the good Bishop Wilson and his island diocese. It is singular—indeed passing strange—that, in a series of Essays on the Church of England in the Eighteenth Century, so little should be said of its most saintly Bishop. Wilson is only mentioned casually and incidentally in Messrs. Abbey and Overton's volumes, while an inordinate amount of space is given to Tillotson—the Hobbes of the pulpit.

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The references also when Wilson is mentioned are to Cruttwell's *Life of the Bishop*. It would almost seem as though the writers were entirely unacquainted with the long and elaborate *Life*, the composition of which was for so many years to John Keble a labour of love. We turn to one, from whom perhaps we might least expect it, for a really appreciative notice of Wilson :—

‘Wilson, the Apostolic, was a man of the old sacerdotal type, full of simplicity, tenderness, devotion, and with a sincere belief (inoffensive because allayed with no tincture of pride or ambition) in the sacred privileges of the Church. His superstitions (for he is superstitious) no more provoke anger, than the simple fancies of a child ; and we honour him as we should honour all men whose life and thoughts were in perfect harmony, and guided by noble motives. To read him is to love him ; he helps us to recognize the fact, that many of the thoughts which supported his noble nature in its journey through this life may be applicable in a different costume to the sorrows and trials which also change their form rather than their character. His example proves conclusively that a genuine Christian theologian, in the most characteristic sense of the term, might still be found under the reign of George II. in the Isle of Man.’—Leslie Stephen, ‘*English Thought*,’ ii. 384.

Bishop Wilson was an admirable specimen of the genuine Church of England man, who, without seeking for excitement, laboured diligently for the edification of his people according to the doctrines and standard of the Church to which he belonged ; and of this type, we contend, there were many specimens to be found in the eighteenth century through the towns and villages of England. They were not Revivalists. They were not a part of what were called the ‘serious’ clergy, i.e. the Calvinistic Evangelicals. They were quiet, simple men, who taught practical truths and loved the Prayer-book which embodied them. That the great body of the clergy were really attached to the Prayer-book, no more convincing proof could be given than the entire failure of the movement in which Archdeacon Blackburne bore the most prominent part. To understand this fully, and to estimate the light which it sheds on the character of the clergy of this period, we must recur to an earlier date, and sketch the history of what was known as the Latitudinarian movement.

From the days of Hales and Chillingworth there had existed within the Church of England a school of divines, who held that opinions were of minor importance, and ought not to be made the ground of censure. This school received a great impetus after the Restoration by the writings of those who are known as the Cambridge Platonists, and at the era of the Revolution it was stimulated by certain other special causes. For at that time there

was

was a sudden outburst of anti-Trinitarian or Arian views; and it thus became a serious and pressing question with some of the clergy, whether, holding these views, they could continue to retain preferment in the Church of England. Some, by adopting the Latitudinarian theory, persuaded themselves that they might do this. Others, more honest or more logical, became Dissenters. So much being thus staked on the upholding of the Latitudinarian view, we are not surprised at finding a considerable number of writers trying to support it. It is singular to meet with the argument of the famous Tract 90 anticipated by Dr. Clarke, who writes that 'every person may reasonably agree to forms whenever he can in any sense at all reconcile them with Scripture.' It was to refute the preposterous notion, that Arians could find a proper home within a Trinitarian Church, that Waterland wrote his '*Case of Arian Subscription Examined*,' which Dr. Sykes had the assurance to answer.* From records of the time we gather that there were here and there clergy who, holding Arian views, ventured to alter the Liturgy to suit them. This was done by Mr. Wasse, rector of Aynhoe, by Dr. Chambers, rector of Achurch, and others. But this course was perilous when there was anything like episcopal supervision. And the pure Latitudinarian theory, that an Arian could quietly acquiesce in Trinitarian formulæ, could really satisfy but few minds. Hence an attempt to alter, by authority, the formularies of the Church naturally resulted. The first step was made by the publication of a book called '*Free and Candid Disquisitions*,' by Mr. Jones, vicar of Alconbury. This was a collection of pieces by various hands, all advocating a trenchant review of the Liturgy. The extreme terror of being found out, displayed by the compiler, proves clearly enough that the idea was by no means a popular one.† Mr. Abbey is of opinion that it was written in a 'moderate and judicious spirit' (i. 434). It is probable, however, that not many English Churchmen of the present day, who should wade through '*The Expediency and necessity of Revising and improving the Public Liturgy*,' '*A blow at the Root*,' &c., would agree with him. The book, however, had important consequences. It produced some spirited replies, and it was eagerly defended by Francis Blackburne, rector of Richmond in Yorkshire. Blackburne went much further than the original writer, and by his extreme views so pleased Hutton, Archbishop of York, that he made him Archdeacon of Cleveland. Thus

* Lindsey, '*History of Unitarian Doctrine*,' p. 489.

† See his *Letters to Dr. Birch*, printed in Nichols's '*Literary Anecdotes*,' i. 585, where his trepidation is most amusing.

encouraged,

encouraged, he resolved to organize a determined movement against clerical subscription. He published (in 1766) a book called the 'Confessional,' in which he advocates the view that 'all imposed subscriptions to articles of faith and religious doctrines, conceived in non-scriptural terms and enforced by human authority, are utterly unwarrantable;' and associating with himself some men of like views, they prepared a petition to Parliament for releasing the clergy from all obligations of subscription. The whole of the clergy, and the laymen who had signed the Articles, were canvassed for signatures, but only a total of 250 signatures could be procured, many being those of laymen. No more complete proof than this could be afforded that the clergy as a body were really attached to the Prayer-book, and valued the formularies from which the Archdeacons sought to release them. Several of the bishops gave a feeble support to the movement, but the heart of the presbyters was sound. Mr. Abbey, in his long and somewhat rambling essay on the Latitudinarians, seems inclined to excuse the movement, but it was very differently spoken of when the petition was presented in the House of Commons:—

'These gentlemen,' said Edmund Burke, 'want to be preferred clergymen in the Church of England as by law established, but their consciences will not allow them to conform to the doctrines and practices of that Church, that is, they want to be teachers in a Church to which they don't belong. This is an odd sort of hardship. They want to receive the emoluments appropriated for teaching one set of doctrines, while they are teaching another. If they do not like the establishment, there are an hundred different modes of dissent in which they may teach. But even if they are so unfortunately circumstanced that of all that variety none will please them, they have free liberty to assemble a congregation of their own, and if any persons think their fancies worth paying for, they are at liberty to maintain them as their clergy—nothing hinders it. But if they cannot get an hundred people together who will pay for their reading a Liturgy after their form, with what face can they insist on the nation's conforming to their ideas, for no other visible purpose than for enabling them to receive with a good conscience the tenth part of your lands?'—'Parliamentary History,' xvii. 245–297.

The petition was rejected by a large majority, much to the satisfaction, no doubt, both of the High Churchmen and of the 'serious' clergy, or Evangelicals, who were as much opposed to the movement as any of their brethren. The failure of the anti-subscription movement caused some of the clergy, who were unorthodox in their views on the doctrine of the Trinity, to qu

* 'English Church,' i. 440.

the Church, which was a decided gain and increase of strength to the cause of religion in the land. For these men had been occupying an untenable position, misleading and perplexing their congregations, and ministering with uneasy consciences. Freed from the trammels which had oppressed them, they would be able to work with honesty and earnestness in upholding what they thought to be the truth. Thus the effect of the anti-subscription movement was to make the clergy as a body more orthodox, and more attached to the Prayer-book.

In a pleasant gossiping Essay on 'Church Abuses,' Mr. Overton offers some kindly, if not very vigorous, protests against the indiscriminating abuse which has been heaped on the clergy of the eighteenth century. His words may help us not only to answer the charges which have been made, but also to account for the fact of their having been made. 'There was a strong and growing tendency,' he writes, 'in the Georgian era to make the very worst of clerical delinquencies. For it is a curious fact that, while the Church as an establishment was most popular, her ministers were most unpopular.*' We think that this fact is a strong testimony in favour of the clergy. The age, without doubt, was a grossly immoral one. Had the clergy been as bad as the laity, they would not have been unpopular, but the reverse. The very fact of their giving countenance to the irregularities of the laity, by sharing in them, would have made them popular. When, therefore, we are assured that 'there had never been a time when the ministers of religion were held in so much contempt as in the Hanoverian period, or when satire on Churchmen was so congenial to the general feeling,'† we put this down to the credit of the clergy—'*malis displicere laudari est.*' To be scoffed at by such writers as Lord Hervey, Lord Chesterfield, and Horace Walpole, is no discredit. But it is a remarkable fact that, though the clergy of this period were so unpopular, and though all the wits exercised their ingenuity in holding them up to ridicule, 'we find singularly few charges of gross immorality brought against them. Excessive love of preferment, and culpable inactivity in performing the duties of their office, are the worst accusations that are brought against them.‡'

It would be absurd to contend that the clergy of the eighteenth century had the energy, activity, and general earnestness, of those of to-day. But their age was not suited for it. What good could be done, must be done quietly, unostentatiously.

* 'English Church,' ii. 20.

† Mr. Patteson in 'Essays and Reviews,' quoted in 'English Church,' ii. 20.

‡ 'English Church,' ii. 46.

There was no machinery for producing great and striking results, no religious papers, no great organizations, no missions. The parish priest had to trust to his own unaided labours. Neglected by his bishops, despised by the great and rich, miserably underpaid, with but few comforts in life, he yet might often be found leading a laborious life among his people, striving both by precept and example to raise them somewhat above the low tone of the prevailing immorality. But, it may be said, how can this estimate of the clergy of that day be reconciled with the attitude which they took towards the Methodists, and the sturdy and violent opposition with which, in many cases, they met the work of the Wesleys and Whitefield? Were not the Wesleyans thrust out of the Church because they were too spiritual-minded, too earnest, for the low standard then prevailing among the clergy? We answer that there was no thrusting out of the Wesleyans by the Church. The whole thing is a dream. The simple truth is, that John Wesley commenced a system which, after a time, led of necessity, and by the natural laws of growth and expansion, to a separation from the Church. This was soon perceived by all those who were principally concerned in leading the movement. The Wesleys were at first assisted by many of the clergy. These men went with John Wesley as far as they lawfully could, and then they drew back. They were able to accept the Methodist view of doctrine, that conversion is to be tested by inward assurance; and of discipline, that bishops were to be obeyed by them only when their consciences agreed to their order; but when it came to the administration of the Holy Communion by the lay preachers, they could go no further. There can scarcely be a doubt that, had it not been for his affection to his brother, Charles Wesley would have quitted the movement at this point.* Mr. Grimshaw, a clergyman who had acted much with the Wesleys, did, in fact, withdraw, declaring that 'the Methodists are no longer members of the Church of England. They are as real a body of Dissenters from her as the Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, or any body of Independents.'† But though strongly appealed to on this vital matter, John Wesley made no sign. He did not approve the practice of laymen administering the Holy Communion, but he would not hinder it, which, with the autocratic power which he possessed, he might easily have done. By permitting this schismatical practice, and by the no less schismatical act of consecrating

* See Tyerman's 'Life of Wesley,' ii. 382.

† Tyerman's 'Life of Wesley,' quoted—'Student's English Church History,' p. 591.

bishops for America, John Wesley did, in fact, separate from the Church of his own will, and was in no sense driven out.* From henceforth the clergy could not properly sanction the Methodists, nor allow Mr. Wesley the use of their pulpits. Sober ministers of the Church of England also could not but be offended at the wild subjectivity of the views of the Methodists, and the hysterical paroxysms which were often witnessed at their services.

But (it is contended) John Wesley remained a High Churchman to the end of his days. There are indeed abundance of well-known utterances of his in favour of the Church; but when we come to contrast these with his acts, we shall find somewhat of discordance. For instance, when told by the Bishop of Bristol that he had no licence to preach in his diocese, he quietly informed the Bishop that he should preach where he thought it best to preach.† When James Harvey remonstrated with him on his irregularities as being opposed to Catholic principles, he answered, 'If by Catholic principles you mean any other than Scriptural, they weigh nothing with me.'‡ The following represents his view of schism: 'These steps—not of choice, but of necessity—I have slowly and deliberately taken. If any one is pleased to call this separating from the Church, he may. But *the law of England does not call it so*, nor can any one be properly said to do so, unless out of conscience he refuses to join in the service and partake of the Sacraments administered therein.'§ So, then, no amount of schismatical acts was to be regarded as constituting schism, unless the doer of the acts chose to regard himself as a schismatic. We can easily understand that a clergyman of real Church principles would find it hard to act with the Methodists; but as to the leaders of Methodism being driven out of the Church, the assertion is altogether preposterous. With regard to the controversial persecution, Bishops Gibson, Lavington, and Warburton, and Dr. Waterland, only did their bounden duty in defending the Catholic doctrine from the mistaken subjectivity of the Revivalists; and in the later controversy with the Evangelicals, the Wesleyans and Arminian School were quite able to hold their own. There is no trace of any harsh treatment of the Wesleys by the Bishops. Bishop Horne of Norwich, as has been already stated, told his clergy to admit them to their churches. Bishop Lowth seems to have flattered John Wesley

* 'When John Wesley ordained Coke and Asbury to be "superintendents," and Whatecoat and Vasey to be elders, he to all intents and purposes crossed the Rubicon.'—*English Church*, ii. 83.

† Tyerman, i. 245.

‡ *English Church*, ii. 76.

§ *Ibid.* ii. 83.
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somewhat inordinately. The Bishop of Exeter entertained him at dinner. Archbishop Potter was 'very affectionate to him.'* Indeed, the fault of the Church seems to have been on the opposite side to that on which it is usually blamed. It ought to have taken a firm and united stand against the eccentricities of the Methodists. But the abeyance of Convocation rendered this impossible. Meantime the clergy had to stand by powerless, and see the utmost confusion introduced into their parishes, the parochial system utterly ignored, and even in those parishes where it was acknowledged that the 'Gospel' was most fully preached, the Chapel set up as a rival to the Church.† It was natural that they should feel some annoyance at this; and though the Wesleys never spoke bitterly of the clergy, yet the railings of George Whitefield were notorious, and sufficiently exasperating. The clergy also would be apt to consider that there was, after all, nothing so very wonderful in the results of the labours of the Methodists, inasmuch as they kept up a continual excitement, and by rapidly shifting from one place to another, provided novelty both for the hearers and the preachers. John Wesley himself had never had the charge of a parish, and he utterly undervalued parochial work.

'He was of opinion—surely a most erroneous opinion—that if he were confined to one spot he should preach himself and his whole congregation asleep in a twelvemonth. He never estimated at its proper value the real solid work which others were doing in their respective parishes. He bitterly regretted that Fletcher would persist in wasting his sweetness on the desert air of Madeley. He had little faith in the permanency of the good which the Apostolic Walker was doing at Truro. Much as he esteemed Venn of Huddersfield, he could not be content to leave the parish in his hands. He expressed himself very strongly to Adams of Winteringham on the futility of his work in his parish. He utterly rejected Walker's advice, that he should induce some of his itinerant preachers to be ordained, and to settle in country parishes. He thought that this would not only narrow their sphere of usefulness, but also cripple their energies even in their contracted sphere.'—'English Church,' ii. 75.

It might be thought, not unnaturally, by the clergy, that a system which required all this novelty and sensationalism was hardly based upon a very sure foundation, and that the results of it, though numerically striking, might often be spurious and transitory. Hence they might not feel themselves powerfully

* 'English Church,' ii. 9, note.

† This was the case at Huddersfield, where Mr. Venn was 'loved, esteemed and constantly attended' by the Methodists.

moved by the numbers of 'conversions' reported to them, but, judging that the prevailing excitement would account for a good deal, they might determine to wait for the ultimate results. Somewhat may therefore be said in excuse of the attitude of the clergy towards the Wesleyans, though no doubt some things were done which were not excusable. The Church, indeed, owes much to the Revivalists, but that could not be seen so clearly by the men of that generation as it can be now. We must endeavour, in judging of this matter, to put ourselves in the place of the parish priest of the eighteenth century—one who had been carefully building up through a long life sober practical religion among his people, but who suddenly finds his parish invaded, his church emptied, and himself despised; and hears fanatical ravings and hysterical convulsions quoted as marks of the Spirit's presence—before we can be in a position to arbitrate aright. We are used to these things now, and the phenomenon of Church and Chapel going on amicably side by side may be seen in every village; but then it was new and strange. To doctrinal dissent and systematic schism the clergy had of course been long accustomed, but here was a new development. Here was a profession of complete doctrinal agreement, and a disclaiming of schism, and yet all the effects of most complete antagonism produced. Surely there was something to excuse, though not to justify, bitterness and roughness.

To a considerable number of the clergy the teaching of Whitefield was much more acceptable than that of the Wesleys. The Calvinism of the Puritans was still the favoured creed of many, and these were greatly scandalized by the 'full and free salvation' on which John Wesley delighted to dwell. Whitefield adopted the Calvinistic views, and on this ground a practical separation took place between him and the Wesleys. In the earlier days of the Wesleyan movement there had been much uncertainty in their teaching as to the place to be occupied by good works, but when after the Conference of 1771 a Declaration as to their *necessity* was published by the Methodists, all the Calvinistical clergy were at once set against them. Of these, some co-operated with the irregular proceedings of Whitefield and his patroness, Lady Huntingdon. Some held aloof from their ministrations as judging them illegal, but none of them attacked Whitefield with the fierce and truculent onslaughts which were made by Mr. Toplady and Rowland Hill upon the Wesleyans. Singularly enough, the opposition to Whitefield came from the side of the Dissenters, and one of his chief opponents was Dr. Watts. Towards the close of the century the school of clergy who favoured the theology of Whitefield had

increased to a very considerable extent, and had gained for themselves the name of the Evangelicals. We need only mention the well-known names of the Venns, Newton, Knight, Cecil, Simeon, Scott, Unwin, Shirley, Robinson, Romaine. These divines, being given to public demonstrations and frequent preaching, and being ready to show by divers outward peculiarities the zeal which unquestionably animated them, attracted general attention, and are usually regarded as the best representatives of the Church of England of their day, and as being the salt which saved the mass from corruption. With this view we are not disposed altogether to agree. We believe that there were many clergy in the Church of England at the close of the century less known and regarded than these good men, who were much better representatives than they were of the true Church of England type—men, many of whom ‘have left no memorial,’ but to whose fostering care and preservation of ancient traditions we owe the vigorous Churchmanship of the present day.

And if the clergy of the eighteenth century are not to be condemned so hastily, as is sometimes done, for lack of religious earnestness, it would be still more rash and reprehensible to condemn them for lack of learning. We must, of course, make allowance for the special situation in which the Church of England found itself at the beginning of the century.

There can be no question that it suffered an immense loss by the secession of the nonjurors, and that in divers ways. The seceding clergy took with them not only much of the devotion and earnestness, but also very much of the learning of the English Church. And the learning, which by their departure they made useless to the Church of England, was of that special character which a Church peculiarly needs. It was ecclesiastical and patristic learning—a knowledge of and familiar acquaintance with Fathers, Liturgies, and primitive usage and thought. This in a great measure was lost to the English Church by the cession of such men as Hicks and Kettlewell, Leslie and Dodwell, Collier and Brett. These divines were the legitimate successors of Andrewes and Hammond, Mede and Taylor, but they themselves left no successors in the Church of England. A new school of Theologians came to the front. The ancient faith of the Church was assailed, not by outsiders or unbelievers, but by divines in full communion with her. Clarke and Jackson, Whitby and Sykes, attacked with more or less skill and success the doctrine of the Trinity, the Athanasian Creed, subscription to the Articles, the doctrine of the Eucharist. The Bangorian controversy seemed to have

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set a host of pens in motion, and the perfect freedom allowed to all after the Hanoverian Succession seemed at once to bring forth from her own bowels an array of enemies to the system of the Church. These men wrote vigorously and well. There was no lack of talent or learning. But they wrote in altogether a different spirit, and from a different point of view, from that of the older divines of the Church of England. They had no special regard for antiquity. They quoted the Fathers argumentatively, but not with reverence or respect for their authority. They reasoned from the nature of things, and would have everything subjected to logical proof. They were met on their own ground, with their own weapons, in their own manner, by one who has earned for himself the lasting gratitude of the Church of England—Daniel Waterland. Waterland argued and wrote against Arians, Latitudinarians, and Sacramentalists, and with equal success in all subjects. His greatest works were on the doctrine of the Trinity, but there was not one of his works which was not timely and useful. His works do not, any more than those of his opponents, bear the character of our earlier English theology, but they were probably far more valuable in their day than Hammond, Andrewes, or Mede, would have been. They are less massive, less imaginative, but more strictly to the point.

‘Not only from his profound learning and acuteness, but from the general cast of his mind, Waterland was singularly adapted for the work which he undertook. He always knew exactly what he meant, and he also knew how to convey his meaning to his readers. His style was nervous and lucid, and he never sacrifices clearness to the graces of diction. No one can ever complain that Waterland is obscure.’—*‘English Church,’* i. 507.

Considered strictly as a controversialist, Waterland has no equal among the divines of the Church of England. To the eighteenth century must be conceded this honour of having raised up the most able and dexterous defender of the faith that our Church has known. Waterland’s work was directed against writers within the Church, or at any rate within the pale of Christianity; but another and perhaps a more dangerous class of assailants had to be met—the Deistical writers—with whom arguments drawn from Scripture and Fathers would have no weight. To this controversy two divines of the English Church made monumental contributions. Bishop Butler put forth the most elaborate and unanswerable *argumentum ad verendum* which has perhaps ever appeared. Bishop Warburton constructed and worked out with immense learning a huge *re-*
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ductio ad absurdum. Neither of these great writers has had successors. The complete demonstration made by Butler, that precisely the same difficulties are to be found in nature as are to be found in revelation, left that part of the argument against Deism complete as far as it goes; and no one has ventured to follow Warburton over the somewhat perilous ground of the absurdity of supposing that the Israelites were governed merely by human sanctions and human laws. Butler and Warburton stand apart, as it were, in this controversy, through the special character of their subjects, and their peculiar method of treatment; but of treatises against the Deists the literature of the eighteenth century is full, from the sparkling dialogue of Bishop Berkeley, to the heavy good sense of Leland. It cannot be alleged against the English Church of this period, that it was backward or deficient in providing champions for the faith when assault and battery was suddenly opened upon it from this new ground.

In two departments of theology a vast advance has been made in modern times, those, namely, of Textual Criticism and Exegesis of the Scriptures. The earliest cultivator of the first of these two important fields of study was Richard Bentley, the greatest word-critic that has ever been known in this country. In the latter subject it must be confessed that the eighteenth century can furnish no distinguished luminary. We can hardly claim so high a place for the learning of Dr. Whitby or the devout lucubrations of Adam Clarke and Thomas Scott. But it must be remembered that the conditions under which these men wrote were altogether different from those which belong to writers of the present day. They were hampered by the hopeless dogma of verbal inspiration. Under these circumstances critical exegesis was scarcely possible. The commentator either evaded the crux altogether, or shrouded his weakness in a cloud of words. This difficulty did not hamper so much another method of Christian exegesis, namely, that of sermons. Here there was freedom in the selection of subjects, and no need to enter upon unnecessary difficulties. The very mention of eighteenth-century sermons is apt to cause a shudder in a reader of to-day. Even they were very differently regarded in their own time. We are inclined to doubt Mr. Abbey's assertion, that 'at the opening of the eighteenth century the pulpit was no longer the power it had been in past days.'* It is true that the style of sermons had changed. They were no longer the discursive, imaginative and somewhat overloaded discourses of the Caroline era. The

* 'English Church,' ii. 490.

immense influence and popularity of Tillotson had sufficed to revolutionize sermon-writing, and to form a new standard of criticism for sermons. Atterbury and the High Churchmen, while eschewing Tillotson's dangerous principles, nevertheless formed their discourses on his model. The discourses were suited to the age, and were highly appreciated. A writer in the 'Tatler,' speaking of Atterbury, says of him that 'he adds to the propriety of speech which might pass the criticism of Longinus, an action which would have been approved by Demosthenes. He never attempts your passions till he has convinced your reason. All the objections which he can form are laid open and dispersed before he uses the least vehemence in his sermon; but when he thinks he has your head, he very soon wins your heart.'* From the days of Tillotson to the days of the Calvinistic Evangelicals was the era of 'rational' discourses. The subject was argued out: appeals were made to the reasoning faculty. This was the popular sort of theology and the taste of the age. Sermons such as Sherlock's and Blair's, and Horne's and Horsley's, were enjoyed as an intellectual treat. It is unfair to judge them by the standard of to-day. Sermons must needs be adapted to the tone of thought, feeling, and sentiment, of their time. The age was unsentimental, prosaic, and rational. The sermons followed suit. 'It was some credit to the age,' writes Mr. Abbey, 'that the preaching which it chiefly valued should have been of a sort whose characteristic excellence was that it ever sought in plain unaffected language to commend the Christian faith to the sober reasoning of thinking people.'† But if the sermons of the eighteenth century are undervalued in the present day, the same can hardly be said of the essayists. It is pretty generally admitted that the art of putting obvious truths into a neat and telling form, so as to be read and remembered by the masses, has never flourished in such perfection as in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. As Swift, the most pungent of the essay writers, was also a divine, the Church may claim some share in the reputation which this class of writers has acquired. Mr. Overton very properly defends Swift from the charge of irreligion.‡ We may go farther than this, and say that no man did in his day better service in upholding religion against the scoffer and the infidel. His inimitable irony was exactly suited to take effect upon a class of minds which would have been perfectly callous to exhortation or moving appeal. It is superfluous to say that Swift has had no successor. Never since his time has English prose, rich in all the

* 'Tatler,' No. 66.

† 'English Church,' ii. 492.

‡ Ibid. i. 451.

beauties

beauties of style, been made the instrument for discharging such barbed shafts of wit and sarcasm. As the century advances, literature becomes more prosaic. More and more is it borne in upon the mind, that the great defect of this period is the lack of imagination. The poets are satirists, and occupied with the affairs of daily life. There is no lack of learned divines such, in addition to those already named, were Bingham, Wall, Prideaux, Balguy, and a host of others. There is no lack of devout men: such as were William Law, Thomas Wilson, Samuel Wesley. But there is a grievous lack of men who can give the poetical element to religion, embody it in striking and attractive prose, or still more attractive verse. There are no sacred poets. Addison, perhaps, comes the nearest to being one, but there is a lack of warmth in his well-known hymn. In Pope's handling of religious subjects 'there is no depth of feeling; no grandeur of sentiment; no imaginative power.' Thomson's popular poem has, however, more of the religious spirit in it. What tortures were inflicted upon the Psalms of David it is needless to mention.† What Swift writes of one of these torturers may be applied to all:—

'Poor David never could acquit
A criminal like thee.
Against his Psalms who could commit
Such wicked poetry.' ‡

At length the utter unsuitableness of the Psalms for English metrical rendering set the hymn-writers in motion, and it must be confessed that many very beautiful hymns were produced in that unimaginative time. Among the multitude of collections of these lyrics which our day has seen and welcomed, the verses of Watts and Doddridge, of C. Wesley and Toplady, of Newton and Cowper, still hold their place, and, it may be added, are not overshadowed by any more recent effusions.

No sketch of the religion of the Church of England during the eighteenth century would be at all complete, without some account of the Church observances and Church services of the day. A chapter on these subjects is given us in the volume under consideration, and contains much interesting information. As to the fabrics of the churches, but little care was shown for their preservation and adornment, and but little reverence was felt for the sacredness of the building and its separation from profane uses. But we must be careful, in all fairness, not

* 'English Church,' ii. 263.

† It is said that sixty-five versions of them in poetry were made in the eighteenth century.

‡ Swift's 'Remarks on Gibbs's Psalms.'

blame the age too severely for this. This state of things was not peculiar to that age. Indeed, matters were far worse in this respect in the Middle Ages. Then it was customary to hold law-courts, fairs, and markets, in churches—to eat, drink, and sleep in them—to act plays and interludes within their walls, and to allow in them church-ales and drinking bouts. It is probable that the custom of setting up pews in churches was due originally to the common and unseemly uses to which the naves of churches were put. The system of enclosed boxes soon became the established rule, and not only spoilt the architectural effect of the building, but, by isolating the congregation into a number of little family parties, destroyed the notion of united worship, and of any hearty joining in the responses and psalmody. Under this system the Church of the eighteenth century suffered heavily.

The horrible taste in decoration prevalent in the Georgian era—the doves, the cherubs, the huge eyes, the painted curtains, the gaudy altar-pieces—seem to us in the present day enough to have made their churches insufferable. But it should be remembered that it was not so to the men and women of that day. The decoration displayed in churches was all of a piece with that which was to be seen in houses, in dress, in equipages, in liveries, in uniforms. It was all heavy, massive, and ugly together. But it was the deliberate taste of the age, and perhaps not so very much inferior to the neat uniformity of the compo-Gothic church of the beginning of this century. But however ugly the eighteenth-century churches were, it is certain that they were used, at least in the earlier part of the century, with much zeal. The author of the '*Defence of the Church and Clergy of England*' (1709) says: 'It is a great ease and comfort to good Christians within the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs of them, that in most churches there be constant prayers morning and evening.' He adds that in country places prayers were ordinarily said on Wednesdays and Fridays. The author of '*Pietas Londinensis*' tells us that many churches had, besides the daily service, weekly communion and preparation lectures. There was a good deal of ritual observance, such as would have delighted St. Alban's or Margaret Street. 'Some would not go to their seats in church till they had kneeled and prayed at the rails of the communion table; they would not be content to receive the sacrament there kneeling, but with prostration and striking of the breast and kissing of the ground, as if there were an host to be adored.'*

* Kennett's '*Life*,' p. 127.

There were services at five or six o'clock in the morning, which might sometimes be seen as many as five hundred attendants. Those who were influenced by Mr. Law's teaching in his 'Serious Call' (and they were a very large number) would be especially observant of the external duties of religion. His model character, Miranda, has her scheme of devotion regularly marked out that 'she does not know what it is to have a dull half day.'* The record of his own life at King's Cliffe with that of the two good ladies who lived under his direction may serve to show what was the ideal of religious life in the eighteenth century. There was the rising at five in the morning, the long family devotions morning and evening, the attendance at the Church service, the systematic mapping out of time for good works. 'Law had described in the "Serious Call" the sort of life a Christian, in his opinion, ought to live; and that life he strove to live himself to the very letter.'† It may fairly be said that religion in the eighteenth century was more full of outward observance than it is to-day.

It must have been a rude shock to many a devout soul when William Law, the great prophet of this observant religion, glided into mysticism, the very essence of which is to undervalue the external and the visible. Mr. Overton gives us a chapter to explain mysticism. We cannot say that he is very successful. The impression left upon our minds is that mysticism is any nonsense that a man calling himself a mystic chooses to talk or write, and certainly William Law as a mystic contrived to write and talk the wildest nonsense. John Wesley, who had broken from the Moravians on the ground of their mysticism, felt himself called upon to oppose his instructor on the same ground, and there were some very sharp passages between the two. Wesley wrote a pamphlet against Law, which the friends of the latter thought 'unchristian' and 'wicked,' and Law described the attack as 'a juvenile composition of emptiness and pertness, below the character of any man who had been serious in religion but half a month.'‡ And as Law's mysticism was distasteful to the Wesleys, so was it also to the Calvinistic Evangelicals, for Law was ever, even in his wildest utterances, a strong anti-Calvinist. Had this good man continued to write in the style and on the principles of the 'Serious Call,' the effect which his earlier writings had produced might have continued far into the century. His later utterances, however, breathed only a hopeless melancholy and an utter despair of human nature. In his 'Address to the Clergy' he

* Law's 'Life,' p. 103.

† Law's 'Life,' p. 232.

‡ Ibid. p. 383.

says: 'All that can be called your own is mere helpless sin and misery, and nothing that is good can come from you, but as it is done by the continual and immediate breathing and inspiration of another Spirit, given by God to overrule your own, to save and deliver you from all your own goodness, wisdom, and learning, which always were and always will be as corrupt and impure, as earthly and sensual, as your own flesh and blood.'* This sad utterance was about coincident in point of time with Bishop Butler's noble sermons on Human Nature, but it is to be feared that the antidote was not known so widely as the mischief which it might have cured. Law in his mysticism had a certain amount of followers both among clergy and laity. And thus a new antagonism was raised up to genuine Church of England religion from a quarter where it might have found its best support. Between the mysticism which despised all externals—the Wesleyanism which relied upon feelings and trances and dreams—the Evangelicals who disparaged good works—it was hard indeed for the principles of Herbert and Hammond, of Ken and Wilson, to find a congenial home; and it is scarcely to be wondered at, that comparatively little of true spiritual Churchmanship is to be met with in the later part of the century. But this was not extinct, nor indeed nearly so scarce as some would have us believe. The subjectivity of the Evangelicals had its day, but the sacramental doctrine of the Church was still cherished and taught by many a genuine son of the Church of England, until the great Oxford movement fifty years ago gave it a new expression, and stirred it up to the obtaining of more widely felt results.

* Law's 'Works,' ix. 17.

- ART III.—1. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 1883. Vol. II.
Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, April 5th, 1883.
 2. *The Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the financial years 1862-3 to 1882-3.*

A PART from the controversial matters which Mr. Childers chose to import into it, the Budget of last year was common place in the extreme. We have no intention of following the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his endeavours to throw upon his predecessors the responsibility of a large part of what is called the extraordinary expenditure of the year. The common sense of those, who have troubled themselves to study the questions at issue, has already pronounced upon them. Nor is it our intention to discuss the financial policy of the present or the late Government: our object is a much wider, and, we venture to think, a more important one. We would only remark, in passing, that nothing could be less candid or less reasonable than the attempt to hold Lord Beaconsfield's Government responsible either for the Egyptian or even for the South African war. The annexation of the Transvaal, the Joint Protectorate of Egypt, originated with the late Government; but had that Government remained in power, the Boers would never have revolted, and Arabi would never have dreamed of defying the power of England in the hands of Ministers who they well knew were ready to maintain her honour and defend her interests. We are concerned, however, with this part of the expenditure only in its character as exceptional or extraordinary. Unhappily, if extraordinary in a technical, it is by no means exceptional in a practical sense. Wars like those in South Africa and Egypt may fairly be treated as extraordinary in their relation to the finance of a particular year, but wars of this kind—our so-called little wars—occur so frequently, are so necessary and inevitable an incident of our vast empire, that they must be considered as a regular and unavoidable part of our average financial burdens; and thus the ordinary and the average expenditure are unfortunately two very different matters. The total expenditure of last year was almost exactly 89 millions. For purposes of comparison we ought to deduct, first, the extraordinary war expenditure, and, secondly, the cost of the Post-office. The latter forms no part either of the taxation or of the proper expenditure of the country. The Post-office, including the Telegraphs, is not properly a part of the necessary service of the State, but a business of enormous extent and very complicated character, carried on by the Government at a very large

large profit. The profit alone properly enters into the financial accounts of the year. The practice of including the whole expenditure and receipts, however constitutional, introduces a misleading element into the national accounts, and especially into financial comparisons extending over several years. It is, however, very easy to separate both these elements from the accounts of the year. The result leaves a real 'ordinary' expenditure of about 80 millions. Bearing in mind, as we have already observed, that the extraordinary expenditure is not exceptional, but recurrent, that upon an average of years a considerable sum must be added to the ordinary expenditure on account of our little wars, 80 millions is the total expenditure of the year 1882-3 for purposes of historical and financial comparison.

For such purposes it is not worth while, and would be inconvenient, to carry our retrospect further back than the last twenty years. The year 1862 may be considered as the practical commencement of a new financial era. The financial history of the period preceding the Crimean War is for present purposes 'an old almanac.' The fiscal system of the twenty years preceding 1862 was in a state of flux, if not of revolution. Those twenty years witnessed the introduction and completion of the great fiscal change from Protection to Free-trade. Mr. Gladstone's second financial administration completed the revolution commenced in the last administration of Sir Robert Peel. In 1862 Mr. Gladstone had fulfilled his master's work by the arrangements connected with the French Treaty and the abolition of the so-called taxes upon knowledge. There remained no tax essentially distinct in character from those which have since that time filled the national Exchequer, for the taxes on sugar and corn were strictly analogous to those that are still imposed on tea and coffee. The years immediately preceding 1862 had witnessed a revolution in expenditure almost as great as that which had taken place in our system of taxation. The Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny had impressed upon the nation at large, even more deeply than upon its leading statesmen, the paramount necessity of providing in a new fashion and on a new scale for the defence of the country. Lord Palmerston, who gave the tone to the policy of that time, was the first English Minister to discern the change that had come over the temper of the people. He saw that parsimony had ceased to be a paramount popular object, that efficiency rather than economy, administrative reform rather than retrenchment, were the dominant ideas of the day; that the maintenance of our maritime supremacy, and an effective provision for the military necessities of

of the empire, were of more account in popular estimation than the remission of taxes or the limitation of expenditure. He thought that the country was not only wealthy, but conscious of its wealth; and that, without increasing the burdens of the people, the revenue would steadily increase at a rate sufficient to meet the new scale of expenditure, provided only that the available resources of the Exchequer were not rashly or needlessly thrown away. He acted upon this knowledge, and since his accession to the Premiership a new standard of efficiency, a new national outlay, a preference of efficiency to parsimony, contrary to the temper that had prevailed from 1832 to 1862, have governed the policy of successive administrations and the conduct of successive Parliaments. The year 1862, then, is the first which can fairly be compared with the present; the principles which both the present principles of expenditure and the present system of revenue were in force together.

The total expenditure of 1862-3 was 70½ millions, of which a sum of one million was devoted to fortifications paid for by a vote of short period. The expenditure of the Post-office was then included in the national accounts, and, striking this out, the increase of ordinary expenditure in the last twenty years amounted to something more than 10 millions sterling. No part of this great increase is due to the defensive services of the country. The Army and Navy cost in 1862-3, 27½ millions; last year, excluding the extraordinary expenditure, as estimated by Mr. Childers, their cost fell short of 26 millions. The enormous increase of expenditure is due principally to two great changes. In 1862-3 the charges on the Consolidated Fund amounted to 28 millions, they now exceed 31 millions—an increase due to the recent policy of paying off a portion of the National Debt by means of terminable annuities. Certain terminable annuities having fallen in in the interval, the sum devoted to the reduction of debt is larger than appears upon the face of the account. The Civil Service estimates again were in 1862-3 8 millions; they now exceed 17¼ millions.

To the first of these additions to our expenditure comparatively few politicians will object. A very great change has taken place over public opinion on the subject of the debt during the last ten or twelve years. To the last generation it seemed inadvisable inasmuch as the national wealth was steadily and rapidly increasing, the debt could be no cause of anxiety to ourselves or trouble to our posterity. If the country could in 1815 endure a burden of about 900 millions, that burden in 1915 would scarcely be worth consideration. In spite of the constant reduction of taxation, the revenue was steadily increasing, and was

same time a constantly decreasing proportion of the national wealth. Not merely to men like Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, disposed by temper and by their own special political interests to exaggerate the practical burden of taxation, but to such statesmen as Sir Robert Peel, the weight of the taxes, which yielded little more than 50 millions, had appeared in 1840 a serious load upon the income of the country. To Lord Palmerston and his contemporaries, twenty years later, a much larger revenue seemed to flow in almost insensibly, without necessitating a single tax that really interfered with trade or was practically felt by the mass of the people. Of national imposts, the income-tax alone was consciously and severely felt by those who paid it, and of late years the income-tax has undergone repeated and, on the whole, permanent reductions. The interest of the debt, which in 1842 constituted more than one-half the whole fiscal burden of the country, would now be, if it had not been increased for the advantage of future generations, somewhat less than one-third of the national expenditure. Yet before the great depression of trade in 1874, before the serious depletions of revenue we shall presently have to consider, the reduction of the debt had been taken in hand in earnest; even while the revenue was still increasing by 'leaps and bounds,' and while the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and apparently Mr. Gladstone himself, believed that that increase would be permanent. So great a change in the tone of public opinion, under circumstances which with scarcely a single exception tended in an opposite direction, is a somewhat strange historical phenomenon, and is probably due rather to the influence of individual statesmen—especially to the fact that the ablest financiers of both parties happened to agree upon the point—than to any spontaneous change of popular feeling. It is true that many able writers had, even twenty years ago, begun to take an unfavourable view of the financial future of England. They argued that we were exhausting our coal and iron, upon our practical monopoly of which our manufacturing supremacy depended. They pointed out that foreign countries were rivaling us in this or that branch of industry hitherto our own, and that the United States were beginning to realize the value of their extensive and apparently illimitable coal and iron fields, which, as soon as the growth of population should render them practically available, must give our most formidable rivals an irresistible and constantly increasing advantage. But such views, however sound, however logical, were in outward semblance at least too pessimist to make a deep or speedy impression upon the country at large at a time of great and increasing prosperity. They

They probably affected men like Mr. Gladstone and Sir Stafford Northcote infinitely more than ordinary merchants or manufacturers. No doubt the example of the United States, which had no sooner emerged from the costliest of all wars than they proceeded to reduce by the heaviest of all existing taxations a debt without historical parallel, exercised no little influence over the popular imagination of England. Still the national determination to reduce the debt was hardly spontaneous. The credit of initiating the reduction belongs to the two statesmen we have named, and the economists whose views they adopted; the public, with unusual good sense and patience, allowed itself to be governed by the advice of those it was accustomed to trust, without sharing their view of remote and questionable perils.

The enormous addition to the cost of the Civil Service—in other words, to the expense of the ordinary administration—has not been similarly the result of a policy deliberately adopted. The estimates have grown from year to year in consequence of administrative and legislative measures, whose financial bearing has hardly been taken into consideration. New functions have been imposed upon the Government; the rapid progress of civilization, the constantly rising standard of national demands and of public expectations, measures like the extension of the Factory Acts to all industries in which women and children are employed, the tendency to centralization, which requires the State to inspect and superintend so many matters formerly left to local authorities; above all, the increased requirements resulting from the Education Act of 1870, and the previous and subsequent developments of our educational policy, have year by year added to the cost of civil government, and have finally doubled it in the course of twenty years; while the naval and military expenditure remains practically unaltered in amount. Education, science, and art, absorb $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or nearly half the total increase. The mere growth of our population must of course enhance the cost of civil administration, and in the last twenty years that population has increased by 20 per cent. At the same time the total 'ordinary' expenditure—unhappily a different thing from the average annual expenditure—has only increased by 14 per cent., while the actual expenditure of 1882-3, a year of exceptionally heavy charges, is but 27 per cent. more than that of 1862-3. Of this, at any rate, there can be no doubt, that the 89, or more properly 85, millions of 1883 are not a heavier burden upon the wealth of England than the 70 millions of twenty years back.

A more important, perhaps, certainly a more interesting phenomenon, both from an historical and a prospective point of view,

view, than the growth of the total revenue, is the distribution of taxation at present, as compared with its adjustment twenty years ago. The following table shows in what proportion the main branches of revenue contributed to the total in the three last and in the two first years of the period in question:—

	1862-63.	1863-64.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.
	£	£	£	£	£
Customs	24,034,000	23,232,000	19,184,000	19,287,000	19,657,000
Excise	17,155,000	18,207,000	25,300,000	27,240,000	26,930,000
Stamps	8,994,000	9,317,000	11,940,000	12,260,000	11,841,000
Land and House Tax	3,150,000	3,218,000	2,740,000	2,725,000	2,800,000
Income Tax ..	10,567,000	9,084,000	10,650,000	9,945,000	11,900,000
Total	63,900,000	63,058,000	69,814,000	71,457,000	73,128,000
Post Office ..	3,650,000	3,810,000	6,700,000	7,000,000	7,300,000
Telegraphs	1,600,000	1,630,000	1,710,000
Crown Lands ..	300,000	305,000	390,000	380,000	380,000
Interest on Ad- vances and Suez Shares	2,561,000	2,737,000	1,247,712	1,219,262	1,219,000
Miscellaneous ..	193,000	298,000	4,289,576	4,136,019	5,268,000
Total	70,604,000	70,208,000	84,041,288	85,822,281	89,005,000

It is with the first part of each year's revenue alone that we need deal. As already remarked, the Post-office and Telegraphs are simply a lucrative business carried on by the State. The Crown Lands and interest on advances are the returns from State property, and the miscellaneous revenue hardly admits of practical or serviceable comparison. We are concerned, then, only with the revenue raised from taxation, which in 1862-3 was nearly 64 millions, and in the next year 63 millions; in 1880-1 it was very nearly 70 millions, in 1881-2, 71½ millions, and in 1882-3, 73 millions. A comparison of the items shows that in 1863 Customs and Excise contributed 41 millions out of 64 millions; the income-tax yielding 10½ millions, the rest coming from stamps, land, and assessed taxes. In 1883, Customs and Excise yielded 46½ millions, the income-tax nearly 12 millions; stamps, land and assessed taxes, more than 14½ millions. The proportion between direct and indirect taxation is, then, pretty nearly what it was. The effects of the serious financial changes, the large reductions of taxation, made in the interval, are only apparent when we come to compare the two great branches of indirect taxation. Of 41 millions in 1863, the Customs contributed 24 millions, and the Excise 17 millions. In 1883, the Customs yielded a little more than 19½ millions,

19½ millions, the Excise very nearly 27 millions. The loss on Customs represents exclusively reductions of taxation, and chiefly the abolition of the sugar duties. The increase of the Excise mainly represents that natural growth of the revenue with the growing prosperity of the people, which, ten years ago, was thought by Mr. Lowe, and perhaps by sounder and more thoughtful financiers, to be permanent, but which of late has signally failed us. In 1864 (we take this year for comparison, because in 1863 different rates were levied on incomes above and under 150*l.*), a 7*d.* income-tax produced 10½ millions; last year an income-tax of 6½*d.* yielded nearly 12 millions. It is plain, then, that neither as regards direct nor indirect taxes does the increased income of the State represent an increased burden on the wealth of the people. But, while the burden remains certainly no greater, probably less than before, its distribution has been very much altered. With regard to their incidence, our taxes may be distributed under four principal titles: taxes on drink and tobacco, taxes on food (now almost exclusively taxes on groceries), taxes on property, and some smaller items which must be classed as miscellaneous. In 1882, the taxes upon food were levied on chicory, cocoa, coffee, currants, figs, raisins, and tea. The last-named produced very nearly four millions, the rest a little more than 800,000*l.* The total, then, of the taxes on food, levied almost exclusively upon luxuries which have become ordinary comforts, if not necessities, of civilized life, yielded less than five millions. In the same year the drink revenue was as follows:—

	£
Spirits (about)	17,500,000
Wine	1,366,000
Beer	8,500,000
Licences	3,500,000
Total	£30,866,000

the licences being chiefly for the sale of spirits, wine, beer, and tobacco. Tobacco yielded 8,800,000*l.*, making a total from drink and smoke—which may be classed together as partly noxious luxuries, and for the most part questionable indulgences—of 39,666,000*l.* The duties on property were as follows:—

	£
Deeds	2,120,000
Land Tax	1,050,000
House Tax	1,700,000
Income Tax	10,000,000
Death Duties	7,050,000
Totals	£21,920,000

The

The death duties, though a favourite resource with successive Chancellors of the Exchequer, and apparently by no means so unpopular as might have been expected, are open to very serious objection. A tax on capital is, according to all economic theory, especially injurious to the wealth of the country. A tax on the transfer of capital from one hand to another is open to all the objections which may be alleged against taxes on capital in general, and to some others. Nor is it easy to assign a single valid reason for taxing this particular form of transfer. Legacies to strangers may, perhaps, be fairly expected to contribute something to the necessities of the State, though it is difficult to see why a gift from the dead should be taxed, while a gift from one living man to another goes free. But legacies to strangers are comparatively few and trivial; nine-tenths of the wealth bequeathed by will, or transmitted through intestates, goes to near relatives, chiefly wives and children, and a tax on such transmission appears especially hateful. It is alleged, indeed, in defence of such taxes, by economic theorists of a very technical and narrow school, that the right of bequest is a favour bestowed by the State, upon which the State may rightfully impose such conditions as it pleases. According to this theory, capital bequeathed by will is in the same position as a feudal holding transmitted by its original receiver to his heir. Such inheritances were liable to a fine more or less onerous, on the express ground that in its origin the fief was merely personal, that in strictness it should lapse to the Crown upon the death of the first holder; that the succession of the heir was a matter of favour, not of right, and for that favour each heir might reasonably be expected to pay. But the conscience of society rejects all sophisms of this kind. No civilized State asserts any right over the property of the dead, which it did not possess during his lifetime. Nowhere would public opinion tolerate the confiscation of property on the death of the holder. No privilege of ownership is, in the opinion of Christendom at large and of England in particular, more sacred than the right of bequest. National morality and national legislation differ in different countries as regards the indefeasible claim of children; but that the State can honestly and justly take from heirs or devisees what it could not have taken from the original owner, is a proposition against which the common sense of mankind revolts. And if the right of bequest be absolute, in the same sense in which other rights of property are absolute, there appears no sound motive, no plea of justice or policy, for taxing bequest or inheritance rather than gift or sale. On the contrary, there are

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reasons which render this form of taxation exceptionally odious. It falsifies the common plea for an equal income-tax; for it taxes a second time the savings from precarious incomes in the hands of widows and orphans, who are not enriched but impoverished by the death of the testator. The legacy duty in such cases, is a special tax upon the provision made, after hard labour and constant life-long self-denial, for the bereaved families of men who during their lives have earned their livelihood by the sweat of their brow, or the labour of their brain. The fiscal motive is, that these taxes are especially easy of collection, and, being taken for granted by those on whom they fall, falling upon them when they have ready money in hand, how ill they can spare it, provoke comparatively little murmuring or irritation. That they are cheap and easy to levy, that they are levied on those who cannot resist, and whose murmurs, if they are complained, are practically inaudible, is true enough; but this be not a sufficient and satisfactory defence of legacy duty as applied to children or other dependants, we know of no other upon which they can be excused. The death duties, however, are, and are likely to remain, a large and increasing element in our fiscal system; and they yield, as we have seen, three-fourths of the amount derived from the average income-tax of recent years.

Thus in 1882-3, out of a total tax-revenue of 71½ millions, food (groceries) contributed less than 5 millions; drink and tobacco more than 39½ millions (or not far from four-sevenths of the whole); property paid nearly 22 millions (more than two-sevenths); while taxes on trade, such as the stamps on receipts and bills of exchange and the railway duty, yielded from 2½ millions. In 1862-3 the figures stood roughly as follows:

Food—		£	
Tea	5,485,000		
Minor Groceries	950,000		
Sugar	6,400,000		
Corn	971,000		
			13,800,000
Drink and Licenses	20,404,000		
Tobacco	5,775,000		
			26,179,000
Property—			
Income, Land, and Assessed Taxes ..	13,717,000		
Proportion of Stamps	6,750,000		
			20,467,000

out of a total tax-revenue of 64 millions. That is to say

three grand divisions of our taxable resources paid, in the two years compared, the following percentages of the total revenue derived from taxation:—

	1862-3.	1882-3.
Food	21·5	7·0 per cent.
Drink and Smoke ..	40·5	55·0 „
Property	32·0	31·5 „

Thus the contribution of property to the National Exchequer—we shall presently see that this is but a small portion of the total burden it bears—remains nearly the same as it was twenty years ago. The other two elements have undergone a very great and very significant change. We now derive 55 per cent. of our tax-revenue from drink and smoke, and only 7 per cent. from food, whereas twenty years ago food contributed 21·5 per cent., and drink and smoke only 40·5 per cent.

This transfer of so large a burden from food to drink is of the greatest possible importance to the masses of the people. It affects more or less seriously all families of limited means; it affects most of all the wage-receiving class. The taxes on food might in 1862-3 be considered the equivalent of an income-tax on small incomes, and especially on wages. They were, of course, a bad, unequal income-tax, falling most heavily upon the largest families. But all forms of income-tax are in practice more or less unfair and unequal; and a tax on food, though open to this especial objection, is perhaps the only form in which an income-tax can be levied upon the wage-receiving majority, the only manner in which they can be made to contribute to the Exchequer an equivalent for the heavy direct imposts on property. Moreover, even in 1862 the food taxes were so adjusted as to fall less unfairly than might at first be thought. A tax on bread comes nearer to a poll-tax than any other; taxes on sugar, tea, and smaller domestic luxuries, are, in their incidence, upon the lower classes at least, not unlike an income-tax. The consumption of bread is much the same in a family with an income of 15s. and in one with 30s. a week, the consumption of tea and sugar is probably much more nearly proportionate to their relative means. Thus in 1862 the working-classes actually paid a sort of income-tax—a tax which resembled the income-tax in this, that it could not be avoided; and which, if somewhat more unfairly adjusted, was yet much less oppressively felt, as it was paid unconsciously, indirectly, and in infinitesimal driblets. But this charge upon the incomes of the wage-receivers has been practically swept away. The shilling tax on foreign corn was virtually imperceptible; we doubt if it ever raised the price of a single loaf, and probably no equally productive duty

was ever so wantonly and needlessly thrown away. The sugar duty was twenty years ago the one real compulsory burden, which the families of artisans, mechanics, and labourers, paid a considerable share; and it was, as we have said, something very like a rough, indirect, and very light income-tax. With the repeal of these duties, the revenue derived from food, which was in 1862 a little more than one-fifth of the whole tax-revenue has fallen to one-fourteenth.

The loss arising from this repeal, and from some minor modifications of the tariff, has been made up by the great increase in the revenue derived from drink and tobacco. This revenue, twenty years ago, scarcely exceeded 26 millions; it now amounts to more than 39½ millions; in other words, it has increased by 50 per cent., while the population has increased only by 20 per cent. Whatever its moral significance, in its financial aspect this large addition to the national receipts is entirely satisfactory. The enhanced consumption of luxuries which, whether noxious or not in themselves, are certainly consumed in noxious excess, is not a subject of national rejoicing; but the increase of revenue derived from that consumption is in a fiscal point of view altogether beneficial. No part of the revenue is raised so easily, excites so few murmurs, involves so little pressure upon the taxpayer, or rather such a complete absence of sensible pressure. None is from every point of view so totally free from exception. Every other tax is economically mischievous, almost every other tax involves a loss or inconvenience to the subject, heavier than the pecuniary benefit to the Exchequer. In raising the price of food, in taking a portion of a man's income directly out of his pocket, the State is inflicting a certain hardship on individuals for the benefit of the community at large; in raising the price of alcohol, probably in raising the price of tobacco, it confers a positive benefit upon the consumers as a class. It may be said, then, with scarcely any exaggeration, that through these taxes the State obtains more than half its entire income without injury or inconvenience to trade, without depriving the people of any beneficial or harmless indulgence; in one word, *insensibly*: indeed to the individual as well as the collective advantage of the taxpayer, since no one wishes to cheapen spirits and few to cheapen beer, or even tobacco.

It can hardly be doubted that the politics, and especially the finance, of the last twenty years have been materially affected by the fact, that so large a proportion of our revenue is raised in a manner economically unexceptionable and morally advantageous; that nearly 40 millions are paid into the coffers of the

State without reducing the available income of tax-paying families. Every other tax is more or less severely felt by those in whom it falls. The duties on groceries, perhaps the least oppressive of any, enhance the cost of articles which have become habit necessities of daily life in the great majority of English households. The whole of the revenue derived from property is taken directly, visibly, palpably, from the pocket of the taxpayer; he loses consciously and often at great temporary inconvenience every penny that the State receives. Drink and tobacco are the luxuries of the male sex alone; no man would be better could he afford to consume more, or is the worse if tax reduces his consumption. The articles taxed are not necessities, either in an economic or in a practical sense, they are expenses upon which the bread-winner spends, or ought to spend, only a part of the surplus of his income after providing for the necessities of his family. Or if, considering the habits of the people, this be thought a somewhat exaggerated statement, it is at least of the greater part if not of the whole of the consumption. Very few families indeed would be the better or the poorer for the reduction or repeal of these duties; society at large would probably be the poorer for their removal; and the State has consequently been able steadily to increase its expenditure without really increasing any burden that affects the people, without hampering trade, without imposing restraints on industry, perhaps without diminishing materially the family comforts or luxuries of any household, rich or poor. Had we been compelled to raise 70 millions a year from direct taxation, from indirect taxes, like those on sugar, soap, and paper, which really and sensibly impaired the wealth of the country, the comforts of millions of families, our position and perhaps our policy would have been other than they have been. The country might or might not have been willing to spend all that has been expended during the last twenty years on the defence forces of the Empire, on education, on improved administration; but assuredly every increase of expenditure would have been scanned with much closer scrutiny, with much more vigilant jealousy; the Minister would have had to make out, not merely that the expenditure was desirable, but that it was worth the cost which every family of limited means must have borne directly and severely.

From another point of view, the enormous revenue thus derived from what we have called insensible taxation, has a great political importance. Drink and tobacco apart, the working classes contribute little or nothing to the Imperial revenue; of their actual contribution to the local taxation,

about

about whose ultimate incidence there has been some controversy, we shall speak hereafter. The very rich excepted, who are even in this wealthy country an exceedingly small minority, every family in the upper and middle classes sensibly feels the weight of its contribution to the National Exchequer. No working-class family feels even unconsciously the burden of the very small indirect contribution which, through the few remaining taxes on food, it does render to the national treasury. The only taxed article, other than drink and tobacco, on which the wage-receiving class pay any considerable amount, is tea; for the trivial duties levied on other groceries are scarcely worth mention. We believe that even of tea the families of this class consume a smaller share, in proportion to their numbers, than of any common article of daily food. The women, indeed, are fond of it; but the tea they drink is generally weak, and often adulterated with materials that have not paid duty; and we fancy that, as a rule, when they can afford milk, their children get only tea enough to colour it. The men do not consume it largely, if we except a few special trades like that of the glass-blowers, who, it is commonly reported, find that the intense heat of the furnaces becomes intolerable if they drink spirits or beer, and that the thirst it generates can best be quenched by liberal draughts of cold tea. That domestic servants are large tea-drinkers, and drink their tea strong—that is, consume an extra quantity of the taxable article—none of our readers need to be told; but it is clear that the duty on their consumption is paid by their employers, not by themselves. If the tax were taken off, wages would not rise, nor would a larger consumption of tea be permitted in most kitchens. The removal of the tax, then, would benefit, not domestic servants, but their employers; and therefore the proportion of the 4 millions levied on this article, which really falls upon the wage-receiving class, is probably small in relation to their numbers. If we take it at two-fifths, we shall hardly have understated it. The total of the revenue derived from other groceries is small, and the amount paid by the wage-receiving class is infinitesimal. The whole sum derived from groceries being less than 5 millions, and 4 millions of the whole being levied on tea, it seems probable that the wage-receiving classes pay about two millions of the total amount. What proportion of the drink duties are paid by the different classes of English society, is a much more difficult and complicated question. Wine and brandy contribute nearly 3 millions of the whole, another quarter of a million is derived from ‘various spirits,’ which probably belong to the same class; the whole, or
nearly

nearly the whole, of this sum is presumably paid by those whom, for economical purposes, we may distinguish as the propertied, in contradistinction to the wage-receiving class. It might, perhaps, be fair to set down the whole of these to the account of the upper and middle classes, if we assign the whole of the excisable spirits to that of the wage-receiving class. The latter pay perhaps $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions levied on beer, and of the licences some 3 millions may be ultimately paid for out of their pockets. If we suppose that their proportion of the tobacco duty is about the same as of the beer tax, their share of the whole $39\frac{1}{2}$ millions will amount to something over 30 millions.

It is obvious, then, that at first sight, and taking into account simply the amount paid into the Exchequer, the wage-receiving classes contribute much more than a fair share of the national revenue. That share is probably much the same that it was twenty years back, but the form and manner of its payment are materially altered. Of nearly 14 millions levied on food in 1862-3, they must have contributed at least 8 millions; they now pay 2 millions of the 5 millions still raised on groceries. This last is all their necessary, inevitable, *sensible* contribution to the Exchequer; all that practically concerns them, all that could by any reduction of expenditure be sensibly diminished; all, the reduction or repeal of which would be, even in their own opinion, an advantage to themselves. The remainder of their taxation is levied exclusively on luxuries, and on the luxuries of men alone; is, in short, what we have called *insensible* taxation. The importance of this insensible taxation has always been fully understood by financiers, hardly perhaps by the country at large. It was from this—the consumption of drink and tobacco, steadily increasing with the increase of population and of wages—that the annual increment of our revenue was chiefly derived. For a long time, as we have said, financiers supposed that that increment was something natural and necessary; nay, that the rate of increase itself would steadily if slowly rise; that we need never fear a time when the public revenue should become stationary, or require to be maintained by additions to taxation. In 1862, however, we had three main sources of revenue, all of them more or less elastic. Every increase in the wealth of the country contributed through three several channels a three-fold quota to the Exchequer. Of these resources, property is and was the least elastic. Its contribution to the Exchequer increases slowly if steadily, mainly for the very obvious reason, that the taxes on property affect only a portion of the general income of the nation; they fall upon the profits of the

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the capitalist, the earnings of the professional man, and the savings of all classes, but they do not touch that very large part of the national income, that very considerable proportion of the available capital of the country, which annually passes through the hands of the great majority in the form of wages. The income of the wage-receiving class contributed to the Exchequer in 1862 through the taxes on drink and food. With every increase of prosperity the consumption of sugar and the consumption of alcohol certainly increased, often by 'leaps and bounds.' If the revenue has ceased to be elastic, and this we know to our cost is the case, it is partly because we have wantonly cast away the most certainly elastic of all resources of taxation—the taxes on food, or rather upon the domestic luxuries of the masses. However rich the wage-receivers may become, their consumption of minor groceries does not materially increase, and since we have flung away the duties on corn and sugar, especially the latter, we have thus dammed and dried up one of the channels through which a portion of the increasing income of the people flowed into the Exchequer.

Setting aside, then, the slow, certain, but very gradual growth of the taxes on property and income, the elasticity of our revenue has come to depend exclusively on the yield of the duties on drink and smoke; and the significant fact revealed by recent budgets, the telling point of Mr. Childers's budget of this year, is, *that these duties are no longer elastic*. Enormously as their produce increased in the last twenty years, it has not only not increased, but has actually diminished during the last six or seven. The consumption of spirits and even of beer, if not of tobacco, is steadily and seriously falling off. The figures given by Mr. Gladstone the year before last are interesting and instructive:—

SPIRITS, WINE, MALT, and BEER, with LICENCES.

1867-68.	1874-75.	1881-82.
£23,001,000	£31,029,000	£28,444,000

WINE.

1874-75.	1881-82.
£1,719,000	£1,366,000

SOURCES OF OUR TAX REVENUE.

<i>Alcoholic Drinks.</i>			<i>Other Sources (except Income Tax).</i>		
1859-65, 6 years,	37½ per cent.		1859-65, 6 years,	62 per cent.	
1866-68, 3 "	42 "		1866-68, 3 "	57½ "	
1869-73, 5 "	46½ "		1869-73, 5 "	53½ "	
1874-75—1879-80, 51 "			1874-75—1879-80, 49 "		
3 yrs. prior to 1882, 46½ "			3 yrs. prior to 1882, 53½ "		It

It must be borne in mind that the period 1869-73 was a period of inflation, of increasing trade, of real, and in a still greater degree of apparent, prosperity, and, above all, of rapidly rising wages. It is notorious that, while a slow and steady rise in wages tends to improve the permanent condition of the workman, to raise his standard of comfort, and consequently to maintain itself, a sudden, rapid, and very large increase has a totally different effect. As was seen, towards the close of that period, in the coal trade, it generates idleness; large classes of workmen neutralize the higher rate of payment by slackened work; labour perhaps four days a week instead of six, content themselves with their old earnings, and take out the advance in holidays. A few perhaps, the best, steadiest, and most thoughtful, save their additional wages. The trades unions, with characteristic short-sightedness and folly, waste no small proportion of the period of prosperity and of the larger wages obtainable, in striking for still more extravagant advantages. But the one universal, invariable consequence of such sudden prosperity among English workmen, has always been an increase of drinking and drunkenness. The contrary effect of a fall in wages is not so immediate or so certain. For a year or two the better paid class of artisans struggle against necessity, and hope against hope, sometimes striking in vain for the maintenance of an abnormal rate of wages, sometimes persisting in their recently acquired standard of drink. The first sacrifice made to the adverse change is, too commonly, the small share of the advanced wages allowed to wives and families. The Exchequer then, and the publican, did not feel at once that fall in wages which commenced in 1874, and continued for full five years; but in 1875-76 its inevitable effect, in reducing the consumption of those luxuries which the working man can most easily forego, and which, in proportion as he is to work steadily and continuously, he is compelled to forego, had begun to affect the revenue, and its influence has been felt ever since. This is not, however, the sole, nor are we inclined to think the chief, explanation of the very striking contrast between 1875-76 and 1882-83, pointed out by Mr. Childers. For the last two years trade has been improving, wages have been 'looking up,' but the drink revenue has not recovered. The fall, moreover, has been exceedingly large. The revenue from wine and spirits in 1875-76 was 23 millions; allowing for the increase of population it should, in 1882-83, have reached 24,840,000*l.*, it was 19,840,000*l.*—nearly 20 millions instead of 25 millions; and there has been a smaller reduction in the consumption of beer. While, then, in the course of seven years, the population has
increased

increased by 8 per cent., the drink revenue has been actually reduced by nearly 15 per cent., and the consumption per head by 20 per cent.

So sudden and so great a change in the habits of the people cannot be ascribed solely, nor, we think, principally, to the fall of wages. No doubt the diminution of their incomes, the severe pressure upon their means, rendered the working classes amenable, as they would not have been in a more prosperous time, to the several influences that were tending to improve their social habits and to raise their moral standard. For years prior to 1870, the number of schools, the attendance and the quality of the teaching, had been steadily rising; by 1875 the effect of Mr. Forster's Education Act was just beginning to be felt. The first generation of scholars swept into the schools by that Act were taking their places as working men and women; were earning wages, were assuming a position in their homes and among their fellows, which gave to their example and to their personal conduct a sensible, if at first a very limited, influence upon the habits of their class. With each succeeding year, the proportion of educated men and women among the younger section of the working classes has increased. Whatever other influence education may exert, no one can reasonably doubt that, *ceteris paribus*, an educated body of artizans will drink less than an uneducated. They have higher tastes, a higher idea of pleasure, other amusements and occupations; they are not tempted to drink because they do not know what else to do with a holiday or a Sunday. Barbarism, ignorance, and the intolerable tedium which is inseparable from them, are probably the most active causes of drunkenness. No cultivated class or country has ever been addicted to excess in drink; uncultivated Northern races, however energetic, however noble, however high their martial and political virtues, have almost always been given to drink to stupefaction in their hours of idleness.

Practical evidence affirms the inferences we might reasonably draw from physiological theory and historical examples. Whatever we may think of the wisdom of that paternal legislation which has of late found favour with the party in power, and especially with those who look to popular feeling rather than to political philosophy or tradition for practical guidance, the very possibility of such legislation is in itself a significant fact. Sunday closing could hardly have been attempted by any but fanatics in 1873. Responsible statesmen, even if they had shared Sir Wilfrid Lawson's theories, would have had too much regard for the public peace to put them
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in practice. Within the last seven years there has undoubtedly arisen a strong and genuine popular demand for this kind of interference with the drinking habits of the people. Whatever we may think of its dignity, its justice, or its policy, that demand proceeds from the class which will be most directly and severely affected by the legislation for which they call. The ten-pound householder may be inconvenienced on a holiday or an outing; but, before the new legislation has been three months in operation, he will have contrived practically to neutralize its effect so far as himself and his family are concerned. He will neither be shielded from temptation nor subject to serious restraint. Sunday closing means to every member of the wage-receiving class a real practical inconvenience, a sacrifice which the upper and middle classes would certainly refuse to make: but it is the wage-receiver who calls for it. It is from the new electorate, the great mass of whom live by weekly wages, that that pressure has proceeded, which has made possible a kind of legislation of which, prior to 1868, no practical statesman dreamed, which even in 1875 seemed indefinitely remote. That nearly half the drinking and three-fourths of the drunkenness of this country takes place on Saturday evening and Sunday, is too notorious to need proof or illustration. The demand for Sunday closing, then, means a demand to curtail, by at least one-half, the period during which their habits and the necessities of their daily work permit the wage-receivers to indulge in their favourite vice; and such a demand argues a very great and significant change of feeling among them. It implies that even among those who are not and do not mean to be teetotalers—among those who recognise in drink at once an indulgence, perhaps a necessity, they will not forego, and a temptation which often leads them into dangerous excesses—drunkenness has come to be extensively regarded as an evil and a disgrace, from which they are willing to be shielded and to shield their fellows, at the expense of a restraint against which, twenty years ago, they would have indignantly revolted.

Coupling, then, the popular demand for restrictive legislation (even if it be, taking these islands throughout, the demand of a minority) and the very great and rapid decline in the consumption per head of spirits, or even of beer, it seems sufficiently certain that a great change is taking place in the habits, and still more in the feelings, of the class in question. The less we believe in a great and general change of habits among the elders, whose tone of thought, whose social and personal customs, were formed ten or fifteen years ago, the more significant as regards the future becomes the evident,
undeniable

undeniable existence of a very powerful minority, at perhaps a majority, of the younger generation of workers willing to impose upon themselves serious practical restraints in order, if possible and as far as possible, to take away reproach and curse of drunkenness from their order. We are inclined, then, to believe that the reduction in the drink revenue which the last few years have witnessed is likely to continue; that before the close of the present century the consumption of alcohol, and therefore what we have called the insensible taxation of the country, will bear a very much smaller proportion to our population, and probably to our expenditure, than heretofore. If in seven years the drink revenue has undergone in proportion to the population a reduction of 20 per cent., it seems reasonable to anticipate in the next seventeen years a still larger proportionate diminution. Supposing the total expenditure of the country to remain stationary, it seems by no means an exaggerated estimate to suppose that instead of nearly four-sevenths, only two-fifths will, at the close of the century, be defrayed by spirits, wine, beer, tobacco, and licences.

Many thoughtful economists, and especially the late Mr. W. G. Greg, foresaw even a quarter of a century back the probability of such a change in the habits of our people, and its general financial consequences. They insisted that we were dependent for an enormous proportion of our revenue upon the expense of our people—a vice which, through the spread of civilization and the progress of civilization, with that self-respect which both tend to generate, must be largely if slowly corrected. They pointed out that in view of such a probable change it was doubly imprudent to fling away other resources not exactly insensible, yet unoppressive. They urged that, while through their consumption of alcohol and tobacco the wage-receivers then paid more than their share of taxation, the remainder of nearly every other tax weighing upon them rendered their contribution to the revenue entirely dependent upon a single habit; that if ever the working-class should come to be as self-respecting as those above them in the social scale, they would cease to contribute anything like their fair proportion to the expenditure, which, with the extension of the suffrage, would fall more and more under their control. It is now evident that this prediction, which at the time received very little attention, was thoroughly well-founded. Self-respect and sobriety are rapidly gaining ground among the wage-receivers, and are expected to gain ground more and more rapidly as the uneducated generation passes off the stage and is succeeded by

which will probably be quite as well, if not better, instructed than the lower middle class. We shall then lose, as was pointed out by these far-sighted and clear-sighted thinkers, certainly one-seventh, very possibly one-fifth, of our revenue, and that deficit must be made good. How is it to be made good? Those financiers, who condescended to notice the arguments of the economists in question, replied that, with such an improvement in the habits of the people, their wealth would increase in such proportion that there would be no difficulty whatever in raising an equal or greater national revenue. They affirmed what, when the suggestion was first made, may have been true, that the consumption of other excisable articles which would follow the improved standard of comfort among the working classes, would more than recoup the Exchequer. But every other excise duty—with the exception of the tea-duty and those trivial grocery duties which yield altogether some three-quarters of a million—has been swept away. It is vain to expect that the consumption of tea, coffee, currants, and the like, will ever be per head twice what it is now. By the close of the century these duties might conceivably yield some 8 millions—we believe a very extravagant estimate—an increase of 3 millions to replace an actual loss of 10 millions or more, assuming a stationary state in other respects. The falling off of the drink revenue, between 1876 and 1883, represents an income-tax of threepence in the pound—such is Mr. Childers's very significant way of stating the financial effect of the change; and should that change prove to be permanent and continuous, as there seems every reason to expect, it will, by the end of this century, represent an income-tax of fivepence in the pound. There would be no objection whatever to this, if the compensation came from the pockets of the same class which now contributes so largely to the Exchequer through its consumption of alcohol; but that class notoriously is, and must in all probability remain for a long time to come, exempt from all direct taxes. To levy an income-tax on wages is held by almost all practical financiers to be not merely difficult, but virtually out of the question. If so, what will be our financial position, when the working classes shall have come to consume per head no more spirits or beer than the rest of society—perhaps less, in proportion to their lesser incomes?

It seems not unreasonable to assume that by the end of the century our ordinary expenditure will have reached 90 millions, of which probably 80 millions will be supplied by taxation. There is, as we have shown, great reason to suppose that with the spread of education the drinking habits of the wage-receiving classes will undergo an even more rapid change than of late.

Instead

Instead of nearly 40 millions, it is eminently probable that drink and tobacco will not then bring in much more than 10 millions. We shall then have to supply, by taxation of the sensible—exceedingly sensible—kind, no less than 50 millions, instead of from 31 to 33, as at present. Of the extra 17 or 20 millions we may suppose, by a very favourable estimate, as aforesaid, that the grocery duties will supply 2 or 3 millions, leaving from 15 to 17 to be supplied by new taxes, or the increase of those present existing. The latter, as we have said, are, with the exception of those drink duties which we have struck out of our calculation, by no means elastic. At the lowest estimate, additional taxation must be imposed to the amount of 10 or 12 millions, to supply the deficiency of insensible taxation due to the improved social and moral condition of the masses of the people.

If we may judge by the course of recent fiscal policy, there is but one resource in which our financiers have the slightest faith. Their inventive powers are apparently exhausted. They have flung away every tax which bore upon the incomes of the people at large, with the exception of those on drink and groceries, already taken into account. It is difficult to see what new impost could be suggested, that would not be much worse than the present, much more objectionable and oppressive, than those which, with the consent of both the great parties, have been repealed within the last twenty years. It is to be hoped that no attempt will be made to increase either the iniquitous death duties, or the imposts on trade and transfers of property, which are already quite burdensome enough. In any case, it seems that the whole weight will be thrown upon property,—i.e., as has always happened of late years, upon the income-tax. In the latter case, we shall have, instead of an average rate of 5*d.*, one of 10*d.* or 1*s.* the pound; a burden which the income-taxpayers have not endured with patience under the excitement of war, and without the assurance that it would last but a few years. It may seem that, in order to get rid of the terrible curse of English life, the reproach of English morals, the millstone hung about the neck of English industry, even a shilling income-tax would be a light price to pay to the nation at large. But, in so far as the financial statesmanship of men at present in power is concerned, the comparison must be made, not with the present rate of drink duties, but with those unoppressive duties which have been wantonly flung away. If Mr. Gladstone is to be remembered as a benefactor, and not as the author of a grave and permanent injury to the wealth and financial strength of the country—if his policy is to be justified by results, if we are not to admit that

the course of fiscal legislation during the last twenty years has been a distinct, palpable blunder, of whose folly the perpetrators were fully warned—it must be maintained that an additional income-tax of 6*d.* in the pound is preferable to the duties on sugar and on imported corn, which, by the end of the century, would have enabled us to dispense with any addition to the income-tax—might have enabled us to reduce or even dispense with it. The economists, of whom we have spoken, urged this point with patient reiteration, and with admirable lucidity. The financiers who rejected their counsels—to speak plainly, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Gladstone alone—rested their case, not on the possibility of an enormous addition to the income-tax, but on the certainty that customs and excise—that is practically drink and tobacco—would always make good the deficiency they wilfully created, would always meet the gradually rising rate of expenditure necessitated by increasing population and enhanced demands for administrative outlay. Mr. Gladstone was warned of his error; he has now virtually admitted the *fact*, though he has not had the grace or good faith to remind the public of those who foresaw it, or to confess that it was an error, and a very grave one. Had the sugar duties been retained, and applied to the reduction of debt, we should have found ourselves in 1900 able to contemplate without dismay, from a financial point of view, that change in social habits wherein as moralists we must rejoice. We should have had a diminished expenditure on debt, to meet the increasing cost of administration, and an increasingly productive sugar duty, virtually an income-tax on the wage-receivers, to supply their share of the vast deficit created by the reduction of their volunteer contributions to the Exchequer, the self-imposed tax on excessive drinking and smoking. It may seem somewhat late to dwell upon this point; but considering how hard and ungracious is the task of Cassandra, how little justice is done in their own time to the prophets of coming evil, how pleasant and how richly rewarded a function is that of the false prophets who, like Mr. Gladstone and his disciples, prophesy smooth things, it is but just, it is of some importance to the practical interests of society, that history at least should repair the wrong; that the living offender should bear the reproach, that the dead prophets of truth should receive the praise, which is but a natural and very imperfect compensation for the unfairness of the past.

There is another aspect of the question, which demands very careful consideration—though here again it is probably too late to repair, it is only possible to indicate, the error of the past, and to let praise and censure fall where they are due. The same

economists,

economists, who warned us that our apparent financial prosperity was a delusion, that the leaps and bounds of the revenue were but the rebound and the reaction of that increased expenditure on drink, with every increase of wages, which even the financiers who rejoiced over its effect were compelled to lament, also warned us of the divorce we were effecting between future taxation and future representation. That divorce, indeed, was for practical purposes present, and not merely future, since, as aforesaid, insensible taxation affords no safe basis or measure of political power. A taxation which they do not feel, which they themselves could in no case propose to diminish, gives the taxpayers no interest in economy, no true stake in the country. But, as it seems that, by the end of the century we shall have reached a point at which the wage-receivers will pay only their fair share of the drink taxes, when, for purpose of comparison, those may be altogether omitted from consideration—what will then be the situation? Supposing that the suffrage remains where it is, except that the household franchise of the boroughs will have been extended to the counties, the wage-receiving classes will constitute an overwhelming majority of the whole electorate—a majority so large, that for all practical purposes the higher classes may be omitted from consideration, and the middle classes will form but an insignificant fraction, certain to be swamped whenever a considerable majority of the wage-receivers are of one mind. In the meantime—the insensible taxation, then fairly shared among all classes, omitted—what will be the distribution of financial burdens? Four-fifths of the electorate will pay, besides the drink and smoke taxes, some 3 or 4 millions at the outside, the remaining fifth will bear nearly the whole burden of the sensible taxation of the country, will pay some 46 or 47 out of 50 millions. Is this a safe or equitable state of things? Is this a compliance with the constitutional principle, that taxation and representation should go hand in hand? The working-man will pay 6*d.* in the pound on his tea, and a few chance coppers upon pepper and currants. The tradesman, whose profits have fallen in proportion as wages have increased; the professional man, whose earnings are constantly diminishing, not perhaps in total amount, but in comparison with the remuneration of the manual labourer; the capitalist, whose property twenty years ago yielded 5 or 6, and now yields $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent.; above all, the multitude of widows and orphans, who live on the savings of deceased bread-winners, and whose small incomes are undergoing a continual diminution, as the accumulation of capital reduces the rate of interest—these will pay, to begin with, one-twentieth of their income to the income-tax, while

while through the other taxes on property that burden will be doubled or trebled. The choice between war and peace will rest with the masses; the expenses of war will be paid exclusively, or almost exclusively, by those who will have no practical voice in accepting or averting it.

As those scientific political thinkers, of whom we have spoken, repeatedly said and clearly proved, we have for the last twenty years steadily pursued a policy, whose other results might be questionable, but which had at last one certain effect: it threw the burden of expenditure exclusively upon one portion of the people, while giving power exclusively, or in overwhelming proportion, to another; it exempted the wage-receivers from taxation, while giving them absolute potential control over the policy upon which taxation depends. Statesmen and demagogues, who alike had to appeal to obvious figures, not to elaborate, thoughtful, well-weighed calculations; who knew that they could address themselves with more effect to the passions and prejudices than to the intelligence of the masses; these dealt with the taxation of the country in gross, as it stood at the moment; and, having shown that through their excess in drink the wage-receivers paid more than their share of taxation, they had for popular purposes disposed of an argument with which, as logicians, as practical financiers, they had never grappled at all. Now that the one ground on which they relied is sinking under their feet, now that the working-man, becoming almost as well educated as the lower part of the middle-classes, seems likely to drink no more than his fair share of beer and spirits, how does the case stand? Even now we have reached this point—that every change of policy, every war necessitated by the extent of the empire, and its frequent contact with barbarous or lawless neighbours, every new provision for the defence of the country, necessitated either by foreign military preparations, or by the reckless greed of commercial enterprise, throws a fresh burden on the income-tax, and on the income-tax alone. Suppose the Channel Tunnel to be authorized, it will be authorized by the votes of the masses against the judgment of the great majority of the educated classes; but the burden of providing for its defence, which will involve at least an additional 1*d.* or 2*d.* on the income-tax for years, falls upon those who have had no voice in the matter, or whose protest has been drowned in popular clamour. This particular folly we hope the working-classes of England are not likely to sanction; but the argument remains unaffected. They are called on to pronounce upon every question of national policy, with the knowledge that the burden of increased expenditure will not touch them; that, be

the consequences what they may, those consequences—directly and immediately at least—will fall entirely on others. Could there be a more perfect provision for imprudent, hasty, and reckless decisions, for the indulgence of those selfish or enthusiastic impulses, which constitute the natural weakness of democracy? Universal suffrage has, in any case, its perils and evils, to which its warmest advocates cannot be blind; but to institute a complete divorce between the interests and the action of the masses, to throw on others the whole cost of carrying out their will, might of itself suffice to render a system, much less dangerous in principle, unsound and mischievous in practice. No class is so wise, so right-minded, so unselfish, that it can safely be entrusted with the right and power to carry out its own will at the sole expense of others. In one or two instances democracy has worked, not indeed safely, but with far less of mischievous result, with much more equity, prudence, and good sense, than could have been expected. But the democracy of Switzerland, or the United States, works at least under the one check from which no ruling class, however honest and intelligent, can safely be released. They know that they must pay the cost of their resolves; that they must bear the consequences of their follies or mistakes. To release them from that check, to ensure them against the consequences of their errors, is to offer an almost irresistible temptation to selfishness, a dangerous premium on reckless imprudence and headlong passion.

But as yet we have stated only a part of the case. We have dealt only with the *National Expenditure*; with the funds which pass through the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, and the taxation levied directly by authority of Parliament. To stop here, would be to give the reader a very imperfect notion of the truth, to mislead him absolutely upon many vital points. The national burdens, at any rate, have not been increased in proportion to the increase of the national resources; the immediate cost of the public debt has been enhanced, but with the result of diminishing considerably its ultimate weight. In 1862 the capital of the debt, funded and unfunded, and the estimated value of outstanding annuities, amounted to 820 millions; in 1882 it had been reduced to some 760 millions. Practically, that is, 60 millions of debt have been paid off; and the revenue derived from taxation has increased by 10 millions, while nearly that amount of taxes has been remitted. So far, then, the financial accounts of the country look, upon the whole, satisfactory; and general facts of this kind, appreciable at a glance, outweigh with the general public the strongest arguments, the gravest apprehensions, whose force depends upon a
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closer investigation of particulars. Results actually achieved count for far more in popular estimation than the most ominous, most threatening, most clearly demonstrable perils of the future. Stopping here, then, we should have little hope of making a deep impression on any but the more thoughtful of our readers, on any who have not been accustomed to the study of financial problems, to look below the surface of apparent fiscal prosperity. Were we to stop here, moreover, we should have very imperfectly shown either the total burden imposed upon the taxpayers of the country, or the manner in which it is distributed among different classes. It matters nothing to the owner of a heavily burdened estate, who may be the holders of his mortgages, in what form and under what titles the annual interest is paid. The reduction of his rental, the total weight of his liabilities, the diminution of his resources, remains the same, to whomsoever those liabilities may be due. Similarly it matters nothing to the citizen, whether his taxes are paid to the State alone; or, as in America, are distributed between Federal and State, county and township, authorities; or, as in England, are roughly divided under the head of 'taxes' paid to the Government of the country in forms and for purposes clearly ascertained, and 'rates' levied by local boards whose very names he hardly knows, for a variety of objects he imperfectly understands, to meet an expenditure of which he receives no account whatever.

The burden of debt is the same, whether it is due from the Crown or from a multitude of borough and county magistracies; the weight of taxation is the same, whether it be paid into the Exchequer or into the coffers of municipalities, unions, parishes, or local boards of health. Practically to compare the financial position of the country now and twenty years ago, we must take into account local as well as national expenditure, local as well as national indebtedness. It is not easy to carry the comparison of local taxation so far back with any degree of accuracy; but since 1870 a tolerably complete account of the entire amount levied in rates, the entire expenditure for local purposes, and the entire indebtedness of the local authorities in England and Wales, at least, can be obtained. At the close of 1870 the local debt of England and Wales amounted to 38½ millions; it was in 1880-1 no less than 144½ millions! Thus the reduction of the national debt by 60 millions has been accompanied by an increase of the municipal debt of England and Wales alone to the amount of 106 millions; and the entire indebtedness of the country—leaving out the local obligations of Ireland and Scotland—instead of being reduced through the largely increased taxation which the country has paid for that purpose, is greater

than ever. In 1870-1 the local taxation of England and Wales was $17\frac{1}{2}$ millions; in 1881 it was very nearly 27 millions. In the former year the local expenditure was $24\frac{1}{2}$ millions, in 1880 it was $52\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Thus, upon the whole, the debt, the expenditure, and the taxation of the country, have undergone an enormous and very rapid increase; and that increase in all three still continues. Instead of our reducing the total of our public obligations, they are rising at an alarming rate; instead of reducing expenditure, it is increasing with a speed that suggests a reckless extravagance, strangely contrasting the former old-fashioned strictness and even the recent conscientious economy of Parliament, or rather of the Treasury. And the resources upon which this exorbitant local taxation is levied do not increase in anything like the same proportion. The rateable value of England and Wales was, in 1870, 107 millions; in 1880, 135 millions. The local debt, which in the first year was less than two-fifths of the annual value, in 1880 somewhat exceeded the whole. The taxation had risen in ten years from 16 to 20 per cent. upon the rateable value; and the expenditure had considerably more than doubled. Leaving out of account the local burdens of Scotland and Ireland, and the cost of the postal service, the entire ordinary expenditure, national and local, has increased in ten years by something like one-third; and while that portion of this outlay, for which the Treasury is accountable to Parliament, and Parliament to the country, increases less rapidly than either wealth or population, that local expenditure for which in practice no one is responsible, which no one can trace, of which no detailed account is ever given, over which the rate-payers have practically no control whatsoever, grows with a speed truly alarming. The local authorities are not exclusively responsible for this. Parliament has chosen to impose upon them many new and costly duties, and probably the greater part of the burden imposed during the last ten years—a burden which, as measured by the expenditure, the only true test, is greater than the whole of that previously existing—must be ascribed to national legislation.

In this sudden and portentous growth of local taxation there are several especially ominous and unsatisfactory points. But the first and worst is the absolute confusion of local authorities, the multiplication of boards, councils, and commissions, the intersection of unions, boroughs, counties, and districts, which render it impossible even for curious investigators, much more for the ordinary taxpayer, to discover where the money goes to, and who is really responsible for this gigantic expenditure. The second consideration to which we would advert as especially

cially unsatisfactory is the fact that a new taxation of 4 per cent.—a new burden greater than the whole formerly endured, coupling the annually incurred debt and increased taxation together—has been imposed in the course of the last ten years upon a small part of the total wealth of the country, upon a single kind of property. It may be contended, with some show of justice, that land and houses are justly liable to the immemorial burdens, subject to which their present proprietors acquired or inherited them. They are also fairly chargeable with that expenditure which is incurred for their benefit. But it must be remembered that even the original burdens were imposed under very different circumstances, and with no idea of the present state of society—the gigantic creation of personality, and the enormous growth of pauperism which has accompanied and arisen out of it. All the new pauperism of England, as compared with that existing in the reign of Elizabeth, may be fairly imputed to the stupendous development of our commerce and manufactures. There is a palpable hardship in imposing upon the owners of realty the support of a pauper population created by the growth of personal wealth. There is no reason why the landowner should support the paupers called into existence by the manufacturer. The existence of this primitive, original, traditional, gradually developed hardship, should have afforded a very strong reason for imposing no new burdens upon that form of property which was thus accidentally saddled with obligations naturally attaching to others. But the whole cost of education, apart from the contribution made by the National Treasury, the whole expense of all the novel duties thrown upon local authorities, falls upon the owners of an annual income of 200 millions sterling—the gross rental of the United Kingdom. Finally, in so far as the expenditure in question is controlled at all, it is controlled by the nominees of those who pay but a small proportion thereof—who in reality pay very little or nothing, and who moreover benefit directly and indirectly to a very large extent by the burdens imposed on others. It would be unjust to treat the paupers as belonging in any general sense to the working classes; but it is beyond question that a very considerable number would, in the absence of a poor law, or in the presence of a poor law more severely and strictly administered than our own, be supported out of the earnings of the wage-receivers; while few indeed or none belong to, or would have to be supported by, any other class. A considerable proportion of the poor-rate, and nearly the whole of the education-rate, are levied and expended for the exclusive benefit of
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a single class; and that class, despite the provision made by means of a multiple franchise for the protection of the general ratepayers, practically elect, or can elect, the bodies which impose and administer by far the greater part of our taxation.

The following remarks on the effect of excessive and unadjusted taxation, from so temperate and cautious a politician as the Member for Carnarvonshire, are worth quoting:—

‘Local administration, if corrupt and unjust, carries into every class, every town, and every district, those vices which the imperial government can only teach to a few countries and a few men. Any one who has studied with interest the effects of taxation on the political, moral, and material welfare of nations, both in the Old and New Worlds, must have been struck with the fact that taxation, unjust in any particular direction, even when it seems to make amends by indulgence in some other direction, brings about waste in expenditure and inefficiency, or worse, in administration. It does all this in ways often utterly unforeseen and unnoticed. It is not surprising to those who have learnt from history that unprincipled measures invariably work out evil results. If we wish to know what lengths waste and demoralization can go, we have only to look at the extravagant local taxation prevalent in New York and other American cities, where our own vices have developed themselves with the energy of youth. Such extravagance can be borne out by the unlimited resources of the United States in its youth, but it would be fatal to the constitution of an “old country” like England. Within my own experience, local taxation in New York has risen from 12s. 6d. per cent. to 2l. 12s. 6d. per cent. on the capital of the citizens—a charge which would more than absorb the whole income of an average English landlord. Yet in all this there is no inexplicable. Whenever the local government of a democratic country is not so constituted as to attract the interest of those citizens who possess wealth, leisure, and information, the same causes will work; the same results will surely follow.’

It is very clear that the wage-receivers have a direct interest in certain portions of our vast local expenditure. It is certainly though not so easily demonstrated, that this interest is now more than made to tell; that in a few great towns, in which the organization of parties is brought to bear on municipal elections, and in which the Radicals are irresistibly predominant, the Town Council encourages a rate of expenditure, upon election at least, which, considering that it is defrayed almost exclusively by one class for the benefit of another, may with some harshness be called extravagant and even profligate. Consider the general and obvious theoretical interest of the great majority of the electorate in a lavish local expenditure, with the interest

experience of particular constituencies, it is no exaggeration to say, that we have here a palpable and direct incentive to excessive and unjust taxation, to class legislation and class finance of an exceedingly objectionable character. If, indeed, the working classes paid their fair share of local burdens, the severity and directness of the pressure might afford a countervailing and more than countervailing guarantee for economy. If their influence has not been as yet more generally used to encourage a needlessly high expenditure on education, a culpably lax administration of the poor-law, it is probably because, through the apparent incidence and formal adjustment of the rates, the wage-receivers appear to bear a burden which on closer enquiry becomes mainly or altogether imaginary. Lodgers and compound householders may, for the present purpose, be left out of consideration; but the apparent, obvious position of the compound householder is the practical position in regard to the rates of the whole body of wage-receivers, indeed of the whole class of tenants-at-will. The rates of the latter are really deducted from, as those of the former are included in, their rent. Take the case of two parishes similarly situated in regard to means of conveyance and vicinity to great manufactories, docks, or other places of employment. Suppose that in the one parish the rates are 2s. in the pound, in the other 4s. It is a matter of indifference to the working-man in search of a dwelling, whether he lives in A or B; he will therefore pay the same annual sum for a house of the same class in either. In A, then, he will pay 18s. a month to his landlord, and 2s. to the rate-collector; in B, having to pay 4s. to the latter, he will not give the landlord more than 16s. Such adjustments are never perfectly exact; but roughly and on the whole they hold good. The tenant considers the total cost of his house; and the higher the one part of the payment demanded from him, the less must be the other. The rate, then, is a deduction from the rent; of that, as regards the tenant-at-will or from year to year, there can be no question whatsoever. The actual incidence of the rate, its ultimate distribution as between leaseholders for three or seven years, owners of ground leases, and ground landlords, is a much more complicated question; but the tenant from year to year or for a less period—a definition which includes, with scarcely an exception, the whole class of wage-receivers—has nothing to do with this. Yet this class forms an overwhelming majority of the ratepaying electorate, except perhaps in strictly rural districts. With the same exception, despite the plural franchise, a vast majority of votes are in the hands of those whose share of local burdens is merely nominal, whose rates
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are really deducted from their rent. It follows that, though they may as yet be under a fortunate delusion on this point the wage-receiving majority of the local electorate have an interest whatever in local taxation, while they have a very considerable interest as a body, and still closer and more direct interest in particular instances—as, for example, the building and similar trades employed in local works—in municipal expenditure. Of this the shrewder among them are already aware, and, with the spread of education and consequent quickening of intelligence, the fact will soon be apparent to all—that the rates come in the end exclusively out of the pockets of the propertied classes, landowners or capitalists; those who impose and expend them are elected, potentially at least, and for the most part actually, by the votes of the wage-receivers. Were these the sufferers, the vast addition made to local burdens within the last ten years would have excited much keener, louder, and more general murmurs.

We are not sure that in some cases, and from some points of view, high rates are not injurious to the interests of the artisan. They must tend in some degree to enhance the cost, or reduce the return, of those great blocks of buildings which have lately been constructed by charitable funds or semi-charitable companies for the accommodation of working-class families. In the former case the effect is only to compel the builders to reduce very slightly the number of rooms they can provide. In the case of the semi-charitable companies the effect may be a little more serious. The rates on the great blocks erected, for example, by Sir Sydney Waterlow's Company, constitute a serious deduction from the gross rental; and, unless they are wholly recouped out of the reduced ground-rent, such a deduction must operate in the long run to reduce the number of such buildings. In the present state of business, when it is exceedingly difficult to get 4 per cent. on perfectly good security, many people may be willing from other than charitable motives to invest money in a charitable enterprise that promises a return of 5 per cent. If the rates are heavy enough to reduce that return even by one-tenth, they may make a considerable difference in the amount of capital available for the purpose. Many capitalists, who would prefer 5 per cent. on such security to 4 per cent. on mortgages or debentures, may prefer the latter to 4½ per cent. in building societies, however large and apparently safe. But this, a somewhat dubious and at present purely theoretical possibility, is about the only manner in which rates can seriously affect the interest of wage-receiving tenants at-will.

As a rule it may, we think, be said that the permanent burden of local taxation falls upon the land, that varying and temporary additions or reductions fall upon the holders of longer or shorter leases. There are three classes concerned—the ground landlord, the long lease-holder, and the ordinary tenant for three, seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years. The varying amount of the rates from year to year affects chiefly the latter class, and the recent steady and rapid increase of local taxation has probably fallen, at least to the extent of one moiety, upon their shoulders. But as the new system is understood, as the probably constant increase of the rates is taken for granted, the short lease-holder will protect himself and throw the burden upon his immediate landlord; will, like the tenant-at-will, practically deduct by anticipation the rates from the rent. The long lease-holder, representing the builder who has purchased the ground lease for sixty or ninety-nine years, has hitherto suffered, has borne the greater part of that permanent increase of local burdens, from which his tenants have been gradually liberating themselves. But that part of the burden which is thrown upon future years, as well as the whole weight of the original taxation, tends to fall upon the ground landlord. He obviously bears the whole burden of the rates existing at the time when the agreement is signed, since the builder, careful to secure the average profits of his trade, and perfectly familiar with the details of his business, takes care to deduct the rates from the ground-rent. Debt contracted for a limited, but still very long period, falls of course in great part upon the ground landlord, whose reversion will fall in before the debt is paid off; and in this case a very serious hardship and injustice seems to be perpetrated. Unless the debt is incurred for permanent improvements, of which the reversioner will have the benefit, it is simply subtracted from the value of that reversion, to the whole of which he has a clear unquestionable right. The same may be said of the whole permanent burden of the increased rates. The ground landlord has had no voice in imposing them, but they constitute a future deduction from his reversion to their full amount. Considerations of this kind, the extreme uncertainty, the complicated questions, attending the distribution of the burden, the fact that no part of it falls upon those for whose immediate benefit the expenditure is incurred and by whose votes it is mainly controlled, should have made Parliament and those who guide its legislative action very much more cautious in throwing new, and above all new permanent burdens upon local taxation. It is unfair in any case that

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a single kind of property should bear any new and special tax levied for the common benefit; it is, if possible, yet more unfair that the power of imposing taxation and incurring debt should be given to those who bear no part whatever of the ultimate or even of the immediate burden. Both these errors, both these unfairnesses, have characterized the recent action of the Legislature in regard to local taxation, and above all to the very large powers of incurring debt for long periods bestowed upon the local authorities.

A general review of our financial position, taking into account local as well as national debts, local as well as national taxation and expenditure, is, then, much less satisfactory, much less promising, much more fraught with grave and ominous symptoms than might at first sight appear. It has been far too much the habit of politicians in general, and even of scientific financiers to look only at the obligations for which the State, as State, is responsible; at the taxation levied by the direct authority of Parliament, and included in the annual budget. But a view thus limited is arbitrary, partial, and unsound; there is no assignable reason for thus confining ourselves to one part of the question, to one portion of the national burdens. It is obvious that, while Parliamentary taxation may be growing lighter, while Parliamentary expenditure may be strictly controlled, and either reduced or at least prevented from increasing in proportion to the wealth of the country, that wealth may, through extravagance, mismanagement, or merely through increased necessary expenditure in local administration, be loaded with a constantly increasing total weight of debt as well as of annual taxation. And this is the fact. While our Parliamentary burdens are on the whole lighter, while for every increase they have undergone a just reason can be given, while the National Debt has been diminished, and the proportion of the nation's income paid into the Exchequer is, we believe, annually reduced, the total taxation of the country and its total indebtedness is rapidly on the increase; and, without a thorough reform in our whole system of local government, without the establishment of a few distinct, responsible authorities, each in sole charge of a defined district of its own, there is no chance of a sounder financial administration, of a reduction, or even a practical check to the rapid enhancement, of debt and taxation. While we have been enduring an added income-tax of 1*d.* or 2*d.* in the pound to reduce our National Debt, our total indebtedness has increased in ten years from about 840 to above 900 millions; our total taxation has increased from about 83 to about 106 millions.

lions. This has occurred, moreover, in a period of depressed or slowly reviving trade; so that beyond question both our debt and taxation have risen much more rapidly than our wealth, have become a heavier burden on the national income.

And finally, while the power of the wage-receiving class has become supreme over national and local taxation alike, their total contribution to the burdens they do, or can at pleasure, regulate, has been constantly diminished. Their *necessary* taxation has been reduced by the abolition of the sugar duties to an almost nominal amount; their optional, voluntary, *insensible* taxation has been seriously diminished in total amount, still more seriously in proportion to their numbers, most seriously of all in proportion to their wealth, by their improved sobriety; and we are threatened with a constant and very rapid falling off in our principal and least oppressive fiscal resources, while we are burdened with a constantly and rapidly increasing expenditure and taxation, a constantly enhanced proportion of which is levied by direct and very heavily felt imposts—levied moreover by the nominees of one class and paid by another. The predictions of the economists to whom we have referred are being verified to the letter, and beyond their utmost anticipation; the sanguine promises of responsible financiers have proved utterly delusive, even in regard to that fraction of our fiscal burdens of which they condescend to take account; while in regard to the total, alike of our resources and of our expenditure, the predictions of optimist statesmen, the common belief that our financial position is steadily improving, are alike shown to be signally and directly contrary to the truth.

- ART. IV.—1. *A History of Agriculture and Prices*. By James E. Thorold Rogers, M.P. Vols. 3 and 4 (1400–1582). London, 1882.
2. *Surveyinge*. By Master Fitzherbert. London, 1539.
3. *The Boke of Husbandrie*. By the Same. London, 1534.
4. *Harrison's Description of England*, 1577. Edited for the New Shakspere Society by F. J. Furnivall. London, 1881–2.
5. *Crowley's Select Works*, 1550. Edited for the Early English Text Society by J. M. Cowper. London, 1872.

IN England, as elsewhere, the Age of the Renaissance was an age of new ideas and new aspirations. The political and religious theories which had held mediæval society together had lost their hold on men's minds. Time had eaten the heart out of them; the good was gone, the bad only remained. The sacerdotal order, whose regulars were to be examples, whose seculars were to be teachers to the laity, was now more vicious and more ignorant than those it claimed to hold in awe and tutelage. The body politic was paralyzed and brought into contempt by the reckless lawlessness of those who had been set up to govern. Feudal fidelity was now only shown by the plundering retainer to his plundering lord. Feudal magistracy was dead when the local chieftain, whose many manors had been granted him that he might be judge and captain to the commonalty, grasped at extended power and wealth by the destruction of a rival earl's life, or the violent seizure of a weaker neighbour's lands.

And what was happening in England during the War of the Roses, was happening also abroad. The popes by their scandalous lives and vain pleasures, the kings by their mad struggle for Italian conquests, were reproducing, on a greater scale and more exalted stage, the meaner vices of English bishops, and the narrower self-seekings of English barons.

It was into a world thus wanting in virtuous example and noble purpose that the 'New Intelligence' was born, and it caught the vices amid which it was nurtured. Selfishness and inhumanity were enhanced by the change from ignorance to knowledge, from sloth to activity. True, the noble heart of More, the sturdy honesty of Latimer, were wanting at the Court of the Lancastrian Henries. But the band of Percies and Nevilles were replaced by the band of Dudleys and Seymours, with their keener craft and more hurtful oppressions. The ambition of the old baronage was destructive to themselves only. Town and country thrived while Lancaster slaughtered York at Wakefield, or York slaughtered Lancaster at Northampton. But the ambition

tion of the Tudor bureaucracy and of the new adventurers was carried out at the expense of the community at large.

Yet the picture is not altogether dark and dreary. The older era of Reform, just like the present one amidst which we live, produced good as well as evil. Its very consciousness of its evils gave it strength to combat them. Complaints and petitions, satires and new models, are few in the latter half of the fifteenth century, abundant in the first half of the sixteenth. Yet it is doubtful whether the later age was more evil than the earlier; misery and suffering existed in both, but only in the second did they find full expression and a power of claiming redress. During that time, a well-defined set of evils, with dexterous and plausible proposals for their cure, are exhibited by writers and speakers of most divergent characters and opinions. Catholics like More and Pole, Protestants like Latimer and Hilpin, Puritans like Crowley and Stubbs, historians like Hall and Harrison, agricultural writers like Fitzherbert and Tusser, poetasters like Roy and Forrest, all meet on common ground in their description of the abuses of their times. Many of their complaints are still waiting, and will wait, for redress; they are the stock-in-trade of the pessimist or demagogue of every age. One characteristic difference between then and now is, however, worth noting. Modern grievances are generally the manufacture of political adventurers, and are directed against conservative instincts, attachment to tried institutions and old customs, and the existence of those classes that support and represent them. On the other hand, it is against the proceedings of the political and commercial adventurers of his age, that the Tudor moralist exclaims. He is a Conservative who bewails the prevalence of new 'views.' He has a great belief in force as a remedy for outrage and oppression. Custom, and not competition, is his watchword. He looks back with regret upon the time of his forefathers, when each man's sphere was allotted to him, and none could push himself into another's place; when no law of supply and demand flooded the market with rotten cloth or adulterated bread; when no greedy speculator could purchase estates, and, by accepting the offer of the highest bidder, raise to ruinous height the rents of farms, which the previous long line of hereditary owners had left unenhanced in the hands of an equally long line of hereditary tenants.

It is not, however, with the whole structure of Tudor society, but only with questions arising out of the ownership and cultivation of the land, that we have at present to deal. The most recent materials for a review of this subject are contained in Mr. Thorold Rogers's work on 'The History of Agriculture and Prices

Prices in England,' the four published volumes of which profess to give a social picture of England from 1259 to 1582, A.D.

We are sorry that we cannot agree with the author in his own estimate of his work. He boasts that the smallest part of his labours has shed more light upon the subject than the combined efforts of all other students of the period. He would have us believe that he almost alone among Englishmen occupies the field of original research. Yet great as are his merits, his countrymen, he complains, have failed to recognize them. 'The labour which has resulted in the facts contained in this volume (*i.e.* vol. iii.) has been peculiarly wearisome, very costly, and frequently disappointing. I was quite ready to anticipate that labour such as I have bestowed on this subject would not be attractive, and would remain unappreciated. In this country such is the fate of all original research. There are, however, few Englishmen who incur the penalty of neglect.' Starting with such a song of self-praise, the author can escape the charge of vainglory only by offering a set of materials of the utmost rarity and value, compiled with extreme accuracy and handled in a masterly fashion. And this he fails to do. The large number of books and pamphlets by contemporaries, who took a keen and lively interest in the great problems which were then being worked out, are surely the best materials to enable us to realize the social life and feel the public pulse during the Tudor Age. As a commentary and as a check upon the possible exaggerations into which partizanship and excitement are apt to drive contemporary writers, the old account-books, which form the main portion of Mr. Rogers's work, are certainly valuable. But to depend exclusively upon them, and neglect the general literature of the time, is clearly a mistake, by falling into which Mr. Rogers has been led into serious error.

The ancient tenures and customs of manors have not yet completely disappeared from among us. In their vigour they formed the framework of medieval society. Possession of land was the source of power and wealth, but it was also the source of duties and responsibility. In peace and in war a lord of a manor had to serve his country. Nor if he did his work truly was he overpaid. For although in theory he was owner of all the land of his manor, his rights were in reality very circumscribed. A portion only was his 'demesne land,' and this he generally farmed through a bailiff. Of the rest, a portion was divided among 'socage tenants,'—freeholders secure in their tenure so long as they paid a nominal quit rent and certain dues which custom had strictly defined. Another portion was in the hands of

of the 'villeins,' who held their allotments in consideration of labouring on their lord's farm. But here again custom stepped in; it secured their peaceful possession so long as their duties were fulfilled, and changed their forced labour into a fixed money payment. The remaining portion of the manor was the common pasture or waste land. In legal phrase this belonged to the lord, but every dweller within the manor had the right of feeding on it during the summer months as many head of cattle and sheep as the produce of his holding enabled him to maintain during the rest of the year. It was not only the great tract of waste which was thus held in common. Each house or cottage had indeed a croft, or enclosed yard, and probably a close or private meadow; but the arable lands and meadows lay open, and remained so, until a conviction of the wastefulness of this method of husbandry led to the great change of the sixteenth century. Yet, writing so late as 1539, Fitzherbert, the chief agricultural authority of Henry VIII.'s reign, while urging the adoption of the new views, describes a manor still farmed in the mediæval style. The lord is represented as having eleven tenants of all kinds. Among them is the prior of a neighbouring monastery, that holds 'a mesne place, croft, and appurtenances in free alms,' but pays a yearly due of half a pound of pepper. The parson has glebe lands and tythes worth 20*l.* a year. The average quit rent of the ordinary tenant is about 10*s.* by the year. The other dues of the tenures are various, as 'suit of court, two hens and an herriot'; 'homage, fealty, and a sparrow-hawk.' 'The manor place is sufficiently well builded with two cross chambers of stone, brick, or timber, with all manor houses of office within forth [i.e. the *household* offices, as opposed to the barn and other farm buildings], and two barns, and an oxhouse, a hayhouse and a stable, a garden and an orchard.' The 'park close' of thirty acres belongs to it, and the tenants have also enclosed meadows of smaller size. The arable lands lie entirely in five common fields, split up into long narrow parcels, divided from each other by broad grass balks. Of these 'lands' the lord has fifty-six scattered up and down among the five fields. Those of the tenants average from seven to fourteen, but the parson and prior have each twenty. The 'long meadow,' which produced the hay supply of this small community, also lay open, but 'each man's dole' was divided off from his neighbour's 'with great stones between.' Of these doles the lord has eight, containing in all forty acres, while six acres was the ordinary allowance of each tenant. A mention of the 'common pastures, woods, heaths, and moors,' completes the survey of this typical manor.

manor.* The lands thus lying open, and held in common by the lord and his tenants, each man had necessarily to farm like his neighbour; each operation had to be done after one pattern and at a stated season. Custom ruled here as in every department of medieval life. The arable fields were divided into three classes, and it was necessary for tenants to have 'lands' in each class. The first were sown in autumn with wheat or rye; the second in spring with barley or oats; the third lay fallow ready for the autumn sowing of the next year's wheat. Peas or beans might take their turn with these cereals, but the invariable rotation of two crops and a fallow could not be altered without the whole community consenting to and taking part in the change.

But, though one unvarying rule was necessary on each manor, certain districts and soils might allow of a rather different practice. Rich alluvial soils might bear three crops in succession without a fallow, whilst sandy uplands would require alternate years of rest. Three-field husbandry was, however, the common custom, and when Mr. Rogers asserts, without attempting a proof, that 'half the arable land, as a rule, lay fallow,'† he contradicts not only the accepted theories, but also his own facts. He transcribes the accounts of a manor,‡ where each of the ten tenants held twenty acres, and the lord's bailiff annually sowed 182 acres. Had two-field husbandry prevailed, the cultivated area must have reached 564 acres. But the amount of arable land is distinctly limited to 487 acres, a number which coincides perfectly with the above figures, if we suppose three-field husbandry to have been practised.

It long remained the custom for the lords of manors to retain their demesne farms in their own hands. At one time the tillage was done by the forced labour of the villeins, and when this was commuted for a money payment, the sum so obtained enabled the lord's bailiff to hire the necessary labour. But towards the close of the fourteenth century came a great change. The Black Death destroyed half the population. The dearth of people left the corn unharvested and the cattle untended. The labourers met the demand for their services with a refusal any longer to work for their former wages. The landlords, who had resigned their labour dues in the belief that the commutation money would for ever suffice to purchase labour to an equal amount, were threatened with a serious and unfair loss. They held it to be their right as lords of manors to

* Fitzherbert, the 'Boke of Surveyinge,' chaps. 20-23, ed. 1539.

† Vol. i. p. 15.

‡ Ibid. pp. 38-72.

ceive a certain amount of labour, or a sum of money equivalent to it. A protracted struggle ensued; but, despite the law which fixed the scale of wages, and despite the failure of Wat Tyler's rebellion, the labourers ultimately won their claim. The sixteenth century is the golden era of labour in English history. A permanent increase of 50 per cent. in wages was established. A cartizan received 6*d.*, a farm labourer 4*d.*, a day; but wheat maintained its old average of 5*s.* 10*d.* a quarter; and though a slight rise in meat is recorded, it was still, though not the customary food, yet within the purchasing power of the peasant. 10 shillings was a fair price for a sheep.

But the very success of the labourers was the cause of their downfall. The cost of farming distant estates through the hands of agents had never left a large margin of profit to the lords of manors; the increased wages' bill threatened to convert the small profit into a deficit. They ceased, therefore, to farm their outlying manors, but let them out on lease—generally for twenty-one years—to the ancestors of our present tenant-farmer class. But on residential or 'head' manors, such a practice would have been neither convenient nor agreeable. Corn might be bought and stored after harvest for the requirements of the year, but it was essential for a man of substance to have herds of cattle and flocks of sheep ready at hand for the supply of his great household and retinue. Husbandry he might give up; stock-farming he had to continue. It has always suited our national temperament to shut away our eyes from our neighbours' view. The great landowners were therefore probably glad of the opportunity to increase the range of wild grass-land on their demesnes; and parks and warrens begin to be noticed by foreign visitors as characteristic of English landscape. Natural bias concurred with financial advantage in producing this change. Then, as now, high wages and cheap corn inevitably led to the conversion of arable land into pasture. That kind of farming which required the least labour was the most profitable. A shepherd and his dog occupied a stretch of land which many a plough had once worked. The husbandmen disappeared. Their 'township' decayed. Lambs gambolled among the roofless tenements, as we may see them soon in England. But our ancestors had a stronger incitement than we have towards the increase of pasture. We do it in the hope of preserving ourselves from threatened loss; they from a knowledge of acquiring certain gain.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Flanders was the chief seat of the cloth manufacture, and its looms were fed with English wool.

wool. The foreign politics of the two countries were largely influenced by their desire of maintaining a peaceful and unbroken intercourse for the conduct of a trade so profitable to both. They stood to one another in the same relation in which England now stands to Australia—a nation of populous towns making up the produce of an essentially agricultural country. And though the trade was not free between them—for the wool customs formed an important part of the revenues of our kings—England was content to produce the raw material, and receive back the required share of the manufactured article. Many a housewife might weave a coarse homespun, but the finer cloths, worn by all except the poorest class, came from over the Channel. The introduction of Flemish artizans into Norfolk gradually improved English weaving. Every Norfolk village had its looms working for some master clothier; and when it was found that a damper climate was requisite for working certain fine and highly twisted yarns, the looms spread themselves through Oxfordshire into Worcestershire. But the greater home demand for wool by no means diminished the export trade. On the contrary, throughout the fifteenth century it was constantly growing. The increase of European population and the progress of civilization developed the Flemish manufacture. The Low Countries were the richest corner of the world; merchants from all parts met at Antwerp to buy the renowned fabrics. But these depended entirely upon the supply of English wool. A proportion, at least, of the wonderfully silky yet tough fleeces of Leominster or the Cotswolds was necessary for the production of cloth of fine quality, and they could command a monopoly price. The wealth of England, extolled by a Venetian ambassador in Henry VII.'s time, was declared to depend not so much on the great fertility of its soil, or the value of its tin mines, as on 'the extraordinary abundance of the wool which bears such a high price and reputation throughout Europe.'*

Yet, great as was the supply, the demand appears to have increased still more rapidly, and to have almost outstripped it. Economic law had first triumphed over the Statutes of the Realm when the labourers gained their rise in wages after the Black Death. It did so again when the demand for wool revolutionized our agricultural system. Just at the time when the commercial spirit had thoroughly asserted itself, sheep-farming became more than ever profitable; it was now the best investment for capital. Every one sought to become a landowner, and every

* 'Italian Relation of Eng.' p. 28, Camden Society.

landowner

landowner sought to turn his estate into a sheep-run. The tendency which high wages had originated in the fifteenth century spread like a contagion with the higher price of wool; public weal, local custom, prescriptive right, fell before it. The new tide swept away the advantage which the previous one had brought to the labourer. It had reached such a height in 1514, that Henry VIII. was requested to bid it retreat—a duty he undertook readily, but with little success. Petitioners begged that Parliament would consider the prevailing indigence and scarcity, which arose from ‘the great and covetous misusages of farms, not only by gentlemen, but by divers and many merchant adventurers, cloth makers, goldsmiths, butchers, tanners, and other artificers, and unreasonable covetous persons, who daily encroach more farms than they be able to occupy or maintain with tilth and corn, as was wont,’ often joining together ten or sixteen, ‘so that where was in a town twenty or thirty dwelling-houses, they be now decayed, ploughs and all, and all the people clean gone and decayed, and the churches down, and no more parishioners in many parishes but a neatherd and a shepherd.’ The petition was considered by the Government to be founded on a real grievance, and a statute based upon it was passed in the following year.* That land should be looked upon as a private commodity, and farming as an ordinary commercial operation, appeared criminal to statesmen who still considered that possession of property entailed duties and responsibilities. In the same year Sir Thomas More first published his ‘*Utopia*,’ and the traveller who had seen the perfect commonwealth was made to say of England:—

‘Your sheep that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities. For look in what part of the realm doth grow the finest and therefore dearest wool, there noblemen and gentlemen—yea, and certain Abbots, holy men no doubt—not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothing profiting—yea, much noying the weal public—leave no ground for tillage, they inclose all into pastures; they throw down houses, they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing, but only the church to be made a sheephouse. And as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chaces, lands, and parks, those good and holy men turn all dwelling places and all glebelands into desolation and wilderness.’†

* 7 Hen. VIII. cap. 1.

† Sir Thomas More, ‘*Utopia*,’ p. 41. Arber’s ‘*English Reprints*,’ 1869.

The economist of the nineteenth century smiles in pity at the statesmen of the sixteenth. If the economic conditions of England allowed it to compete successfully in the wool-market, why repress the most profitable commodity in favour of one that was less profitable? But to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market was not in that age considered the aim and end of human endeavour. On the contrary, Tudor statesmen looked upon it as a pernicious doctrine, likely to interfere with man's duty to God and his neighbour, which they were appointed to enforce. Besides, the increase of sheep-farming was not the only evil which they felt called upon to restrain. It was closely interwoven with a great set of difficulties which alarmed and perplexed them. They lived in an age of transition, which was drifting them they knew not whither. The human mind refused any longer to be kept in tutelage; it had outgrown the all-controlling regulations which had been laid down for its religious, political, and social conduct. In the break up of the old system, each man pursued an independent line of action. Taught that the religion which had domineered over him was a pitiful and empty superstition, instead of clinging to a pure and better faith, he, in too many cases, lost all reverence, and spirit of abnegation. He would obey only his own will, his own pleasure; he would seek only his own advantage. He would not spare himself to build a house to God, but to build a house for himself. His palace would be more expensive than his father's church. His sideboard would groan under a heavier weight of massy plate than that with which the piety of generations had loaded the altar of the neighbouring minster. 'God's church cried one who bemoaned the decay of old customs, 'is now merchandize.'

'Gret men makithe now a dayes
A shepecott in the churche.

* * * *

The places that we Right holy call
Ordeyned ffor christyan buriall
Off them to make an ox stall
thes men be wonders wyse.*

New ideas had arisen, to be carried out by practices hitherto avoided. New wants were felt, to be satisfied by luxuries hitherto unknown.

In the scramble men entirely forgot the position into which they were born, and in which hitherto it had been deemed that they should live and die. Clever adventurers in all stations

* Ballad of "Now-a-dayes," 'Ballads from MSS.' vol. i. p. 97.

of life were able to carve out fortunes.* Merchants 'smell out every unthrifty heir,' and give him fair words till they have got all his lands from him, and then 'buy noble wards' to make husbands or wives for their children. Prosperous yeomen, instead of giving their surplus to the poor, keep it in store in order to send their sons to the University and turn them into gentlemen. On the other hand, the higher grades of society seek to increase their fortunes by occupations which were supposed to be degrading—'Gentlemen be turned sheep-mongers.' The coal trade is no longer left to poor men, but engrossed by 'Knights Colliers.'† Dukes and barons 'bargain like market men.'‡

'Men of great port and countenance are so far from suffering their farmers to have any gain at all, that they themselves become graziers, butchers, tanners, sheepmasters, woodmen, et denique quid non.'§

Nay, rumour speaks of—

'one ancient lady which maketh great profit by selling yearly her husband's venison to the cooks, as another of no less name will not stick to ride to the market to see her butter sold, but not performed without infinite scoffs and mocks even of the poorest peasants of the country, who think them as odious matters in ladies and women of such countenance to sell their venison and their butter, as for an earl to feel his oxen, sheep, and lambs, whether they be ready for the butcher or no.'||

The fortunes thus obtained are not spent as heretofore in keeping open house, maintaining the poor, supporting the Church, but in every form of selfish extravagance. The change was no real evil, although it appeared so to the thinkers of the time. It was a necessary part of the increasing civilization. Formerly the baron's scale of living had differed from that of the yeoman in quantity rather than quality. His furniture was scarce and clumsy, his fare abundant but coarse. He did not understand luxury, and spent little upon it. To maintain a vast household best suited his taste and his ambition; but it did not conduce to the peace or prosperity of the realm. Warwick was able to throw England into civil war and be a 'King Maker,' because his exceptionally large income enabled him to pay wages to an exceptionally large array of fighting men, and curry favour with an exceptionally large number of sturdy beggars, by feeding them with the broken remains of his dependants'

* See "*Vox Populi, vox Dei*," 'Ballads from MSS.' vol. i. p. 131.

† Crowley.

‡ W. Forrest.

§ Harrison's 'Description,' bk. ii. Furnivall's ed. part i. p. 243.

|| *Ibid.* p. 302-5.

feasts. But with the Renaissance the fashion changed; it brought in a desire for the more delicate gratification of the senses. 'Is there not,' it was remarked, 'such excess and costliness of apparel, because of diversity and change of fashion, that scarce a worshipful man's land, which in time past was wont to find and maintain twenty or thirty tall yeomen, and a plentiful household for the relief and comfort of many poor and needy, and the same now is not sufficient and able to maintain the household of the same lands, his wife, her gentlewoman or maid, two young men, and one lackey?' The eye and the palate made serious demands upon incomes, which serving-men and paupers had hitherto monopolized. But the labour—or rather almost the neglect of all labour—of these was wholly unproductive. Eminent men and abbot had hitherto vied with each other in pauperizing their neighbourhood; and the change which encouraged handicraftsmen rather than loafers was beneficial, even though the commodities which they were required to produce were luxuries rather than necessities, the prize of the few rather than of the many. The 'new host of tailors and cooks,' and those 'occupied in curious device of new-fangled things concerning the vanities and pleasures only of the body,'* were a lesser evil than the 'idle rout' they displaced. But we can quite understand that the parasite army, which was thus threatened with starvation, would not share this opinion; that their cries and lamentations would soften many a tender heart; that the vagrancy and theft which ensued would be a source of anxiety to statesmen; and that the sight of so many, who had hitherto gained an honest though useless livelihood, 'stuffing prisons and garnishing gallies and trees,' inclined many a moralist to believe in the 'ruin of the realm.'†

Nor was it merely the King and the courtier nobles who caught this new spirit of luxury in dress and in food. Cardinal Pole, in reported conversations on the state of the commonwealth while he was a student at Oxford in 1520, declares that there was almost no man content to wear cloth made at home, but that they had all required the finer materials of Flanders or the silks of Italy or Lyons, and that every mean gentleman would for the most part fare as well as beforetime were wont princes and lords. The saying that 'many idle gluttons make victuals dear' had passed into a common proverb.‡ The outbreak of the building was as noticeable as that which at the present day is defacing England with ill-built villas and sordid cottages.

* Starkey's dialogue, p. 80, E. E. T. Soc.

† See "The Ruin of a Realm," 'Ballads from MS.' vol. i. p. 159.

‡ Starkey's dialogue, p. 95, E. E. T. S.

but the work was very different in quality and appearance. King Henry was perpetually building on an extravagant scale. The old part of Hampton Court remains as a proof of the expenditure which Prime Ministers of the sixteenth century might indulge in. When the monasteries were dissolved, the fairest specimens of the purest age of ecclesiastical architecture were treated as mere quarries for the clumsy and debased, though solid and comfortable, mansions of the new possessors; and even 'mean men' built themselves houses 'fit for princes.' Not only were the buildings themselves 'costuous,' but the tapestries and furniture of the interiors were on a scale hitherto unparalleled. The precious metals were used in decoration to an extent which alarmed an age in which coins were deemed the 'sinews of the realm.' Men 'daubed their posts and walls with gold.'

This increased expenditure on the part of landowners—till this time the only wealthy class in England—was a great strain upon their resources. The cost of the equipment for the Field of the Cloth of Gold ruined many a spendthrift knight.

'Oh many
Have broke their backs by laying manors on them
For this great journey,'

wrote Shakspeare fifty years later. The mortgage and eventual sale of estates to merchants became frequent, as we have already seen. But a change of hands, now deemed of the utmost value by our land reformers, was at that time most prejudicial to the interests of the agricultural classes. For though the merchants who bought estates were ambitious of gradually merging into the ranks of the aristocracy, they yet looked upon their purchases as a speculative investment, out of which the greatest profit was to be made. They therefore strained to the utmost their rights as landlords, and introduced—by analogy to the chattel property which had hitherto formed their only wealth—the totally new theory with respect to land, that 'they might do as they listed with their own.'* Such practices also came natural to the band of political adventurers, who now governed in the place of the old nobility, and who formed the main body of the new grantees of the confiscated monastic property. But even some of the hereditary owners, who saw many of their more extravagant brethren forced to part with their family estates, and who desired to copy their scale of expense without sharing their ruin, accepted the same expedients as an alter-

* Crowley's 'Works,' p. 46, E. E. T. Soc.

native. The first and wealthiest of the ancient nobility under Henry VIII. was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. A distant descent from a Plantagenet gave him a shadowy claim to the throne. Shadowy as it was, it was enough to turn his head and bring him to the scaffold. His ambition therefore made him seek after popularity, yet he seems to have shared the general disregard for the rights and happiness of the lower classes. His exceptional income made it unnecessary for him to oppress them for profit. He did it none the less for his pleasure and convenience. The description of the condition of his chief seat of Thornbury, given after his execution by the royal escheaters, is extremely characteristic of the times. The castle itself was found in the builder's hands. The Duke was not behindhand in bringing his residences into sympathy with his age. The south side was already 'fully finished with curious works and stately lodgings.' The west and north had as yet risen but one story from the ground. On the east side still stood 'the old building of homely fashion.' Beyond lay the garden. It was 'goodly to walk in.' Its chief feature was a large orchard, laid out in straight alleys; and in different parts, set up on mounds of good height, were 'roosting places,' or summer houses bowered in white thorn and hazel. Adjoining the orchard was the 'New Park,' containing about four miles, and within it were 700 deer. It had been made—to suit the added splendour of the place—out of lands previously occupied in husbandry, for we are told that the Duke had 'enclosed into the park divers men's lands, as well freehold as copyhold, and no recompense as yet is made for the same; and lately he hath also enclosed into the same park two fair tenements, with barns and other houses well builded with stone and slate, and 500 acres of land.' Altogether the rents and farms of the estate had been diminished one-fifth by enclosures.*

But though we see clearly that the Duke was not prevented by the vested interests of his poorer neighbours from extending the limits of his pleasure grounds, he had no settled plan of ejecting them from their holdings for the sake of any change in the agricultural economy of his estates; nor do we find complaints of any rise in rents. Such was not the practice of the old landowning class. The universal desire for wealth was in this case restrained by the dislike of disturbance and unpopularity sure to be felt by old-established families. They form the exceptions, which the most virulent exponent of landowning abuse readily allows, while he exclaims against 'they that of

* Prof. Brewer's 'Calendar,' vol. iii. part i. pp. 506-7.

late are made rich.' The earls who feel their sheep and cattle 'whether they be ready for the butcher or no,' and the great ladies who sell venison and butter, are mentioned as eccentric cases, not as examples of their class. 'It was merry in England afore the new learning came up,' said the old Duke of Norfolk; 'yea, I would all things were as they hath been in times past;' and he kept the religion and customs of his fathers. The new men alone make this age an epoch in the history of our land, as they do in the history of our Church. Had the old proprietors kept their place, had the dissolution of the monasteries and the spirit of extravagance not brought vast districts into the hands of men imbued with 'new learning,' the feudal spirit might long have continued to live as the basis of the English land system, as it did in most continental countries. That it was replaced by the principle of free contract and by improved methods of husbandry, we certainly owe to the new landed proprietors under the Tudors. But we must not forget at what cost these advantages were bought. Like many reformers, they looked at progress from the point of view of individual profit; a valuable change was marred and made an engine of oppression by the selfishness of those who carried it out. Their descendants, once firmly rooted to the soil, became the most considerate and hardworking aristocracy the world has seen, and have continued to this day to deserve the respect of the nation. But the conduct of the founders of their families teaches us to beware how we allow new and untried men to possess themselves of the land in a time of social revolution.

'Who,' wrote the learned Ascham, 'are the authors of such great miseries? It is those who now throughout England have burdened the lands of the monasteries with oppressive rents.'* The 'poor commons' complain to the King, in 1546, that those who have bought the abbey lands from him declare the old leases void thereby. Though the tenants, according to the frequent practice on the Church estates, may have got their holdings for a term of lives, two or three of which have yet to run, the new possessioners force them to take out fresh leases for twenty-one years, 'overing both fines and rents beyond all reason and conscience.'† Better—cries a Puritan—better for the commonwealth if those 'Imps of Antichrist,' the monks and nuns, had kept their estates; they never enhanced their lands or took so cruel fines as do our temporal tyrants; the clergy in their prosperity outdid the lords in their covetousness, now the

* Ascham's 'Works,' ed. Giles, vol. i. p. 140-1.

† 'Four Supplications,' p. 80, E. E. T. S. 1871.

lords having their spoils are infected with their disease, they not only raise their rents, but become parsons, vicars, millers, masons, and shepherds; their sheep alone eat up all the corn meadows, and heaths.* Such was the view which the stoutest Protestant was forced to take, twelve short years after the monasteries were dissolved.

The quotations which we have already given clearly show that the evils complained of all fall into two classes, enclosures and rack rents. We assert, in direct contradiction to Mr. Rogers's repeated opinion, that the land question under the Tudors resolves itself into a consideration of these two points. He assures us that 'there is abundant reason to believe that the art of Agriculture was absolutely stationary during the whole period comprised in these volumes (1400-1582). The evidence of prices generally would be conclusive to those who are accustomed to interpret figures; there is for the general reader equally conclusive evidence in the two agricultural treatises of Fitzherbert;' and again, 'it does not in any way appear from Fitzherbert that any material change was effected in the economy of English Agriculture from the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century.'

Now, on the contrary, we are prepared to interpret Mr. Rogers's own figures, and to adduce Fitzherbert as evidence to show that both the system and practice of Husbandry in England were in a greatly altered and improved condition in 1582 from what they had been in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. What the old system was, we have already seen; that it still existed in the time of Fitzherbert is true, for we illustrated the working of the system by a reference to his description of the 'Manor of Dale,'† and if this description had occupied the whole of Fitzherbert's treatise, he might certainly have been cited to prove the permanence of the old system of rural economy. But it is not so; and if we compare certain other portions of the treatise we shall see that the economy of the manor of Dale had ceased to be the universal rule, and that it was rapidly being displaced by a different system, the adoption of which Fitzherbert himself advises, though he deprecates the rise in rents which went hand in hand with it. In a single paragraph he destroys two of Mr. Rogers's most cherished conclusions.

'The common pasture,' he tells us in the 8th chapter of the 'Booke of Surveyinge,' 'may be so good that the tenants need not to have any several pasture, but that the common pasture should be able to find all their cattle, both horses, mares, beasts, and sheep, and so

* Brinklow, pp. 9 and 37.

† See above, p. 95.

was of old time that all the lands, meadows, and pastures, lay open and unclosed. And then were their tenements much better cheap than they be now, for the most part of the lords have enclosed their demesne lands and meadows, and keep them in severalty, so that their tenants have no common with them therein, and also the lords have inclosed a great part of their waste grounds and streightened their tenants of their commons therein, and also have given licence to divers of their tenants to enclose part of their arable lands, and take in new intakes or closes out of the commons, paying to their lord more rent herefore, so that common pastures waxen less and the rents of the tenants waxen more and more; and that is because the tenants waxen more politic in wisdom to improve their tenements, holdings, and farms.

That the great change from common to severalty was marred by the grasping spirit of the new lords and possessioners, was sadly felt by Fitzherbert; but the advantages of it were so apparent that, while exhorting the landlords to be moderate in their demands, he exhibits a scheme whereby the change might be carried out with equity and profit to all. In his chapter on 'how to make a township that is worth twenty marks a year worth twenty pounds a year,' he counsels every man to count up how many acres he has both in arable fields and meadows, and range with his neighbours, and lay them together, and make himself several close in every field. He will then be able to farm at his own convenience, and be rewarded for his own industry, so that if an acre be worth fivepence a year before, it will be worth eightpence after enclosure. The lords should therefore be all of one assent that their tenants should exchange lands one with another; the said exchange to endure for ever, be curate and bailiff seeing that it be done with fairness. The farms should then be let on leases of three lives made at the old rent, but with an obligation laid upon the tenant that he should carry out the necessary hedging and ditching to make the enclosure complete. This he and his family could do in from six to nine years, without let to their husbandry, and then the profit would be great. At the end of the lease the lord would be allowed to raise the rent, and his turn of profit would come. The force of this argument was undeniable, and Fitzherbert's contemporaries fully agreed with him. Tusser, after a life spent in experiments to improve husbandry, declares

'More profit is quieter found
(where pastures in seuerall bee :)
Of one seelie aker of ground
than champion maketh of three.'

He contrasts the backward state of Leicestershire, where the land was

was fertile but open, with the wealth of such enclosed counties as Essex and Suffolk, and asserts that a severalty farmer is better off with half the land and double the rent, than one whose holding lies in the 'Champion' or open fields.

The wonder is, not that the new system was widely adopted, but that it did not become universal. This is explained by an Elizabethan moralist as arising from a determination of the landlords to have the exclusive profit. 'Our enclosers will have all or none, they close themselves in, and shut all the rest out, so where they cannot do this the commons remain open, to the great loss of the landlords, the tenants, and the realm.*' The true explanation, however, lies in the extreme conservatism of both lords and tenants, in those parts of England which were least open to new influences. The south-eastern counties were then the wealthiest and the most civilized. They largely adopted the enclosure system, both for the great sheep pastures and for arable lands. The poorer and more backward north-west changed slowly, and might, in the worst instances, answer to the description which Mr. Rogers applies to the whole realm.

This desire after a better and more profitable system would almost surely be accompanied by attempts at an improved and more skilful practice, resulting in a higher rate of production. Fitzherbert has already told us that the 'more politic wisdom' of the tenants tended that way, and Mr. Rogers's evidence must be very strong before we can agree with him that the 'art of agriculture was absolutely stationary.' We will accept his own description of what it had been; the art of medieval husbandry, he declares, 'differs from that of later times by its deficiencies. The land was imperfectly drained, the working of the soil was shallow. . . . Scanty as the crop was, it seems to have been very exhausting.'† . . . 'I find no trace of harrowing or rolling.'‡ He concludes from the farming accounts of the Merton College estates, from 1333 to 1336, that the average of all corn crops on all soils was about fourteen bushels per acre.

This is the state of things which Mr. Rogers bids us believe remained in its integrity until 1582, and as proof he refers us to Fitzherbert. But though in this author we do not yet find rotation of crops which, by means of roots and artificial grasses enabled farmers to do away with fallow, we may gather many signs of better husbandry, especially in the very points quoted above from Mr. Rogers. He specially enjoins the husbandman to 'do the best he can to plough a broad furrow and a deep, &c

* Lupton's 'Sivqila,' Part ii. fol. k. iii.

† Vol. i. p. 34.

‡ Ibid. p. 16.

that he turn it clean and lay it flat that it rear not on the edge. For the deeper and the broader that he goeth the more new mold and the greater clods he shall have.' And again, when the husbandman has a scarcity of manure, he counsels deep and repeated inverse ploughing, for 'so shall he find new mould that was not seen in a hundred years before, the which must needs give more corn than the other did before.' Harrowing and rolling, far from being unknown, have become a part of the ordinary routine. 'When the lands be ploughed and the corns sowed, it is convenient that they be *well harrowed*, or else crows, doves, and other birds will eat and bear away the corns.' 'And they use to roll their barley ground after a shower of rain.' Tusser lays special stress upon these two operations, and among other rules on the subject says—

'Friend, harrow in time by some maner of meanes
not onely thy peason but also thy beanes.
Unharrowed die—being buried in clay—
where harrowed flourish like flowers in May.

* * * * *

Some rowleth their barlie straight after a raine,
when first it appeareth, to leauell it plaine,
The barlie so used the better doth growe,
and handsome ye make it at haruest to mowe.'

We have therefore sufficient direct proof that the art was not at a standstill; we shall confirm it in an indirect way by showing that the more skilful efforts of the husbandman were rewarded by an ampler yield. The materials for determining this most important point in a history of agriculture are very scarce for this period, and Mr. Rogers avoids it. One paper, however, published by him, will help us in this matter; it is interesting as showing his method of 'interpreting figures,' and may in some way explain the extraordinary nature of his conclusions. The paper is a valuation of a farmer's stock at Deddington in 1530. His holding contained fifty-two acres of arable land, and the corn harvested is eighty-two quarters of all sorts. Mr. Rogers divides eighty-two by fifty-two, and concludes that 'this gives the produce of his land at rather more than twelve and a half bushels per acre.' Does he wish us to gather that this represents the rate of production in the sixteenth century? Has he forgotten his old dictum, 'half the arable land as a rule lay fallow'? According to his own statement, the rate of production on the Deddington farm would be not twelve and a half, but twenty-five bushels per acre. That three-field and not two-field husbandry prevailed, we have already shown; and if this paper proves anything,

thing, it proves that the rate of production had risen to about eighteen or nineteen bushels per acre, or one-third more than the fourteenth-century average. This single case shows just such an increase as the improved methods of farming, which we have seen, would lead us to expect, and is borne out by an excellent authority. William Harrison was Chaplain to Lord Cobham, and Rector of an Essex parish; a man of moderate views, who often saw both sides of a question, keen-sighted, observant, and truthful. He prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicle a 'Description of England,' which is the best contemporary account of England in Queen Elizabeth's day. In it he tells us that 'certainly our soil is even now in these our days grown to be much more fruitful than it hath been in times past. The cause is for that *our countrymen are grown to be more painful, skilful, and careful*, through recompence of gain, than heretofore they have been. *Hence men can now reap great commodity in little room*, whereas till late a great compass hath yielded but little profit.' . . . 'As for corn in mean and indifferent years, each acre of rye or wheat well tilled and drest will yield commonly 16 or 20 bushels, barley 36, oats 32 to 40, but less towards the North and sometimes more in the South, as I have often marked.'* Harrison speaks and answers especially for that part of England where he lived and observed—those south-eastern counties which we have already mentioned as the most forward in all reformation, where the lands would be certain to be 'well tilled and drest,' and the productive power greatest. For the northern parts, where the old system remained unchanged, the average would certainly be much too high; for the more populous and important regions it was necessarily right for yet another reason. The enormous increase of pasturage is admitted on all hands; the statutes against it were almost entirely inoperative; Mr. Rogers—immoderate as usual—declares that 'sheep rearing was carried on to so great an extent as apparently to supersede corn growing.' But in that case how was England supplied with corn? We hear of no vast import. In bad seasons corn from the Baltic was introduced, it is true. But if corn growing was 'superseded,' a good or a bad season would have made little difference; England would have been as dependent upon the foreign supply in the reign of Elizabeth as it is in the reign of Victoria. But, on the contrary, frequent proclamations regulating corn exports show us that the home supply was larger than the demand when the season was good; and the dearth of

* Harrison's description. Holinshed's 'Chron.' vol. i. pp. 109-10, ed. 1577.

1594 is attributed by Stow rather to the 'over transporting by our merchants for their private gain than to the unreasonableness of the weather past.' Nor did the price of corn rise in greater proportion than other commodities—than the sheep, for instance, that had become so universal. How then was the supply kept up and the price kept down? The only possible answer is, that the rate of production had largely increased; that when the farmers were limited in the extent of land which they might have under the plough, their husbandry became more intensive. By deeper ploughing, by more expert manuring, by harrowing and rolling, they sought to obtain heavier and more frequent crops on land which, owing to inclosures, they were able to work, without let or hindrance, according to improved methods. Thus they were able to 'reap great commodity in little room.' Thus we are not surprised at being told by the most intelligent economist of the time that of late years we have had plenty of corn good cheap, because one acre bears as much as two most commonly were wont to do.*

We trust we have now said enough to remove the false impression which Mr. Rogers creates on this important question; his second great fallacy now remains to be disproved—

'No rise in real rent,' he tells us, 'was possible in England from the time at which my inquiries commence to the period at which these two volumes close (1259-1582), for the very sufficient reason that no progress whatever was made in the art of agriculture as practised in England during the 324 years comprised in the four volumes.'

We answer, that the art of agriculture having decidedly advanced before 1582, and a large portion of the land having fallen into the hands of men determined to make the greatest profit out of it, a 'rise in real rent' must of necessity have taken place. We do not assert that that rise was universal. On the contrary, we believe that for a long time it was essentially limited to those counties which were the first to adopt improved husbandry, and to those estates which had changed owners. Now it is noticeable that Mr. Rogers leaves these estates entirely out of the question; he depends, as evidence of the truth of his position, upon the rent-rolls of corporations, and the condition of their estates. It would agree perfectly with our argument, to find that the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were the last to retain medieval customs. We do not go to the most conservative element of a community to discover the germs of an impending

* Stafford's 'Brief Examination,' 1581, ed. Farnivall, p. 43.

change. When therefore Mr. Rogers concludes that 'it appears from the record of the rentals at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, that it was difficult to raise rents directly, and that there could have been at this time, and for long afterwards, little competition between occupants for the use of land, that in fact competition rents had not come into existence;' we allow that what he says may be quite true in the case of Corpus Christi College and other corporations, but it throws no light whatever upon the more important aspects of the land question at this time. The historian of the future will fail to appreciate the origin of the present land agitation in Ireland, and Mr. Gladstone's legislation on the subject, if he confines his enquiry to the rent-rolls of the Leinster, Lansdowne, or Fitzwilliam estates. He will find the solution of the question in the action of the capitalists who bought land under the Encumbered Estates Act as an ordinary commercial speculation, and who allowed no old custom to stand in the way of the profits of their investment.

We turn away, therefore, from the accounts of Colleges, to gather contemporary opinions on the action of the new landlords. Long before the monasteries were dissolved, Reginald Pole, afterwards Archbishop and Cardinal, is reported to have said, 'Another evil, which few men observe, is *the enhancing of rents of late days*,' and to have proposed the publication of an ordinance bringing back rents to what they had been 'when England flourished.*' Our next authority shall be an author to whom Mr. Rogers himself appeals. Fitzherbert wrote the 'Boke of Surveyinge' at the very time that the abbey lands were passing into the hands of courtiers and merchants. He recognized the rising tendency of stretching proprietary rights to their utmost; and he therefore writes:

'I make this booke to the entent that the lords, the freeholders, nor their heirs, should not be disinherited nor have their lands lost nor imbeseld, nor encroached the one from an other. But I exhort that when they know where their lands lie, and what every pasture or parcel is worth by the year, that they do not heighten the rents to their tenants, or cause them to pay more rent or greater fine than they have been accustomed to do in time past. For, as me seemeth, a greater charity nor alms deed a man may not well do than upon his own tenant, and also, to the contrary, a greater bribery nor extortion a man cannot do than upon his own tenants, for they dare not say nay nor complain.†

That Fitzherbert's exhortation was by no means listened to, we have ample evidence to show. Perhaps the most valuable

* Starkey's 'Dialogue,' p. 175, E. E. T. Soc. † 'Boke of Surveyinge,' p. 3.

for our purpose is that contained in the 'Supplication of the poor Commons,' already referred to, for it not only shows the prevalence of heavy fines, that is, premiums on the renewal of leases, which Mr. Rogers admits, but it also asserts, what he denies, a rise in the absolute yearly rent. After complaining that they are worse off now than when the monks held the lands, and that they can get no farm or cottage at the hands of those 'sturdy extortioners,' their new landlords, without paying unto them more than they can make, they add: 'Yea this was tolerable, so long as, after this extreme exaction, we were not for the residue of our years oppressed with much greater rents than hath of ancient time been paid for the same grounds; for then a man might within a few years be able to recover his fine, and afterwards live honestly by his travail. But now these extortioners have so improved their lands that they make of 40*s.* fine, 40*l.*, and of V nobles rent, V pounds.' *

But the rise in rents which is noticed during the reign of Henry VIII. was as nothing compared to the rise which took place during the reign of his son. In 1527 Henry VIII. first had recourse to what was then the common practice of princes in financial difficulties; he debased the coinage. Having once entered into the downward path, he continued in it until, in 1546, three shillings were made out of the same amount of silver which at the beginning of the reign had been put into one. The most rapid rise in prices that England has witnessed was the immediate consequence. The wheat average from 1500 to 1550 is 6*s.* a quarter; from 1550 to 1582, 14*s.* a quarter. The restoration of the coinage by Elizabeth, in 1560, failed entirely in bringing back prices to their old standard, partly because the flood of New World silver, which had already overspread the Continent, now began to penetrate into England; partly because Elizabeth's coinage, though pure, was very much lighter than it had been in times past. At one time a pound had really been but twenty shillings; from 1560 forward, sixty shillings have been coined out of a pound of silver.

At first sight it might appear that an alteration in the standard of value would not produce results of any great importance. If every four pence were coined into a shilling, there would be three times the number of shillings; every one would ask three shillings for what he had previously sold for one, and nobody would gain or lose. But practically this is not the case. There would be a period of shifting and uncertainty, to the profit of some, to the detriment of others; and

* 'Four Supplications,' pp. 79, 80, E. E. T. Soc.

even when all prices had finally readjusted themselves according to the new standard, it would be found that in many cases they had not retained their original ratio; that some would be relatively higher, some relatively lower. This we may lay down as a general rule; but it is peculiarly applicable to the case in point. We have already characterized the Tudor period as that in which commercial views and the spirit of competition first obtain prominence; it was, however, exceedingly difficult to overcome these tendencies to assert themselves; men had so long dwelt amid a set of customs, that they were chained to them, and nothing but a great and sudden social dislocation could break the bonds. Such a dislocation was caused by the depreciation of the coinage. Rents, dues, wages, the cost of commodities had all been largely traditional, and so long as tradition held own they did not bear their proper relation to changed circumstances. But a sudden and distracting alteration in the value of the circulating medium caused a complete readjustment of prices; a different sum of money had in each case to be given for every payment: according to what law should that sum be assessed? The commercial spirit stepped in and answered 'according to the law of supply and demand.' Custom, though it obtained a large measure of Government support, and was still cherished by some—by the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges for example—proved the weaker, and had in a majority of cases to give way.

Who, then, will gain in the struggle, who will lose? In what is there a great demand, of what is there a great supply? A period of considerable peace and prosperity was causing an increase of the population; the whole scale of wages had been fixed when the population was decimated by the plague, and was therefore very high; now the supply of labour had again become large, while the prevalence of pasture-farming had lessened the demand to an extent which the somewhat increased trade and manufacture of the country did not fully counterbalance. Evidently, therefore, the labourers will lose; and so, in fact, we find that, whereas the cost of living was nearly trebled, the wages were but twice what the old ones had been. The wage bill being thus comparatively lessened, the employers of labour will profit; and as the demand for food by the greater population raised the produce of land to a higher comparative price, and improved husbandry increased the rate of production, the profit of the farmers would be enhanced from three distinct sources. But together with the other classes of the community the tenant-farmers had multiplied; whilst the great number of gentlemen who were 'turned sheepmongers,' and often

20,000 sheep in their flocks, occupied such vast tracts of land in pasture, that the number of tenancies was diminished. A great demand for farms would ensue, and a large portion of the added profits of husbandry would go to the landlords in the shape of rent. We shall therefore expect to find after the middle of the sixteenth century a spirit of competition causing a sensible increase of 'real rent'—that is, an increase in rent greater in proportion than the average rise in prices. As a matter of fact, competition for farms—so emphatically denied by Mr. Rogers—appears before the great rise in prices. Fitzherbert, after adverting to the improvements made by tenants in their holdings, adds, 'at the end of the term, an other man that made no cost of the said improvements offreth the lord certain money for a fine to have it, or to heighten the rent of the same, so that he that made the cost or his children shall not have the said farm without he will give as much or more as is offered to the lord; and so, through the envy of his neighbour and the covetousness of the lord and his officers, the poor tenant hath a great loss, or else utterly undone to amend it.'* And in 1542 we are told of the practice of the new possessioners of the abbey lands, that if more rent was offered by 'another rich covetous carl which hath too much already' than was paid by the existing tenant, 'out he must,' though the result to him might be beggary and death.† But after the middle of the century the feeling against these covetous neighbours grew higher as their number became greater. Thomas Lupton is the author of a treatise published in 1581—still within Mr. Rogers's period—which sheds great light upon the social questions of his day. It is in the form of a dialogue between Sivqila (aliquis, Some one), an English citizen, and Omen (nemo, No one), a member of the Utopian community, Mauqsun (nusquam, Nowhere). Competition rents are treated largely as one of the greatest and most prevalent evils in England, which, however, is entirely absent from 'Nowhere,' (or, as a recent writer has it, 'Erewhon,') owing to the humanity of its people and the stern laws of its government. After some preliminary remarks:

'Some one says:—Then I perceive it is hard to find a raiser of rents with you.

'No one.—Yea verily it is as impossible to find one enhancer of rents with us as it is easy to find many with you, and to say true it were but a folly for any to do so with us, for he should not find a tenant that would give a penny more than the old rent; and if any should, we have never a landlord will take it.

'Some one.—If the tenants had done so with us, our rents would

* 'Surveyinge,' cap. 8.

† Brinclow, p. 9, E. E. T. Soc.

not have been so racked as they are; but truly many of them are so envious of their neighbour's prosperity and so greedy of their own commodity that they are the chief occasion of the unreasonable enhancing of our rents; for they have, and do daily go to the owners of their neighbour's farms (and some of them which I call their neighbours dwell 20 or 40 miles from them), and profer so much that the landlord, being suddenly griped with the greedy worm, doth take his gentle and unsought for offer, and so thrust out his old tenant when his lease is expired, and perhaps before, if money or might may do it.'

Upon which 'No one' asks what punishment such greedy cut-throats suffer, and is answered none, except the enjoyment of their ill-gotten gain. 'No one' then explains that they have a law which would prevent all danger of such a state of things arising, even if the good people of 'Nowhere' took to evil ways:—

'Whosoever shall go about to take his neighbour's house or farm over his head, shall himself have his taken from him and set or let to his poorest neighbour for the space of seven years, and none shall be permitted to let him another, and he shall bear on his back and bosom these words all the time: "This man went about to put his neighbour out of house."'

Lupton's evidence of men coming forty miles in search of farms shows how considerable the demand must have been, and how profitable husbandry had become, despite the greatly increased sums which farmers had to pay for their holdings. But we must not forget that the old rentals were exceedingly low. They had been fixed at a time when high wages and a low rate of production had made husbandry so little profitable, that the landlords had been obliged to give up their old practice of farming their demesnes through an intermediary, and had been willing to let them to any tenant who offered them a merely nominal sum; and though the farmers were in a very flourishing condition during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, custom caused, in most cases, a continuation of the old rents until some disturbing element, such as a change in the ownership of land, or a reassessment of prices to a new standard, forced on an alteration. But so slow were the old owners of land to take advantage of their improved position and demand a fairer share in the profits of their land, that the occasion was seized by speculators to derive gain as middlemen. 'There be certain tenants not able to be landlords, and yet, after a sort, they counterfeit landlords by obtaining leases in and upon grounds and tenements, and so raise fines, incomes, and rents; and by such pillage they pike out a portion to maintain a proud
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port, and all by pilling and polling of the poor commons, that must of necessity seek habitations at their hands.* Either by the landlord or the 'leasemonger,' therefore, farms and tenements were let to the highest bidder wherever the spirit of progress showed itself. Mr. Rogers admits that the profits of the Elizabethan farmer in money would seem to be more than three times those gained in the early years of Edward III. The lower rate of wages, the higher price of agricultural produce, greater skill in husbandry, were the three sources from which these increased profits were derived. Hence the sum which it was now worth a farmer's while to offer was out of all proportion to the old nominal rents of the previous age, and we are not surprised at being told by Latimer, in 1549, that the farm for which his father had formerly paid 3*l.* or 4*l.* by the year would then fetch 16*l.* or more; or to hear that farmers paid 'fourfold double rent';† or that the four pound rent was 'improved into forty pounds.'‡ Even if we multiply the old payments by two and a half, to bring them up to the altered money value, the increase is striking, and the change which 'few men observed' when Cardinal Pole was young, was in everybody's mouth before he died.

Mr. Rogers's position is clearly untenable. He himself at one time appears to have doubted its strength, or to have deserted it in the pursuit of a still more favourite object. Fitzherbert noticed that the practice of improving land by marling, though common in the North, had ceased to be a custom of the South, and he suggests as one reason of this, that the tenants are 'so doubtful of their landlords, that if they should marl and make their holdings much better, they fear lest they should be put out, or make a great fine, or *else pay more rent*;' and Mr. Rogers, forgetting his rent theory, seizes this opportunity for a piece of partizan declamation against the English land system, which might be excused on a Southwark platform, but which is entirely out of place in a serious historical work:—

'It is instructive to see the beginning of that rapacity which has deterred the tenant from making improvements, lest he should have to pay on his own outlay, a rapacity which has done more to hinder the growth of agriculture as opposed to stock breeding than any other cause, which has made good husbandry in England the accident of the farmer's occupation, and has checked innumerable improvements; and also the beginning of that distrust and negligence which has at

* Crowley's 'Works,' pp. 166–7, E. E. T. Soc.

† Starkey's 'Life,' p. xciv, E. E. T. Soc.

‡ Harrison, p. 241, ed. Farnivall.

last, after the occurrence of a few unpropitious seasons, involved tenant and landlord in a common ruin. . . . It is a question of profound interest . . . whether English agriculture must not permanently decline, or the public good must not be consulted by sweeping away a number of untenable and mischievous customs, and abolishing a host of disastrous and demoralizing privileges.'

For the credit of a book which, despite its many blunders, contains much useful material, Mr. Rogers, before writing such a paragraph, ought to have remembered that England in the Tudor period was studded with small proprietors, especially in the marl districts of Kent, and that Fitzherbert acknowledges that their negligence in improving their land is due to no landlord rapacity, but to sheer laziness and content to live as their fathers did before them. We cannot think that Mr. Rogers belongs to that school of Radicals who believe that power need only be given to them, for the spirit of evil to disappear and the world to be turned into a happy Arcadia. Surely the only honest way to estimate the value of one human institution is to compare it with others of its class. That the English land system is not perfect we agree. We only ask, Is it worse than others? Was England better cultivated when yeomen owned a third of the land? Is our rate of production lower than that of countries where peasant proprietorship prevails? Let us take the instance of a district where not only modern landlords cannot 'check the growth of agriculture' by the exercise of their 'rapacity,' but where apparently no blighting feudalism ever existed. We quote from Mr. Harriss-Gastrell's report on the district of Wetzlar, near Frankfort, published in the Parliamentary Blue-book on Foreign Land Tenures:—

"No better department could probably be found for seeing in the present day the united results of equal division on inheritance of land and of the old system of agriculture. It is in all essential points unchanged. . . . *The peasants were always freemen.*" The population is "stationary at 43,000." Out of 20,000 properties less than one hundred are over 200 acres. "*The three-field system flourishes here in all its pristine sterility.*" The field compulsion accompanies the system as a necessary part of it. The head of the village fixes the days on which all must begin and cease to plough, and on which all must sow and reap. This system causes deficiency of fodder, and consequently a diminishing produce. It prevents a practical alternation of grain and green crops, the introduction of hoed crops, the restoring effects of several courses of clover, and the intelligent use of each part of a property for the most suitable cropping. Neighbouring properties often differ as to the right time and right weather for certain operations and as to the quality of the soil, but all are obliged to cultivate the same crop, at the same time, and with the same

same weather. . . . Agriculture also suffers from the widespread habit of underfeeding the cattle. . . . Manuring is little understood, and the state of the open farmyard is pitiable to see. . . . The plough is primitive, and the ploughing is usually scratching. . . . The soil is by no means poor, but the average corn yield is about 11½ bushels per acre.'

Now this account tallies very fairly with Mr. Rogers's description of mediæval husbandry in England quoted above. If our land system is so pernicious to agricultural progress, how is it that we have left such a state of things so far behind us, whilst the Wetzlar freeholder has preserved it in its integrity? The age of Fitzherbert is instructive as exhibiting, not merely 'the beginning of that rapacity' which saddens Mr. Rogers, but also the beginning of improvement in husbandry. The 'Boke of Surveyinge' lays quite as much stress upon the benefits of increasing enclosures as upon the evil of increasing rents. It was a change which raised the wheat average from twelve to eighteen bushels per acre in the reign of Elizabeth, and which has now raised it to thirty-six, an average not reached by any land where peasant proprietorship prevails. But enclosures were the work of the landlords, not the work of the yeomen. Where the latter have continued to flourish, they are too often still surrounded by the 'pristine sterility' of the three-field system; and their gradual extinction among us has gone on step by step with improved science in farming. Mr. Rogers himself supplies an answer to such windy declamation as his attack upon the condition of our agriculture. 'There are some kinds of sophistry which it seems cannot be refuted till those who ventilate their folly find they have ruined themselves, and begin to cry for assistance against the fruit of their own misdeeds'—a fate which is exceedingly likely to overtake those who attempt to overthrow our land system 'for the public good.'

We give credit where credit is due. The adventurers who obtained land under the Tudors destroyed the spirit of the feudal age, and put in its place one founded on the law of supply and demand. The change introduced better farming, but it had evils, evils which their descendants or successors have mitigated, but which, in their own time, were rife. There is little to praise in the reign of Edward VI. At a time of great intellectual activity, none seemed to work with any other end in view but personal or class advantage. The hand of the strong King, who had allowed little oppression but his own, was removed, and the band of adventurers, whom he had gathered round him to obey his will, could give free scope to their lust for power and gain; while, on the other hand, thinking

thinking lightly of the strength of a government of councillors, the people were ready to seize by armed force the property and privileges which interested demagogues taught them were theirs of right. A proverb sprang up that 'No man amendeth himself, but every man seeketh to amend others.' The reformers in Church and State thought little of restraining their own abuses, and an age, that was trumpeted forth as the beginning of the millennium, was disfigured by the universal prevalence of class hatred and envy, well illustrated in a contemporary tract:—

'If I should demand of the poor man of the country what thing he thinketh to be the cause of Sedition, I know his answer. He would tell me that the great farmers, the graziers, the rich butchers, the men of law, the merchants, the gentlemen, the knights, the lords, and I cannot tell who; men that have no name because they are doers in all things that any gain hangeth upon. Men without conscience. Men utterly void of God's fear. Men that would have all in their own hands; men that would have nothing for others; men that would be alone on the earth, men that be never satisfied. Cormorants, greedy gulls; yea, men that would eat up men, women, and children, are the causes of Sedition. They take our houses over our heads, they buy our grounds out of our hands, they raise our rents, they levy great (yea, unreasonable) fines, they enclose our commons. No custom, no law or statute can kepe them from oppressing us in such sort, that we know not which way to turn us to live. Very need therefore constraineth us to stand up against them!'

Every kind of Government interference was suggested as a remedy for this state of things. Even the Irish Land Commissioners were foreshadowed in a metrical exhortation addressed to the Protector, in which he was recommended to appoint 'discreet and incorruptible men'—an impossible class to discover at that time—to go over the realm—

'growdis and ffermys to peruse and surveye
Rentis to reforme that bee owte of the weye,'—

and, according as the soil was barren and fertile, abate rents to such a point as the farmers might live.†

Nor was Somerset opposed to trying some such experiment. Though not declining pelf and power for himself, he felt sympathy with the popular grievances against enclosures and rack rents. He issued a commission to enquire into landowning abuses; but its proposals failed to obtain the consent of Parliament. He avowed himself the people's friend, and proclaimed his intention of carrying searching reforms in their favour;

* Crowley's 'Works,' p. 132.

† Wm. Forrest's 'Pleasant Poesy,' E. E. T. Soc.

but he never seriously considered whether he had power and capacity for performing so delicate and dangerous a task. Unfortunately the people were not in a temper to brook delay. Encouraged by the mild support of the chief authority, and hounded on by leaders who expected to gain by the confusion which would ensue, they believed they could bring the question into the sphere of practical politics by taking the law into their own hands and tearing down the obnoxious fences.

The Norfolk rising of 1549 is one of many examples—not unknown in our own day—of a well-meaning dreamer, urged to action by crazy enthusiasts or crafty self-seekers, playing with an agitation which he will be too weak to guide, listening to demands which he cannot satisfy, and raising dreams which he will not be able to realize. And the wholesome bonds of Government being thus loosened, an ignorant people, driven on by a sense of wrong more or less ill-founded, and nurturing views of contentment certainly fictitious, will carry on a wild crusade against law and order, until the returning tide brings it down upon the unsparing hand of organized and intelligent force, and reduces it, only too probably, to increased misery and subjection.

The ‘commonwealths’—as the Norfolk rebels were called—found able leaders in the two Kets. Their condition is illustrative of contemporary complaints. Robert, the elder, inherited a small patrimonial estate, but, not satisfied with the portion of his ancestors, added to his revenues by carrying on the trade of a tanner. His younger brother William sought to carve out his fortunes by following the lucrative calling of a butcher. He obtained large profits, and, in common with so many of his craft, devoted them to the purchase of monastic lands. They were men keenly alive to their own advantage, and it was only when they saw their new enclosures threatened, that they made a virtue of necessity, helped to level their own hedges and ditches, and proclaimed themselves converts to the popular movement.

For seven weeks the peasants were supreme. They showed remarkable moderation. The most obnoxious of the gentlemen were seized and held in durance, but in no case murdered. There was no destruction of property out of sheer lawlessness, but, true to their maxim that all things should be held in common, hedge, ditch, and pale disappeared before them, and their camp on Mousehold Heath was well supplied with the corn and cattle of the neighbouring landowners. High festival was kept with ‘infinite beefs, swans, hinds, ducks, capons, pigs, and venison.’ When all was over, Thomas Woodhouse complained that he had lost 2000 sheep, all his bullocks and horses, and most part of his corn.

Such

Such anarchy could not be permitted to endure. A sympathetic but resolute Government might have repressed sedition with the one hand, and checked oppression with the other. Somerset's passive desire for universal happiness was merely producing a disastrous struggle between the partizans of the two evils. Weary of such a disgraceful state, the council at length took the power out of his hands, and appointed Dudley to put an end to the most dangerous outbreak which the change in the agricultural system had produced.

The crisis was perhaps inevitable. The rapid growth of new ideas, the tension and excitement of a period of universal change, encouraged extremes of all kinds, and permitted temporary triumphs of various forms of fanaticism. The struggle of landlord and tenant to depress each other found parallel of a severer and more extended kind in the alternating persecutions of Reformers and Catholics. But the English habit of rational and friendly compromise was not for ever to give way to the ruinous spirit of burning partizanship. The rival factions, which had torn England asunder, and allowed the last foreign possessions to fall before the enemy during the reigns of Edward and Mary, were coerced into moderation by the skilful policy of Elizabeth. And just as on the religious question the people accepted the Anglican compromise, so on the agrarian question landlord and tenant gave way to each other's just demands, and once more entered into cordial relations. Of the two chief points at issue, the one was decided in favour of the gentlemen, the other was allowed to rest as the peasants desired. The rise of prices consequent on the debasement of the coinage, and the establishment of the principle of free competition, ensured the recognition of the enhanced rents. On the other hand, unfortunately for improved husbandry, the enclosure difficulty was in too many cases settled, not by a fair partition between the claimants, as Fitzherbert so strongly recommended, but by maintaining the ancient order of things, in a less passionate age admitted of the change being carried out in a just and peaceful manner. Yet so late as 1794 the enclosed lands of Cambridgeshire bore but a small proportion to those still tilled on the medieval system, and a Royal Commission at the opening of this century found that a moiety at least of the arable land in Berkshire was still lying in common fields. And these examples are taken from the group of south-eastern counties, where the old system sustained the greatest shock in the sixteenth century.

But it was not merely the prevailing spirit of conciliation which thus checked enclosures under Elizabeth. It was the past

pasture, not tillage, that the new fences had been for the most part set up. It was the sheepmonger who threatened starvation to the husbandman. A dulness in the wool market, and an increased continental demand for corn at a high price, brought many a sheeprun back under the plough. In 1577 Harrison observed much more ground eared almost in every place than had been of late years. Farming was undoubtedly at this time a very profitable profession, especially in the case of yeomen, who were still in very large number owners of their holdings, and had not to share their increased profits with a landlord. Harrison, keen observer as he was, duly appreciated the abuses which surrounded him: the hardships of competition; the high rents and prices; the extravagance in dress and diet; the tricks of professional beggars, which prevented the relief of 'the true poor indeed'; 'the greedy covetousness and lingering humour' of masons, which led to the great importation of building operatives from abroad. Yet the picture he gives of England is that of a flourishing country. He describes the yeomen as

'a sort of people that have a certain pre-eminence, and more estimation than labourers and the common sort of artificers, and commonly live wealthily, keep good houses, and travel to get riches. They are also for the most part farmers and gentlemen, and with grazing, frequenting of markets, and keeping servants (not idle servants as the gentlemen, but such as get their own and part of their master's living) do come to great wealth, insomuch that many of them are able and do buy the lands of unthrifty gentlemen, and often setting their sons to the schools, to the universities, and to the Inns of Court, or otherwise leaving them sufficient lands whereupon they may live without labour, do make them by those means to become gentlemen.'*

He finds that the great increase in luxury and comfort was by no means confined to the higher classes. 'Many farmers have learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their beds with tapestry and silk hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine naperie.' The old men of his parish would talk wonderingly to him of the change since their young days, when in farmhouse and cottage alike the smoke of the fire found its way out by a hole in the roof, the beds were straw pallets and a log pillow, and folks ate with wooden spoon off wooden platter, and yet a farmer found difficulty in scraping together 4*l.* for his rent. And now the 4*l.* rent had been 'improved' into 40*l.*, or 100*l.*, and yet the farmer had seven years' rent by him at the end of his term to pay as a fine for the renewal of his lease, besides a fine garnish of pewter, three or four feather beds,

* Harrison's description, pt. ii. Furnivall's ed. vol. i. p. 133.

carpets and tapestry, 'a silver salt, a bowl for wine, if not a whole nest, and a dozen of spoons to furnish up the suite.' Improved skill, as well as changed times, had helped to produce this result. The graziers were grown so cunning that they knew the weight of their beasts by sight and touch, 'a point of skill not commonly practised heretofore.' They were thus able to leave the butcher but small margin of profit, while they themselves wore 'velvet coats and gold chains.' Foreigners, fresh with the recollection of their own country, see still more to praise. A German notices the tapestried beds of the farmers with surprise. A Frenchman declares that the country was very wealthy; that English artizans got more by the week than the German and Spanish got by the month; that journeymen hatters and carpenters could afford leisure and money to play tennis.

Thus the time of trouble was changed into a time of prosperity. The agricultural interests of England were once again flourishing. Yet the sunny sky was here and there clouded. Two classes suffered: those landlords whose rents—fixed for several lives or in perpetuity—did not change with altered money values; and the labourers, whose wages did not, in the reassessment of prices, maintain the same high proportion to the cost of living which they had reached after the Black Death. But in the majority of cases owner and occupier gained by the agrarian revolution, and the country, by thus giving up the feudal system the moment it was effete, was saved from the violence which, two centuries later, attended its overthrow in the rest of Europe. The Ket rebellion was a small evil compared to the Reign of Terror in France, and the disasters of Austerlitz and Jena to Austria and Prussia. The English change, occurring at the time when the domination of the educated classes was considered essential, was to the advantage of the landlord rather than of the tenant. But it was the natural result of economic laws, not of governmental interference. It enabled England to gain a world-wide supremacy in the eighteenth century, and, speaking of England, where alone the system is indigenous, it still gives us a political security scarcely shared by any other nation. That certain modifications to suit the inevitable reforms of time are occasionally necessary, and are at this moment expedient, may be generally allowed. But that chapter of the history of the sixteenth century, which we have now passed in review, tends strongly to show that the sweeping changes, daily proposed in our own time, would be extremely pernicious.

- ART. V.—1. *A short History of the Copts and of their Church; translated from the Arabic of Tāqui-ed-Din El-Maqrizi.* By the Rev. S. C. Malan, M.A. London, 1873.
2. *The Calendar of the Coptic Church; translated from an Arabic MS., with Notes.* By the Same.
3. *The Divine Liturgy of St. Mark the Evangelist; translated from an old Coptic MS.* By the Same.
4. *A History of the Egyptian Revolution from the Period of the Mamelukes to the Death of Mohammed Ali.* By A. A. Paton. London, 1870.
5. *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day, translated into English.* By John, Marquess of Bute, K.T. London, 1882.
6. *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines.* Edited by William Smith, D.C.L., and Henry Wace, D.D. Vol. I. Article, 'The Coptic Church.' London, 1877.
7. *Egypt and the Egyptian Question.* By D. Mackenzie Wallace. London, 1883.
8. *Egypt after the War.* By Villiers Stuart, of Dromana, M.P. London, 1883.

THE traveller, who in steamboat or dahabîyeh ascends the Nile from Cairo to Luxor, passes on the eastern bank of the river the ruins of the city of Coptos. There are still traceable the remains of a wall and a gateway; and one column with the cartouche of Thothmes III. attests the date of the ancient city. Though few tourists, eager to reach Karnak and Luxor, give the ruins more than a hurried glance, there are not many more important historic sites in the country. For, without taking note of the legends and mystic rites which connected the city with Isis and Osiris, Coptos was in the fourth century the centre of the old national life, and the seed-plot of the Christianity of Egypt. And at this time it is important to keep these two ideas together, and to bear in mind that the Copts combine in themselves two remarkable claims on our attention—descent from the ancient Egyptians, whose type of features they have preserved as depicted on the ancient monuments, and attachment to the Faith of the Cross. The people most distinctly derived from the old inhabitants of the land were the first to embrace Christianity, and when the emissaries of Diocletian were busy trying to stamp out the Faith, a remnant fled to this fortified town of Coptos* as their Pella. Many

* Coptos is now called 'Kuft' or 'Guft.' Copts are called 'Kubt,' 'Gubt,' 'Kubtee,' 'Gubtee.'

have derived from their city of refuge the name which they have since borne; but it is more probable that they gave their name to the city, which was their chief abode. The name itself is most likely the same as the ancient Greek name of Egypt—*Αἴ-γυπτος*—an explanation, which as Mr. Mackenzie Wallace observes, 'will be more readily accepted, if we remember that the Egyptians always pronounce the *g* hard, and that they usually confound the hard *g* and *k*: between Gypt or Kypt or Kopt there is little phonetic difference.'

There are few volumes accessible, in which the ecclesiastical and political history of the Copts can be studied; but it is seen as in a picture when we look down from the high mounds of fawn-coloured dust on the churches and ruins of Old Cairo. The strange group of buildings, so different in style, and so vividly contrasted in historic association, yet all wrapt in the same garment of 'dusty death,' stamp on the mind the relations of the rival creeds of Christ and Islam. And indeed three, and not two only, of the potent faiths of the world are there represented. In the solid masonry and architrave imbedded in the wall, we trace undoubted marks of the power of Pagan Rome. Close by is the Coptic Church, where, according to an immemorial tradition, the Virgin and Child rested; and not far off, with vast quadrangle and colonnades formed of graceful Byzantine and Roman columns, stands the great mosque of the Conqueror Amr. And as the three periods in the history of the capital of Egypt are thus brought before us, marked by its successive names, Babylon, Fostat, Cairo, so we can take in at a glance three structures of stone and brick, which represent successive periods in the history of the Church in Egypt. Even if we discard the legend of the Saviour's Resting Place, in that Roman garrison were gathered a little knot of believers when Christianity was in its early purity. Later, when it triumphed over paganism, it reared churches which yonder shafts and capitals supported; and centuries afterwards its doctrine was corrupted, and its worship encrusted with ceremonial, and it fell before the sword of the Chieftain whose religion is preached to-day from a pulpit which those desecrated marble stems sustain. And it is a mournful proof of the degradation into which Egyptian Christianity has fallen, that many travellers feel it hard to see in the sordid neglect and tarnished splendour of the Coptic churches the shrines of a purer faith than that which the tented Arab built by plunder and blood. In the firm belief, however, that there is a vital spark, dim, but nevertheless actually alive, and waiting to be enkindled into a shining light in this religious community, we ask the reader to bear with us while we describe,

describe, without partiality or prejudice, the actual state of this torn and stained remnant of the ancient Church of Egypt, which an Evangelist is believed to have planted, and so many saints and Fathers have adorned.

It is not our present purpose to tell again at any length the story of the Monophysite controversy. We shall only allude to the subject when necessary, in order to understand the present state and prospects of the Coptic Church and its relations with El-Islam.

Up to the date of the Council held at Chalcedon (the present Scutari) A.D. 451, the history of the Christians in Egypt resembled the history of their fellow-believers in Europe and Asia. Like the rest of the Faithful, they had endured their persecutions, and been comforted or enervated by their intervals of respite. But from the November day when the distinct nature of Christ was pronounced to be the orthodox doctrine, and the crowd of bishops and priests poured in two streams out of the great doors of the Basilica of St. Euphemia, the story of the Egyptian Church has to be written in a separate volume.* The decision of the Fourth General Council cut away the last cord. From the date of its delivery the Egyptian Church had to hollow out a channel for itself, and could no longer blend its waters with the stream of orthodox belief. Dioscorus, the successor of Cyril in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, who had embraced the errors of Eutyches, had been deposed and banished by the Council. His orthodox successor was Proterius, whose election was supported by the Emperor Marcian. All those who acknowledged the decree of the Council were called Melchites or 'King's men,' as though they had accepted the decree simply at the Imperial bidding. The Monophysites elected Timothy Ælurus (the Cat), as he was called, from his supple and artful activity. This man was banished, but his party was strong enough to obtain his recall, and to elect Monophysite successors. At first the distinction between the Melchites, or Orthodox party, and the Monophysites, was not so marked as it became in process of time. During the interval between the Council of Chalcedon and the Mohammedan invasion of Egypt, the peculiar article of the Coptic belief was constantly receiving, by the pressure of events, a sharper definition, and the Egyptians were gradually finding the distance widen between themselves

* The history of the Coptic Church may be studied compendiously in the exhaustive and elaborate article by Mr. Fuller in the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' &c., the title of which is prefixed to the present article. Gibbon's account of the passions and tumults which disgraced the Council of Chalcedon should also be read.

and the Orthodox party. That century and a half was a stirring time in Egypt. Religious controversies, rebellions, and invasions, followed each other in quick succession. Justinian's administration of Egyptian affairs was marked by two important acts. He closed the heathen schools which still existed at Alexandria, and he appointed a new Orthodox Patriarch. This step forced the Monophysites to elect a rival head. They were henceforth to bear, with all its stress and emphasis, the stigma of heresy.

The twenty years' occupation of Egypt by Chosroes, coming shortly after the schism, threw it for a while into the background, and the Christians forgot their animosities, or were shamed by the wide tolerance of the conqueror into bearing with each other's differences. Heraclius succeeded in expelling Chosroes. Then came the attempt at a compromise on the Monothelite basis, which failed. And then the flame which was setting the East in a blaze spread northward. Amr-Ibyn-el-Asi, 'the most cunning and capable of the Arabs,'* conquered Egypt, and henceforth the position of the Monophysites was changed. Instead of being dissenters suffering the disability of heresy, but subjects of a Christian Sovereign, they were a portion of a Christian population, under the sway of a conqueror bitterly hostile to the name of Christ. It is instructive to contrast the attitude of the disciples of Eutyches under Chosroes with their attitude under Amr. The Persian did not persecute any of the sects, and thereby taught them not to persecute each other. The Arab treated them cruelly, and thus for a time they intrigued against each other, and purchased the favour of the conqueror by cowardly compliances, informations against rival sects, and occasional apostasy. This is perhaps the least creditable page in the history of the Copts. It must be recollected, however, that our chief authority for this period is the Muslim El Maqrizi.† His history of the Copts, considering the time at which he wrote, is remarkable for fairness. It contrasts, indeed, favourably in this respect with too many of the ecclesiastical writers, but his point of view is of course that of a devout Mussulman. He had heard how the rival Christian sects, Melchites and Greeks, tore each other to pieces in the dark days, 'before God brought to light the religion

* So he is called by D'Herbelot, 'Le plus fin et le plus habile des Arabes.'

† Taqui-ed-Din El-Maqrizi was born at Baalbec, in the middle of the fifteenth century. He was a lawyer by profession. The work named at the head of this article is one of his minor productions. His enduring reputation is built on his description of Egypt, his 'Book of the Chain of Kings,' really a history of the Mamluke Sultans, and on his account of the Holy Places at Mecca.

n.' And, though his language is unimpassioned, he calls all who embraced the Koran as brands snatched from the flames of hell, and all severe edicts against the Christians as sages of mercy in disguise. The pages of such a writer are, as might be expected, with very scanty materials for us; but, until the volumes in the Coptic monasteries and libraries are collected and translated, we must be content to be indebted to an enemy for information as to the failures and fortitude of the Copts.

Amr had not long been in Egypt before he received friendly overtures from them, and he at once secured their assistance. He promised them safety, on condition of their paying tribute and giving him their assistance against the Greeks. A more faithful disciple of the Prophet would have scorned to traffic with Christians at all; but Amr was true to his character, and lay with the jealousies of Christendom, as Caliphs and Sultans have done through all the centuries thence-

But by this unhappy alliance with Islam in her early history the character of the Coptic Church has been lowered, and her position in the place of honour to which her age and her has been rendered difficult. That the Copts secured certain distinct privileges, is proved by the fact that, five-and-twenty years after Amr conquered Alexandria by the help of Christian auxiliaries, we find their patriarch Agathon repairing a great church and dedicating it to St. Mark, a proof of the faithfulness with which the conquerors kept their promise, in the spirit as well as in the letter, and an instance of moderation of El-Islam which must not be forgotten, though short-lived. Evidence of an altered temper is too soon forthcoming, for very shortly after we find the next Patriarch but one, the philanthropic Agathon, the St. Charles Borromeo of the Coptic Church, receiving ambassadors from the Eutychians in Alexandria asking that a bishop should be sent them, and compelled to give back a refusal, as he could not make the appointment without the Sultan's permission.

The eighth century had scarcely opened, when the Emirs of Egypt began the exactions and vexations, which have never been continued for any length of time since. First, a tax of one dinar was levied on every monk; then an impost of a quirat was added to every dinar on the Copts, who were driven to rebellion, and defeated with much loss. Cruelties were now multiplied. Tortures inflicted remind us of those with which Antiochus tried the constancy of the Jews, and Peter Arbuez the endurance of the heretics. A law was made that all monks should be branded, each with his own name and that of his

convent, and every monk found without this stigma had his hand cut off. Later, the stamp of a lion was marked on every Christian, and whosoever among them was found without this mark suffered the same penalty. While persecuted thus cruelly by the common enemy, the unhappy Church was rent asunder by divisions. The Melchites, and the Jacobites, who took their name from Jacob Baradaeus, Bishop of Edessa (who has been named the second founder of the Monophysite heresy), strove, whenever a vacancy in the patriarchate occurred, to place a 'King's man,' or a 'Bishop's man,' as the case might be, in the Chair of St. Mark. The Bishop's men obtained a preponderating influence, however, and during the five centuries which intervened from the persecution under 'Abd el-Melik, Emir of Egypt under the Ommyades, to the persecution under El-Asad Sherif, that is, from 735 to 1251, thirty-two Jacobite Patriarchs ruled the Church, and only two Melchites. A temporary victory was gained by the King's men in the golden prime of Haroun Alraschid. An Egyptian woman, a concubine of Haroun, was successfully prescribed for in illness by the Melchite Patriarch, and the Caliph in his gratitude gave a written order that all the churches in Egypt which had been taken from the Melchites by the Jacobites should be restored to them.

In or about the year 826—for Maqrizi's dates are difficult to fix—there was another general revolt of the Copts, followed by a strong exercise of power on the part of the rulers of Egypt. 'Abd Allah el-Mamun put down this rebellion with an iron hand. He caused the men to be executed wholesale, and the women and children to be sold as slaves. 'Then,' says the Chronicle, 'the Copts, from open warfare, had recourse to craft, and by stealth, cunning, and fraud, plotted against the Mussulmans. They were made secretaries of revenues, and between them and the Mussulmans *many things took place*.' What 'things' these were it is easy to understand. We have only to put Copt for Jew, and Mohammedan for Christian, and we shall have an accurate idea of what took place in Egypt in the ninth century, by reading an account of what took place in England in the fourteenth. Vexatious sumptuary regulations were devised, and every badge of ignominy, and every irksome restraint that could be invented, was imposed on the down-trodden sect. The clothes the Copt wore, the saddle on which he rode, the house which he tenanted in life, and the grave in which he slept in death, were all marked with some brand, to stamp him with a degrading sense of inferiority. A robe of yellow—the very colour familiar to us as the dress of the typical Shylocks and Isaacs—was the only outer vestment permitted

itted to the Copt, and this was rendered ridiculous by patches of different tint on his other garments. His wife was forbidden to wear a girdle. His stirrups were of wood, not metal. He was prohibited from riding any animal except the mule or the ass. He was not permitted to light a fire to warm himself in the open air. He was not allowed to raise a mound over a man's grave. He dared not exhibit in church the symbol of the cross; and he was compelled to hang over his house-door a wooden image of the devil.

But, in spite of these restrictions and persecutions, the Copts, like the Jews, contrived to win posts of confidence. They have always been accurate accountants, and they soon made themselves so useful to their masters in office and bureau, that several of them became vizirs, and, in spite of the constant poll-tax and the periodical plunderings, they amassed large sums of money. The ecclesiastics also grew rich; but this wealth they were compelled to conceal, for whenever any church had accumulated a sufficient quantity of embroidered vestments and silver vessels to tempt the greed of the Mussulman Emir, a pretence was made to rifle the building and the quarter in which it was situated; and scenes like those which occurred in the Jewries of London and the Ghettos of Rome were common in the quarters of Alexandria and Cairo. As we climb up the steep and red-stained staircases and traverse the narrow galleries of the churches of Abu Sergeh, Sittah Maryam, or Abu Sefin, we are vividly reminded of the state of the Christian communities in those days. The thick walls pierced with arrow slits, the dark and narrow passages, the secret ways of entrance and exit, all show how the worshippers must have led for centuries harassed and short lives; and the stiff pictures of saints buried in the niches and side chapels, and the dim legends of confessors written in the sacred books, prove that this heterodox Church had indeed gone through the fire of persecution, and has been purified by the blood of martyrdom. It is painful to find evidence of so much suffering, but it is, if possible, more sad to discover proofs of a low and sordid spirit in too many of the priests and rulers of the Church. Now and then we find a law like that of Cyril (A.D. 1086), enacting rigorous laws against avarice, but soon afterwards the old abuse reappears. In the hands of the greed of the Coptic hierarchs seem to have been rarely superior to the Arab Emirs. We find one patriarch, Cormas, making every effort to get a miracle-working picture of the Virgin Mary replaced in a church whence it had been removed by imperial order, for no reason save that it was a source of revenue to the church. We find a second, Sanatius, taking fees

for holy orders, and committing great excesses, through fondness for money. We find a third, Philotheus, described as 'a glutton,' allowing a great church to pass out of his hands to the rival Melchites; and though every now and again we read of holy men, like Zecharias, whom the lions would not touch, and Ephraim, who left all his goods to the poor, the Coptic throne was oftenest filled by men who busied themselves with discussing whether the Patriarch should wear a red or a blue silk robe, and how many drops of the water used in baptism should be sprinkled over the Holy Eucharist. The abuses reached their acme under David or Cyril, the seventy-fifth Patriarch (A.D. 1235), who sold the sacred offices so shamelessly, that some of the more faithful bishops assembled in the church called Moallaqua, in Cairo, and protested against his doings. The infamy and scandal of the existing state of affairs is proved by two facts: first, that the Patriarch used the Christian secretaries in the employ of the Islamite Governor to support him against his bishops; secondly, that Christians were found base enough to bribe a Muslim Governor to uphold abuses in their own Church. A composition was not arranged, however, until a document agreeing to certain canons and constitutions had been extorted from Cyril. This was prefaced with the Confession of Faith, as ratified at Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus—for the Jacobites admit no other Councils; together with the special confession of all Jacobites received by tradition from St. Cyril, Severus, and Dioscorus, which runs as follows:—'That Christ being made man, is one nature, one Person, one Will, is also God the Word, and at the same time man born of the Virgin Mary; so that to him belong truly all the attributes and properties of the Divine as well as of the human nature.' This protest, however, was powerless to stop the abuses that were rapidly multiplying in the Church. The situation was becoming intolerable. The Christians in Government employment were amassing fortunes by practices akin to those of their Mohammedan masters, and were too vain and ostentatious to hide their ill-earned gains. Greed and jealousy exasperated the hatred of the two parties, and, as usual in such cases, a small spark set the smouldering passions in a blaze.

The scene of the incident which was destined to work such fatal consequences to Coptic Christianity was the street which faces the Gâm'a ibn-Tulûn,* the oldest mosque in Cairo, erected on the spot where, according to tradition, Abraham was stopped

* 'This mosque is still a great landmark in archæological history, from the circumstance of its pointed arches taking precedence of those of Northern architecture,'—PATON.

by God from sacrificing Ishmael.* Along this street a certain Christian, Ain-el-Ghazal, a secretary in the Mohammedan service, was walking, when he met one of the Emir's agents on horseback. It was a sign of the changed times, that the Moslem alighted and embraced the Christian's foot. Instead of behaving with courtesy, Ain-el-Ghazal began to abuse and threaten the agent about a sum of money still due from him on his master's account. The agent bore himself humbly, but the secretary grew more insolent, and at last pinioned the man's hands, and made him walk before him. This was too much for the crowd to bear. A tumult arose. The worshippers left the mosques. The merchants poured out of the bazars, and the Christian was dragged by a crowd shouting, 'It is not lawful,' 'God help the Sultan,' up the steep street known now as the Salibeh, to the Citadel, where the Mamluk Sultan El-Melik el-Ashraf Khalil, fresh from victories over the Crusaders in Palestine, was holding his court. The case was heard. Unfortunately, there was no palliation for Ain-el-Ghazal's act, and prompt punishment was decided on. To all Christians and Jews was proposed the alternative of El-Islam or death. After this, we have little to record save acts of cruelty and violence. After that ill-omened day, the hand of the oppressor was never relaxed for long. The Christians were made to weep tears of blood for their misuse of prosperity. More offensive restrictions were placed on those who preserved their integrity, and the slightest breach of the law was punished with death. At last, in 1354, came news

'that a number of Christians of the Sa'id (Upper Egypt), and of the sea-coast (Lower Egypt), had embraced Islamism and studied the Koran, and that the greater number of the churches of the Sa'id had been pulled down and mosques built in their stead; and that in the town of Qalyub more than four hundred and fifty Christians had become Mussulmans in one day. Meanwhile the agricultural population of the country so managed, by ways and means, as to be employed in public offices and to intermarry with Mussulmans, and thus to accomplish their object, so far to mix the races, as that the greater portion of the population are now descendants from them. But their real estate is not hidden from him whose heart God enlightens. For from the traces they left will then be seen how shamefully they intrigued against Islamism and the followers of it, as any one may know who looks into the lowliness of their origin and the old hatred of their ancestors towards our religion and the doings thereof.'

With these biting words El Maqrizi ends his Chronicle.

* The Arabs believe that Ishmael was the first born of Abraham, and assert that this son, and not Isaac, was offered in sacrifice on Mount 'Arafât, near Mekkeh.

Here an hiatus, broad and deep, yawns across the history of the Coptic Church and nation. From the middle of the fourteenth century to the time of Napoleon's invasion we have scarcely any information. During the reigns of the Circassian Mamluke Sultans, and later, when Egypt had become a Turkish Pashalik, the Copts are hardly heard of, but we have reason to believe that for three centuries and a half they were treated with rigour. Gibbon* paints their position in his time in a few scathing sentences:—

'The populous city of Cairo affords a residence, or rather a shelter, for their indigent patriarch and a remnant of ten bishops. Forty monasteries have survived the inroads of the Arabs, and the progress of servitude and apostasy has reduced the Coptic nation to the despicable number of twenty-five or thirty thousand families, a race of illiterate beggars, whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek Patriarch and his diminutive congregation.'

It is fair to put beside this highly-wrought etching the account of a writer little known, but who had exceptional opportunities of ascertaining the truth. Mr. Paton, in his '*History of the Egyptian Revolution*,' gives a far brighter representation of the situation of the Copts at the end of the eighteenth century:—

'The Copts,' he says, 'were a well-behaved inoffensive people; but, being a miserable minority of the population, and professing the Christian religion, their position was a subordinate one. They all lived, as they still do, in that quarter of Cairo adjoining the Ezbekieh, which was, before the receding of the Nile, a port on that river, under the name of El-Maks; the north-western gate of Cairo bearing to this very day the name of Water Port (Bab-el-Bahr). Here this ancient people resided, a few of them being wealthy, but many living in comfort; and to this day the service on Palm Sunday—when each hearer of the service carries a palm-branch in his hand, making the chief church of the quarter look like a conservatory—is one of the most picturesque scenes that can be imagined.'

During the French occupation the Copts were protected and patronized. As they had been from time immemorial the clerks, stewards, and treasurers, both of the Government and private individuals in Egypt, they knew where money was to be found, and therefore were largely employed by Napoleon in his systematic taxation of the people. This gave them great influence, and, as was natural, they were elated at their newly-acquired importance. 'The Copts,' says the Arab memoir-writer, Abderrahman Gabarty, with indignation, 'being the

* '*Decline and Fall*,' chap. xlvii.

s of revenue, made their appearance in various places, many governors, beating and imprisoning the people till they paid the taxes.' And in another place he says, 'The Syrians, and Jews, in the service of the French, now show their impertinence to the Moslems by mounting back and carrying arms.'

On the accession of Mehemet Ali to power, many irritating causes which had pressed on the Copts were removed. They were allowed to hold property in land, and were exempted from military service in the army. Under the three Pashas who succeeded Mehemet Ali, and under the late and the present Khedives, the position, as we shall see later, has further improved.

Let us now consider the faith and practice of the Coptic Church.

The Copts accept, as we have seen, the Creed of Nicæa, but they deny that Christ is distinctly (*ἀσυγχυτῶς*) distinct. It is perhaps unfair to say that they believe that the Word of our Lord was absorbed by His Godhead, or combined with it, but they hold that in Him the Godhead and humanity made up one compound nature. This belief is a very important one to them. It enters into their whole view of the nature of the Church as the body of Christ to the living Christ. The doctrine, which 'the most religious bishops' at the Council of Chalcedon forced the reluctant lips of Theodoret to confess, is to the Jacobites something more than a subtle theological distinction: it is the reason of their independent position—the article by which they stand or fall. This doctrine, of being a difficult dogma, half lost in the misty distance of their ecclesiastical history, is the distinctive mark which deeply affects their mental and spiritual life, and isolates them from the rest of the Christian world. Their separation from the Catholic Church has been in a large measure the cause of their misfortune, for with that separation is connected much that is heroic, and the sanctuary of their religious past they have been obliged to take refuge from the humiliations of the present. The original documents of the Coptic Church, which Mr. Brunsdon has translated and edited, are very remarkable. When we examine their Calendar, we feel that the distance which separates us from them is a long one. It contains much that is interesting. For instance, the entry on the 5th of September: 'The Lord of the great Prophet Moses, chief of Prophets, shed Himself unto blood for the People of God.' And the beginning of each month in the name of the Trinity, and the beginning of each month with the ascription of 'Peace from the Lord, which we all approve ourselves to all Christians; but the note which the year begins, 'Job took a warm bath, and was healed

healed of his sores,' as well as the commemoration of such events 'as the assumption of Isaac, the son of Abraham,' and of 'Jacob chief of Patriarchs,' proves the crudeness of their religious knowledge. The so-called 'Divine Liturgy of St. Mark,' and that of 'Gregory the Theologian,' are not devoid of unction, but they are too florid in style. Still, it must be acknowledged that the celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the Coptic Church is not merely a solemn and impressive pageant, it is deeply affecting. The form of consecration, where the words of institution, uttered by the priest, are confirmed by the attesting response of the whole congregation saying with one voice 'I believe This is the Truth,' strikes the hearer by its vivid realization of the representative idea of the service.

Confirmation and the Eucharist are both administered to infants immediately after baptism, and the child is also anointed with oil and blessed by the priest, who breathes on his forehead in the form of a Cross, and bids him 'Receive the Holy Ghost and be a pure vessel through Jesus Christ.' Circumcision is performed, in spite of the canons against it. The fasts are long and rigorous, that of Lent lasting fifty-five days, and that before the feast of the Nativity lasting twenty-eight. Penances are enjoined, but are not strictly enforced. Confession is required before the reception of the Eucharist. The religious orders of the Coptic Church consist of a Patriarch ('el-Batrak'), who is the Supreme Head, the Metropolitan of the Abyssinians, Bishops, Arch-priests, Priests, Deacons, and Monks. The Coptic Patriarch is elected by a council of priests at the Monastery of St. Antony, in the eastern desert, assisted by the bishop of Egypt. The Patriarch of Abyssinia has a voice in the election. When there is no contest, the hand of the dead Patriarch is placed on the head of his successor.

The story told by Lane, that the Patriarch is never allowed to sleep more than a quarter of an hour at a time without being aroused by an attendant, whose office must resemble that of the General's Admonisher in the Society of Jesus, is wholly without foundation, and is one of several instances in which Lane (unerring as he is in his picture of Arab life in Cairo) was led by his contempt for the Copts to record many inventions of their Muslim enemies. There are twelve Jacobite sees in Egypt. The Roman Catholic Copts* use a Liturgy differing little from that in the hands of the Jacobites, save that in their commemoration of the faithful departed they make mention of 'th

* The Roman Propaganda, which was begun by the Franciscans at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, has been successful amongst the Copts, and there are several Roman Catholic communities in Upper Egypt.

six hundred and thirty who were gathered together at Chalcedon.' There is a curious custom with regard to the dead. On Whitsunday the Copts distribute to the poor doles of meat and fruit on behalf of their deceased friends, saying, 'I give thee this for the sake of my kinsman.' Alms-giving on a liberal scale is common at Christmas, at Easter, at marriages and funerals.

The mixed chalice is used; the wine employed in the celebration of the Holy Communion being specially prepared by the priest, and the grapes crushed in a sacramental wine-press. The anointing of the sick with oil is a common practice, but it is generally delayed until there is no hope of recovery, and so becomes in practice the extreme unction of the Church of Rome. The table of prohibited degrees is extended to spiritual relationships. A man cannot wed his father's god-daughter; but, in curious contradiction to this rigorous rule, cousins are permitted to marry.

But those who would understand the position of the Coptic Church must visit its sacred buildings. It is not enough to join the crowds which attend the long and ornate services of Easter and Epiphany in the Cathedral of Cairo. It is in the ancient churches of Abu Sefin (St. Mercurius), Sitt Miriam (the Virgin), and Abu Girghez (St. George), and in the churches and convents in the scattered towns of the Nile valley, that we see evidences of the actual decay of spiritual life. It must be acknowledged that nowhere is there to be found a more depressing picture of religious exhaustion, than is presented in these neglected sanctuaries. They are full of things interesting to the ecclesiologist; pictures ablaze with gold, censers of silver, candelabra of brass, ivory inlaid lecterns, and embroidered reliquaries. They offer glimpses of peculiar beauty to the painter. Pulpits with gleams of mother-of-pearl, slanting lights falling through lattice-work, mysterious shrines where the twinkling lamp reddens the aureole of a pictured saint, are frequent. But the Christian who desires to see in every church a centre of knowledge and a breakwater against error, goes away disappointed and disheartened down the filthy steps of a Coptic church.

They are nearly all on one plan. They consist of a nave and aisles. The nave is divided into three sections. In the first is a tank for ablutions, in the second the congregation stand, and here, in the north corner, is the pulpit. The third is the Hekel or Sanctuary. This is separated from the rest of the church by a screen ornamented with intricate patterns inlaid in ivory, and surmounted by a long line of pictures representing scenes from Scripture history. The doorway of the sanctuary is draped with a veil of crimson and green silk.

Within

Within is a square stone altar. Behind this is an apse with several semicircular steps of masonry. A baldachin covers the altar. There are usually side chapels enriched with pictures of the Saviour, the Virgin and Child, St. Stephen stoled as a deacon, St. Mercurius with his two swords, and other worthies, whose names are stored in the Calendar, but have long slipped from the recollection of the officiating priests. But when one has read this description of a Coptic church, he has still an imperfect idea of what he will actually see in one, for it omits to name the oppressive filth and squalor which prevail everywhere. The matting on the floor crawls with vermin. The sacred paintings are coated with dust. Fowls are kept in the font. Candle-grease drips on the altar. Harriet Martineau's celebrated description is as true as when it was written.

Our faith is taxed severely to believe that there is any possibility of resurrection in bones so exceedingly dry. But, in spite of all, we dare to say that there are grounds of a better hope. One point must never be lost sight of. The Jacobite Church erred, and her error was condemned once for all, but there have been no accretions of false doctrine. No new and dangerous dogmas have been added to her Creed. She has been too retrospective and too apathetic ever to adopt fresh fashions in religion. She has not widened the distance between herself and the primitive faith by declarations like those of Papal Infallibility and the Immaculate Conception. It is important to bear this in mind. Further, there are social and political considerations, as we shall see presently, which confirm our moderate but sincere expectations, that the Coptic Church will ere long enter on a fuller life.

* It remains to make a few remarks on the actual position of the Copts at the present time. Some information on the subject is given by Mr. Mackenzie Wallace and Mr. Villiers Stuart in the works on Egypt, the titles of which are prefixed to this article.*

* We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to direct the attention of our readers to these interesting and important works. Both writers visited Egypt after the War, and give the results of their personal investigations. Mr. Villiers Stuart's work is the narrative of a tour which he made last autumn, first in the Delta, and subsequently in Upper and Lower Egypt, 'in order to obtain for the on whom devolved the task of reconstruction in that country trustworthy information on a variety of points.' The method Mr. Stuart adopted was to converse with natives of all classes in every province, and obtain their own statements from their own mouths, besides verifying the truth of their evidence by looking into everything personally, and collecting and comparing with one another the assertions made to him, before basing any conclusions upon them. The book also possesses much archaeological interest, as it embodies the results of the latest discoveries, and gives a revised account of the funeral canopy of an Egyptian queen, which he had previously published. The beautiful coloured illustrations and numerous woodcuts deserve a passing word of commendation.

* T he

'The Copts are all educated, and constitute the most industrious and enterprising class of the community. They are very numerous in Upper Egypt; in some towns one-fourth of the population consists of them. They are pure-blood Egyptians of the old stock; intermarrying amongst themselves, and having avoided intermixture with Mahometans from the time of the Arab invasion till now. If their features be compared with those of the ancient bas-reliefs, identity of race will immediately suggest itself. There are about 250,000 of them in Upper Egypt, and 50,000 in the Delta. An inspection of their churches and the method of decoration reminds one of the Russian ecclesiastical forms, and as a matter of fact they are in communion with the Greek Church. They wear black or blue turbans: these distinguish them from the Mahometans, who wear white, red, yellow, or green.'—Villiers Stuart, p. 246.

Mr. Mackenzie Wallace points out the commercial superiority of the Copts over the Mussulmans in Upper Egypt:—

'Assiout, the largest and most flourishing town of Upper Egypt, is sometimes called the Coptic capital, and not without reason, for the Copts constitute a very large, and by far the richest section, of the population. Nearly all the fine, large, well-built private houses, which attract the attention of the passing tourist, are found, on enquiry, to belong to wealthy Coptic merchants, who are more or less closely related to each other by blood-relationship or marriage.'—Mackenzie Wallace, p. 32.

Though the Copts still complain of the disabilities under which they suffer, they enjoy privileges such as they have never possessed before. They are very rich. One of their number has been advanced by the present Khedive to the dignity of a Pasha. They have almost a monopoly of the Government clerkships and secretaryships, for they have ever been, and apparently will continue to be, the ready writers and ready reckoners of Egypt. They have built a costly Cathedral in Cairo in a florid style, enriched or defaced by vulgar paintings of hermits, saints, and martyrs. They have schools, where a considerable number of boys are educated. The education, however, except as regards writing and arithmetic, is defective. They use text-books which are quite obsolete, and the present writer heard a Coptic teacher, instructing a class in the History of Egypt, inform his pupils that the children of Israel built the great Pyramid! Lately a young Coptic party has sprung into life, and promises to be a powerful force in Egypt. The new generation which has arisen feels itself hampered and cramped by its ignorance. A nation of specialists has open to it only a circumscribed career, and can only achieve a partial and limited success. There is much discontent,

discontent, and discontent of a healthy kind, amongst the young Copts. They have an intelligent impatience of the worn-out methods of their instructors.* It has been supposed by some observers of the embryo movement, that there is a secret contempt for the ignorance of their priesthood. It does not seem to us that this feeling is widespread. The best of the young Coptic party are religious and reverent, and desire to know more of their ancestral faith, not to be taught to disbelieve it. They are loyal to the old paths, but they crave for a brighter light to guide them on the way. Hitherto they have been kept back by the system of early marriages. They are surrounded too soon with family cares to have much time for study, and so, having acquired enough reading, writing, and cyphering, to fit them to be clerks—clerks they become, and clerks they remain. Still there is a general desire for higher teaching astir in the community, and they have taken one important step in the right direction; they have brought pressure to bear on the priests of the old churches, and compelled them to search for the books which were gradually perishing (as the precious manuscripts perished in the monasteries of Mount Athos), and to form a public library, to be placed in the spacious dwelling of the Patriarch near the new Cathedral in Cairo. They have also extended the powers of their Council, an institution which the Greek and Armenian Churches possess, and which is capable of being an instrument of great usefulness. Three of the most active members of the assembly are now considering School Reform. These are wise steps; and we hope that they will be followed by many kindred measures, combining regard for the evergrowing requirements of men dwelling in a country on which the word 'change' is legibly written, with loyalty to national traditions, and a conservancy of hard-won privileges. One hindrance to social improvement under which the Copts labour must not be ignored. The position of their women is at present unsatisfactory, as, owing to their peculiar relation to the Mohammedans, they have been compelled to seclude and veil them. This has been a provision to avoid scandal, which none can blame. If a Coptic woman walked in the streets with her face exposed, her character would be mistaken, and she would be liable to gross insult; but there is no hareem in the Copt's house, and the wife is unveiled to her husband's friends. The women are, unhappily, very ignorant, and there is only one school for girls in Cairo, where the pupils are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, Arabic hymns, and Holy Scripture. The

* 'The Copts kiss their priests' hands, but at bottom hold them in little esteem.'—Dr. Klunzinger, 'Upper Egypt, its People and its Products.'

bride is not allowed to leave her house for two months after her marriage, and her parents visit her during this period. The statement of Lane, that she is kept without seeing any one for a year, as well as his assertion that a man may divorce his wife for theft, is erroneous. When we recollect how tight a network social customs weave round a community, we shall see that all these observances have to be taken into account in approaching the question which we have now to consider, the possibility of reanimating the COPTIC CHURCH.

The present position of the Copts has been discussed with considerable animation, and a very hearty desire to do them good has been expressed in various quarters. A number of men of high intelligence and wide influence gathered in the Jerusalem Chamber in February last, and, after much eloquent speaking, a Committee was formed to consider what steps should be taken to revive and extend true religion in Egypt, a wide expression, which, as the various speeches proved, pointed to an attempt to approach the Coptic Church. The subject has since occupied the attention of Convocation. We confess that we have scarcely ever considered a religious enterprise which appeared to us more full of interest or more heavily weighted with difficulty. Archdeacon Harrison was sensible of the number and steepness of the various rocks ahead, and of the need of careful steering. The first point is to understand precisely what we desire to do; and so intricate is the question, that this is hardly (paradoxical as it seems) so important as explaining precisely what we do not desire to do. To quote the Archdeacon:

'If we were to say that we were going to plant a branch of the Church of England in Egypt, then immediately it would be said: "You are going to add one more to the many divisions of the East." If we were to say: "We are going to help the Coptic Church, and to show our friendly relations to it," then it would be answered: "You are going to embroil yourself with the ancient Orthodox Church," the ninety-ninth prelate of which was in possession at Alexandria at the time when Dr. Neale wrote his last history. Or if you say, on the other hand: "We are going to help the Orthodox Church," it might be replied: "Then you are going, we suppose, to effectually bar your friendly access to the Coptic Church." If you talk of "missions," it may be said: "You are treating this as a heathen country," though Mohammedanism, indeed, may well suggest mission work. Or, again, if it be said: "We are going to preach the Gospel there," it might be said that you are implying that there is no Gospel preached at present.'

The conclusion was, that the meeting pledged itself to use
efforts

efforts to promote a revival and extension of true religion in Egypt.

The means which may be adopted to effect this object are various, and already the promoters of the movement have no reason to complain of a lack of advisers. Suggestions from all quarters have poured in upon them, and, as might have been predicted, the most contradictory counsels have been proffered. The friends of the Copts have been recommended to send intelligent youths to be educated in missionary colleges in England. They have been advised to ask some of the clergy who visit Egypt every winter to form a class of Copts, and instruct them in theology, as a tentative measure. They have been advised to put themselves into confidential communication with the Coptic Patriarch, on the one hand, and, on the other, have been urged to foster the reforming spirit and to work upon the hierarchy from without. It is obvious that no course could be less judicious than that last suggested. Every step must be taken in broad daylight, with the cognizance and approval of the heads of the Church; and probably the best plan would be to establish good schools in Cairo, superintended by learned and cautious English clergymen, who would seek to develop and expand those reverent and religious instincts which the Copts undoubtedly possess, and who would impart ampler and more accurate theological and historical instruction than they can obtain in their own seminaries. The Bishop of Gibraltar, than whom there is no more competent authority on the actual position of the Eastern Churches, says: 'The only way to introduce reform into the old Coptic Church is through the education of its clergy.' The schools suggested would be the seed-plots where intelligent and pious youths could obtain sound training, and whence the Church might be recruited with deacons and priests better equipped than those who serve her at present in theology, and what George Herbert calls 'accessory knowledges.' We are inclined to think that, if sympathy and tact are the guiding-stars of the movement, good results will follow; but, as we hinted before, a mistake at the outset would excite prejudices, of the inveterate strength of which we can form no idea without a thorough knowledge of the character of the people we wish to guide, and an appreciative grasp of the complex situation of the country. This is no place to discuss the Egyptian Question, but it may safely be said that there is a point from which it is possible to view the present crisis with a light favourable to this enterprise falling upon it. That point, however, is the entrenchment at Tel-el-Kebir, as some of the speakers

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writers on the Coptic question aver. The moment when the Egyptians have been 'deafened by the roar of the British cannon' is not the one specially suited for a display of evangelical zeal. The recognition of that fact, however, stamps this particular time as unsuitable for a missionary effort directed upon the Mohammedans: it does not brand it as an inopportune moment to attempt to reanimate a slumbering branch of the Christian Church; and the fact that the Copts have lately been saved from massacre may quicken their religious feelings.

'All the Copts with whom I conversed,' says Mr. Villiers Stuart, 'assured me that they were in imminent danger of being massacred during the rebellion. It was with great difficulty they were saved. If they ventured out, they had to disguise themselves; if recognized, they were attacked by the mob and insulted. In some of the towns the Mahometan governors informed me that they had to shut up the Copts in prison and in walled buildings to save their lives—even then they could not rely on the guards—and that if the victory of Tel-el-Kebir had been delayed a few days, one of the most bloody massacres on record would have ensued.'—Pp. 246, 247.

This statement is not lightly made. The Copts have undoubtedly been saved so as by fire from the bludgeons and the thumbscrews of the Arabists, and the effect on the church-life of the people is evident. They are preparing to set their house in order. There is a kindling of religious fervour, an enhanced reverence, and a craving to be taken by the hand and shown a more excellent way, which cannot be mistaken. The Coptic families remember, with a thrill of thankfulness, that they have only escaped, by God's mercy, from horrors like to those that were perpetrated on the Christians at Tintah; and though they are not prepared, as some enthusiasts imagine, to give up the error of Eutyches, and sign the Thirty-nine Articles, they know that England rescued them from a ghastly fate, and that their only security for the future lies in the continued restraint of Moslem fanaticism by English influence.

- ART. VI.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, Aug. 2, 1881.
2. *Report from the Select Committee on Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, June 19, 1882.
3. *Labourers' and Artisans' Dwellings.* By the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P. 'Fortnightly Review,' Dec. 1883.

DIVESTED of picturesque colouring, the evil against which so strenuous a protest is now being made is simply this: that the artizans and labourers of the great towns, and especially of London, are not able to obtain dwellings, fit for human habitation, at rents which they can afford to pay, and that as a result their homes are unhealthy in themselves, and are made still more so by being overcrowded. Much that has been said and written of late seems directed to a far wider issue. The misery of tens of thousands of Londoners is no doubt a very saddening phenomenon, but it must be remembered that it is also a highly complex one. The housing of the poor is, after all, but a part of a much larger problem. There are, unfortunately, a number of malign influences at work, acting and re-acting on one another, some external and belonging to circumstances; some internal, the result of habit, training, and surroundings; but all alike calculated to debase, and keep debased, the poor dwellers in great cities. Of these influences the wretched condition of their dwellings is one, and only one. In reading the heartrending stories which are being sedulously propagated, the first thing that strikes us is, that a large part of the horrors depicted have no direct connection with the scene of their enactment. Eliminate the foul garret, but leave the utterly hopeless penury, the gin-drinking, the starvation, the squalor, the filth, the vice, and the selfishness, and we have a picture removed from its dreadful setting, but otherwise just as repulsive as before. Such considerations need not discourage us, but they ought to check extravagant expectations. There is probably no feature in the external condition of the working-classes, which more powerfully affects their moral, social, and physical life, than the houses they inhabit; and by improving those houses we shall undoubtedly replace a vast influence for evil by an equally potent influence for good. Only do not let us forget that, when we have done all we can, many other evil influences,

ces, some of them more subtle and more difficult to deal with, will still operate, and do not let us be surprised if the results of our reforms are neither so instantaneous nor so complete as we should wish them to be.

Remedy is demanded for the present state of things. The condition of the dwellings of the poor is not only unsatisfactory; it is to be discreditable to the whole community. Something must be done. Authority, either executive or legislative, is required, and is expected to undertake a work of thorough reform.

Here again we must be careful. We have referred to the extent and nature of the evil to be met. The remedies capable of being applied to it from the outside have also their limitations. It is plain that the 'slums' are unfit for human beings to live in; that the rents charged are cruelly high, while the rents for lodgings are prohibitive to all but well-to-do artisans. Some economists will tell us, that things are worth just what they will fetch, and that whatever is the market value of the poor man's dwellings (be they ever so bad) is their fair value.

On the other hand, it is argued, and with much force, that we must prevent a butcher from selling bad meat, whether he has a market for it or not; and on the same principle we have the right to prevent the landlord of a house from letting it on conditions which make it unfit for human habitation. If bad meat is cheaper than good meat, and the question arises when we have forced the owners of poor dwellings to put them in order, what is there to hinder a general rise in rents? A rise would be impossible, if the supply of houses exceeded the demand; this is, however, very far from being the case in London. It would also be impossible, if the extreme limit of the rent-paying capacity of the working-classes had already been reached. But were it so, the wail from 'Outcast London' would surely be much louder and more articulate than it is now.

Again, a general increase of rent would be prevented, if there were a sufficient number of poor dwellings in the hands of speculative persons, whose determination not to make illegal profits might influence the market. Every model house built, and every house bought by philanthropic persons, no doubt helps to create such an influence. But from these considerations, no one of which can be said at present to have much application in practice, there would seem to be nothing to prevent an enforced improvement of the dwellings of the poor resulting in a general demand for higher rents. Unless, therefore, in the heat of our reforming zeal, we are prepared to call on the State to settle a 'fair rent' between the poor man and his landlord, we must bear in mind that we cannot

cannot by coercive laws reduce the cost of house-room, or even prevent its increase. The State can insist that tenement dwellings shall be made habitable by their owners, but it can hardly regulate the terms upon which the owner shall admit his tenant, and it cannot possibly regulate the earnings of the tenant, on which his rent-paying capacity depends. In other words, by improving his house it is conceivable that you may force the poor man out of it.

Again, the experiment of putting the poor in better dwellings can only be successful in proportion to their fitness for better dwellings. Here is a real difficulty. The habits and tastes and desires of the people are to a great extent hostile to improvement. Take, for instance, overcrowding. Generations of overcrowding have affected, not only the conduct, but the instincts of the poorest class. Their code of decency is different from ours. Not long ago a medical officer was trying to persuade an Irishwoman that it was, at any rate, undesirable that she and her husband, their grown-up sons and daughters, and divers collateral relations, should all sleep in the same room, when she turned on him full of wrath at what she deemed a prurient insinuation—‘Oh, you’re a bad man! Don’t we all belong to one family?’ If a distaste for squalor could by any human contrivance be created in the hearts of some hundreds of thousands of Her Majesty’s lieges, who now greatly prefer dirt to cleanliness, the houses of the London poor would mend themselves without any aid from outside. At present the most disheartening feature in the whole matter is, the dull callous indifference to misery of those on whose behalf so much effort is made. In a part of London which shall be nameless, there stands a block of artizans’ tenements, containing 150 inhabitants. It is within fifty yards of the district sanitary office. A few weeks ago the Inspector of Nuisances found every privy in this building (there were fourteen) stopped, and of course emitting a disgusting effluvium. The nuisance was evidently of several days’ standing, but not one of the 150 tenants had cared enough about it to inform the authorities close at hand.

John Bunyan’s man with the ‘muck rake,’ who ‘could look no way but downwards,’ and, when offered something better, ‘did neither look nor regard,’ is but too faithful a representation of a large class. The taste for the ‘muck rake’ is deep-seated. It will not easily be overcome by any means, but it may safely be predicted that the antidote, if one should be found, will be moral rather than legal. We may hope that things will gradually improve. There is some ground for the belief that they are improving; but the process, however slow its natural development,

development, cannot be accelerated by the coercion of law. Herding together of whole families in single rooms, to which we have referred, is one of the very worst results of the present state of things; yet even when the people themselves desire to live decently, they very often cannot. It is absolutely possible, and must remain impossible for years to come, to procure proper house-room in London for all the dwellers in it; so long as the demand largely exceeds the supply, over-crowding must continue, despite all laws and bye-laws to the contrary. In many cases these families are respectable, but unable to pay for more than one room; on this account they are admitted to the 'model dwellings,' and are perforce driven to dwell with the lowest thieves and criminals.

There are three things requisite to the decent housing of the

poor. Decent houses must exist. The poor must be able to afford them. The poor must be willing to inhabit them. The first is entirely beyond the control of law, the second is to a great extent beyond its control, the first alone is fairly within its reach. To suppose that the whole problem can be solved by Act of Parliament, is a ridiculous chimera. It is as impossible to secure for the poor man a comfortable home by Act of Parliament, as it is to give him good wages, a sober wife, or a clean face, by Act of Parliament.

Having cleared our minds by trying to grasp the precise nature of the problem before us, we may proceed to investigate it with the calm reflection that, although legislation is an imperfect cure for evils which are more moral than material, yet within its limited sphere of action there is no remedy so easy of application, or, if wisely devised, so rapidly successful, as law. Notwithstanding all that has been said and written about it, the actual condition of London (we shall confine ourselves to Metropolis) is absolutely unknown. Isolated instances of poverty do not help us to make an accurate estimate; they very often only hinder us. Most of the opinions now so freely offered are mere guesses, or at the best generalizations from very insufficient data. Bad as things undoubtedly are, there seems to be a tendency to overstate their badness. Even so cheerful a politician as the President of the Board of Trade considers that never before was the misery of the very poor more intense, or the conditions of their daily life more hopeless or more degraded.¹ It will perhaps console Mr. Chamberlain to compare the records of the past and the present, preserved in the Reports of the various Commissions and Parliamentary Committees which have from time to time during the last forty years investigated the condition of the poor in this country. Without

attempting to explain away the too true descriptions of poverty, wretchedness, and vice, which have so deeply stirred the public mind of late, we would point out that they are almost mild when contrasted with the positively sickening evidence given before the Health of Towns Commission of 1840, and the Duke of Buccleuch's Commission of 1844. At that time the low part of London had no adequate system of drainage. The ground and the foundations of the houses were literally soaked in sewage, which covered the surface of the soil like a pond, and filled the air with pestilential miasma.* The result was the same as if 'twenty or thirty thousand of the people were annually taken out of their wretched dwellings and put to death.' Fever of the most virulent type was never absent from certain neighbourhoods. The degradation, the vice, and the penury, were almost inconceivable. It is impossible to turn from such evidence as Dr. Southwood Smith gave before both the Commission just mentioned, to the evidence of witnesses of similar position given before the recent Committee on the Dwellings Acts, without being struck by the contrast. We have plenty to do in purifying London of 'slums' and 'rookeries,' plenty to lament in the condition of the poor, but at least let us acknowledge that things are not so bad as they were forty years ago, and let us be thankful for it.

The lack of accurate knowledge of the state of London is a serious obstacle in the way of reform. We want to know with precision, where the unhealthy dwellings are, and how many there are; what must be pulled down, and what can be repaired; how numerous the class is, that ought to be better housed; what are its sub-divisions; *who are the owners of unhealthy dwellings; who are the sub-lessees and immediate holders; what rents are charged;*† what rents are paid; what rents ought to be paid. It is obvious that, without trustworthy information upon these points and others which might be mentioned, our plans must to a large extent be founded on surmise, and attended with uncertainty. Statistics might easily be collected by a Commission or other body clothed with adequate powers for the purpose, and allowed sufficient time to do the work thoroughly. Last Session Sir Richard Cross called the attention of the Government to the want of such statistics, and something, not much, has been done to supply them. The Local Government Board has applied to the Vestries and District Boards throughout London for returns

* Though matters have much improved, there are still some localities, for instance in the neighbourhood of the 'Mint,' Southwark, in a most disgraceful condition.

† We desire to call particular attention to these recommendations, which, in our opinion, are of the utmost importance.

of houses which ought to be dealt with under Mr. Torrens's Acts. The circular was issued in July 1883. The replies have not, apparently, been sent in very readily, and the Board in its memorandum dated December 31st, 1883, just published, refers again to the matter.

One effect of investigation may not impossibly be, that the public will be agreeably surprised to find how much less the evil is than they had supposed. A few months ago, a volunteer committee set to work to inspect Whitechapel. The bad spots were accurately put down on a map of the district. But it must be confessed they made a very poor show. Whitechapel, however, is scarcely a typical case. The Dwellings Acts have cleared most of the worst areas, and the district has for many years been under the sanitary control of one of the ablest and most energetic medical officers of the Metropolis. St. Giles's has a bad name, yet the Inspector of Nuisances recently reported that there were no houses in that district requiring to be dealt with under the Acts. It has been calculated that, in the ten most crowded districts of London, 15 per cent. of the inhabitants are, or were before the clearances under Cross's Acts, improperly housed. This represents an aggregate of only 150,000 people.

There is a demand, almost a clamour, for fresh legislation. The newspapers and magazines are filled with schemes and suggestions. The writers for the most part appear to be animated with a pleasing sense of novelty, as if they were treading on unbroken ground. Most people find it far simpler to invent laws than to study them. We are loath to discourage so innocent an amusement, but the truth is, there is hardly any social topic on which Parliament has bestowed greater attention and more legislation, than the dwellings and health of the poor. The Sanitary and Public Health Acts are dull reading, no doubt; they are very numerous, very long, and very intricate. Still they exist, and the very least we have a right to ask of those who are urging new legislative experiments, especially if they happen to be Cabinet Ministers, is that they should have some acquaintance with the machinery already in existence. Mr. Chamberlain has recently invited us to investigate 'the root of the matter' under his guidance. But when we come to read his proposals, tracing out, as he assures us they do, 'the only measures which afford hope of permanent relief,' we find that almost all Mr. Chamberlain advocates, save the confiscation of the land in aid of the rates, has long ago been done. This tacit approval of existing laws, by a politician not prone to admire the achievements either of other times or of other people, is in a sense

sense satisfactory, although the fact that it is unconscious is a little startling.

The truth is, there are legislative powers amply sufficient for dealing with the matter, so far as it can be dealt with by any process of law. If the public are really determined that there shall be no dwellings in London but wholesome ones, and are willing to face the inevitable cost, and the hardly less inevitable embarrassment which a general purification will occasion among the very poor, the thing can be done without any fresh appeal to Parliament (except as to a few details) by the pressure of public opinion urging into activity those who have power, but do not use it.

Lord Grey, in a letter to the 'Times' of Nov. 24th, 1888, drew attention to the importance of an efficient system of supervision of poor dwellings. There is no novelty in the principle of making the immediate landlord responsible for the condition of his house, for which his Lordship contended. It underlies most of our sanitary laws. But where these laws have failed is in not providing practical administrative machinery. Lord Grey's own plan of the sanitary officer looking after the landlord, as the policeman looking after the sanitary officer, is open to serious objection, both on the ground of its complication and incompleteness—for who is to look after the policeman?—and still more on account of the intrusion on the tenants which would entail. Under the existing system, the Inspector of Nuisances has full opportunities of ascertaining the sanitary condition of all dwellings within his district. The Nuisance Removal Acts and Public Health Acts clothe him with almost despotic authority to stop anything which comes under the far-reaching definition of a nuisance. Defective drainage, dirt, over-crowding, infection, disrepair, can one and all be dealt with. Moreover the landlord who permits a nuisance in his house is made liable to pay for its removal. Tenement-houses, *i.e.* houses let to more than one family, are placed under still stricter conditions. The Sanitary Act of 1866 provides for the drawing up of a code of bye-laws in each district for the regulation of tenement-houses within its limits. Under these bye-laws the houses are to be registered; the number of inmates is to be fixed by the sanitary authority; proper appliances and conveniences are to be supplied and maintained; the rooms, passages, and staircases, are to be kept clean and properly ventilated; the sanitary officer is to have free access to every part of the house; and the breach of any of the bye-laws is to be visited on the keeper of the lodging-house, or the owner, or the tenant, as the case may be, by a fine not exceeding forty shillings.

for any one offence, and an additional penalty not exceeding twenty shillings for every day during which a default may continue. Thus the extension of the common lodging-house legislation in a modified form, adapted to the different circumstances of tenement-houses, which Lord Grey recommends, has been in a sense accomplished. The reader will perhaps wonder how, with these excellent laws in the Statute book, there can exist the utter neglect on the part of landlords, and the squalid filth amongst the tenants, of which we hear so much. The reason is simply this—the Acts of Parliament say *may* instead of *must*. Permissive legislation may be very wise under some circumstances, but it has failed conspicuously in this matter, as it will always fail where the question left open is whether money is to be spent or not, and the decision of that question and the payment of the money are in the same hands. Parliament has left it to the choice of the different Vestries and District Boards to adopt bye-laws or not. The Local Government Board can declare the enactment to be in force in any locality (it has recently exercised this power over all those parts of the Metropolis in which the statute has not hitherto been employed) and its approval of proposed codes of regulations is requisite, but it has no power to compel the Vestries to make bye-laws. The result is what might have been anticipated. There are thirty-eight Vestries and District Boards in the Metropolis, exclusive of the City. As soon as the Act became law, eighteen of these bodies applied for the necessary sanction and obtained it. Since then, two Vestries have followed their example. It may be presumed, therefore, that twenty out of the thirty-eight districts have complete codes of rules for the registration and supervision of tenement-houses, as well as ample powers to enforce their observance. Yet, so far as we can discover, there is not a single district where a general registration has been even attempted. In many cases the bye-laws seem to have been simply laid aside and forgotten. In others, they have been used with considerable effect as a sort of bugbear. Owners of unwholesome houses have been threatened with registration if they did not put them in order, and the threat has generally answered its purpose. But this use of the law, obviously not intended, illustrates in the strongest manner the advantages which would ensue from its active administration. The fear of registration has accomplished much, because it is well understood that the reality would accomplish more. Why should not the intentions of Parliament be carried out? A properly-kept register of the tenement-dwellings of London would be most useful at the present time. If regular inspection and supervision had been firmly

firmly and considerably carried out for the last fifteen years, the problem of how to house the poor would now be a much simpler one than it is. It has been mentioned, that the Local Government Board has within the last few weeks extended the application of this enactment to the whole Metropolis. In the memorandum announcing the fact, the Board impresses on the Vestries and District Boards the importance of its more general employment.

It must not be supposed that this failure to carry out the sanitary laws is simply the result of neglect or indifference on the part of the sanitary staff of London. It is frequently said, that the reason why the vestries do not get rid of unhealthy dwellings is, that many of the vestrymen are holders of small house property, and that selfish private interests thus prevent the discharge of public duties. The medical and sanitary officers are supposed to be influenced by similar motives. They are the servants of the vestries, and hesitate to send in reports certain to be unpalatable to their masters. There is no doubt some truth in these charges against the vestries, but in the absence of direct evidence it is scarcely just to fasten upon a whole body of men, who perform important public functions without fee or reward, a stigma which is only partially deserved. The sanitary staff of the Metropolis is divided into a large number of perfectly independent bodies, concerning which it would be unfair to generalize. It should, however, be remembered that, while not a few districts are under the supervision of men of the highest ability and experience, devoted to their work and eager to mitigate the evils which they see far more clearly than any one else, the feeble administration of the sanitary laws is universal.

What then is the cause of the failure? It is so simple that we hesitate to state it. The public imagination has been dazzled by huge schemes of social revolution. Mr. Chamberlain objects to 'halting suggestions.' He has told us that 'nothing is to be hoped' from the modest policy of attacking the evil in detail 'on as many sides as possible.' Nevertheless, we venture to assure him, that it is not the confiscation of landlords' property and Church endowments, the Abana and Pharpar he yearns after, nor indeed any of the waters of Birmingham, which can give relief, but—more Inspectors of Nuisances!

The sanitary machinery of London, excellent and elaborate as it is, is standing comparatively idle for lack of men to work it. People seem to forget that Acts of Parliament do not administer themselves. If a thing is ordered to be done, there must be some one to see that it is done, or to exact the penalty if

if it is left undone. In sanitary matters this duty devolves on the Inspectors of Nuisances, acting under the direction of the Officers of Health. But the number of these Inspectors in London is absolutely and ludicrously out of proportion to the work which Parliament has laid upon them. At present our sanitary laws, so far as the dwellings of the poor are concerned, are a mere farce, and, however re-modelled and reformed, they will remain a farce, so long as the executive under them is hopelessly inadequate. An example will illustrate our meaning. We select Whitechapel, because it is one of the best managed districts in London. There are two Inspectors of Nuisances employed in Whitechapel. Their duties are to administer the Sanitary Acts; to seize unwholesome food exposed for sale; to see to the removal of infectious patients; to superintend disinfecting operations; to visit the bake-houses, slaughter-houses, cow-houses, and stables, in the district; periodically to inspect the public lamps; to investigate complaints of trade nuisances and obstructions; to keep watch on sellers of food and drugs, and to procure samples for analysis when adulteration is suspected; to summon delinquents; and to do all the clerk's work arising out of these multifarious duties, such as making out notices, writing reports, keeping diaries of work done, and conducting correspondence. Mr. Liddle, the medical officer of Whitechapel, calculates that 'a young, strong and active man' who devoted his whole time to the inspection of tenement-houses could go over thirty-two in a day. There are, say, 5000 houses of this class in Whitechapel. Two Inspectors *doing nothing else*, and taking no holidays all the year round, would just succeed in visiting each house once in three months! It is needless to say that, if the habits of the people are at all as bad as they have been represented, inspection four times a year must be quite inadequate. But this state of things is purely ideal. Instead of two men devoting eight and a half hours daily to this one purpose, there are only two men to discharge the long list of duties given above, a list which is continually being added to by Parliament. Weekly inspection at least would be requisite if the sanitary laws were really enforced. But for that purpose, proceeding on Mr. Liddle's estimate, a staff of twenty-six Inspectors with nothing else to do would be required. The absurd disproportion between these figures and the actual ones sufficiently explains the failure of legislation. The supervision Acts have failed, simply because they have not been worked. This point is of the greatest consequence. It is possible that under the pressure of agitation new laws, more drastic and less considered than the old ones, may be made; and the public conscience, soothed

soothed with a sense of its virtuous activity, may relapse into quiescence, and yet the evil state of poor dwellings remain as evil as ever. It is administration, not legislation, that we want.

For many years to come the work of supervising, cleansing and repairing, must have far greater influence in improving the house-accommodation of the working-classes, than the more popular task of building model houses. Squalid London is too vast to be pulled down and rebuilt in a hurry. Even were this possible, it is doubtful whether it would be desirable. Thousands of little adjustments, by which time and circumstances have provided many gradations of houses to suit corresponding gradations in the means and wants of their inhabitants, would be swept away, and it may well be doubted whether the hard-and-fast rules of the building philanthropist would form a completely successful substitute. But regular and careful supervision would quickly produce a salutary change in the condition and even in the appearance of the Metropolis. In most localities it would supply all that is needed, and where houses are so bad as to be beyond repair, it would at any rate act as a palliative until the moment arrived for their demolition. Moreover, the burden of repair would, as far as the law can accomplish it, be thrown upon the right person, namely, the rent-receiving owner.

Many objections are urged against a general and frequent inspection of tenement-dwellings. Some are valid, some are not. Undoubtedly official supervision under the provisions of an Act of Parliament is a very imperfect and clumsy expedient. It must work more or less mechanically; it must often fail in its object; and, when it is successful, it will still seem harsh and unnecessary to the poor themselves. But that it is unjust to deny. 'An Englishman's house is his castle,' no doubt, and we should deprecate any arrangements which made it less so with regard to one class than another. But no one has a right to make his castle a nuisance to his neighbours. That no man may not use his property so as to injure another man's, is a maxim of English common law. Experience has shown that the homes of the poor, unless very carefully looked after, have a fatal tendency to become a nuisance and a danger to their inhabitants, and also to the community at large. Experience has also demonstrated the inability of the poor to fight their own battles. They are too weak morally to oppose the evil influences of habit and environment, and their poverty makes them powerless to contend against the extortion and neglect of landlords. Dislike of the Inspector's intrusion, and the tendency which landlords will inevitably exhibit to get rid

of tenants whose habits cause them expense, will have a salutary influence in encouraging cleanliness and order. It will be found that the way to avoid the Inspector of Nuisances is to give him no nuisances to inspect. Where his visits are formal they will naturally become infrequent, and so, by the harsh and unlovely compulsion of the law, the taste for decent living, the absence of which is now the greatest obstacle to reform, may gradually be fostered. But we must sorrowfully admit that there are thousands of people in London who not only will not, but cannot, live decently. They do not know how. The result of sweeping and garnishing their haunts, and insisting on their being kept swept and garnished, will be to make them 'fit for human habitation,' according to Act of Parliament, but as things are, hopelessly unfit for their particular human inhabitants. In other words, there will be eviction. Scores of wretched beings will be forced to exchange a filthy home for none at all, and there will be such an amount of acute misery as only those who know practically about these matters can conceive. Truly the prospect is enough to sober the reformer. Yet we trust it will not make him hesitate. Grievous, even heartrending, as the contemplation of such suffering must be to every humane mind, we fear the evil is inevitable. Things must be worse before they can be better. Charity must be ready to make a stupendous effort: every resource that experience has shown to be of any real avail must be turned to account, and then, with a full consciousness of what the result will be, let us proceed to clear out the dark corners of our huge London.

We now turn to the branch of the subject which has recently almost absorbed public attention—that of pulling down unwholesome houses. The work of demolition is very necessary in London, and only one degree less important than the work of supervision. The 'rookeries' and 'slums' are many of them beyond the power of the restorer: they must be handed over to the destroyer. Parliament has not been slow to recognize this fact, and has bestowed much pains on the construction of 'pulling down' machinery. In 1868 Mr. Torrens succeeded in obtaining the first of the series of Acts which bear his name. As amended in 1879 and 1882, Torrens's Acts enable the vestries, acting on the advice of their medical officers, to require owners of isolated houses or small courts to do substantial repairs or to pull down and rebuild their property. On the other hand, they enable the owner (defined so as to exclude a lessee with less than 21 years of his lease to run) to require the Vestry to buy him out, or, in other

other words, to give him compensation. The Vestry has power to levy a rate of 2*d.* in the pound, in order to meet the expense thus incurred. Sir Richard Cross's Artizans' Dwelling Act was passed in 1875. It has been amended in 1879, and again in 1882. These Acts are intended to meet the case of large areas so hopelessly ill-arranged and congested as to be incurably unhealthy. A medical officer makes a 'Representation' to the Metropolitan Board of Works. The Board, if it takes the matter up, settles a 'scheme.' The Home Secretary approves. Parliament affirms. An arbitrator settles the compensation to be paid to those whose property and interests are disturbed. This compensation is paid out of the Metropolitan rates. The area is cleared of buildings, and is afterwards put up for sale, subject to a condition that the purchaser must provide, on or near the site, for at least one-half of the displaced population, in a manner approved by the Metropolitan Board. The Select Committee referred to in the title of this article was appointed in 1881 to enquire into the working of Cross's and Torrens's Acts. The Report is dated June 1882. The recommendations made by the Committee were forthwith put in a Bill, which became law in August of the same year, so that the Acts in their present form may be said to carry out the improvements which the freshest experience can suggest.

What has been the result of the 'pulling down' legislation? We will begin with Torrens's Acts. Prior to 1879, there was no power to give the owner compensation. This omission was not designed by the draftsman, but Lord Westbury, in 1866, wishing to destroy the measure, persuaded the House of Lords to cut out half its clauses. His Lordship's success, though not complete, was considerable. Torrens's Act was so maimed that it could not be worked vigorously. There was obvious injustice in its severity, and, as Lord Westbury foresaw, its injustice hindered its employment. In 1879 the compensation clauses were restored. But then another difficulty arose. The vast number of claims for compensation, expensive arbitrations, and the proceedings, scared the vestries. They hesitated to use the power of levying a rate to meet the expense, and the last stage of the Acts was worse than the first. Torrens's Acts, from being worked languidly, became almost a dead-letter, and they have remained. From statistics privately procured a few weeks ago, it appears that of the thirty-eight Vestries and District Boards twenty-five have not used the Acts at all since 1879, seven have used them very slightly, and six only to a considerable extent. Even when the Acts have been put in practice, care seems to have been taken to select cases in which

no claim for compensation would be made. Mr. Chamberlain speaks strongly of the inconvenience felt by the vestries in having scattered dwellings thrown on their hands, while he says, the 'terms of compensation have been so interpreted as to impose a heavy loss on the ratepayers.' But, as a matter of fact, not a single farthing of compensation has been paid by any vestry in London, and the vestries have not encumbered themselves with the ownership of a single house. So far as efficiency is concerned, Torrens's Acts would have accomplished more if they had been suffered to remain in the plight to which Lord Westbury's mutilating hand reduced them. The Marylebone vestry has recently received a claim for compensation from the owner of a house, as to which an order had been made. The matter is still pending. This is the first instance in which the compensation clauses have been employed.

The fate of Cross's Acts has been different. They have produced a considerable effect on the condition of London. Many of the worst 'slums' have been cleared away. In some cases noble blocks of Peabody buildings have been erected in their place, but the whole process, from the initial 'Representation' to the opening of the rebuilt houses, has been made so tediously long and difficult, by various influences incident to the working of the Acts, that in very few instances have the intentions of the Legislature been, as yet, completely carried out.

The Parliamentary Return, issued last November, of the work done in London and the provinces under Cross's Acts, enables us to take a general view of the results. The history is a melancholy one. There have been thirty-three 'Representations' made to the Metropolitan Board of Works. Of these, twelve are dated in 1875, ten in 1876, five in 1877, four in 1878, one in 1879, none in 1880, none in 1881, one in 1882. The supply of unhealthy areas in London is certainly not exhausted by these thirty-three Representations. To what then are we to refer this fading away of attempts to put the Acts in motion? The truth is, the medical officers are utterly out of heart. Experience has taught them that the result of making a Representation will certainly be long delay while the matter is 'under consideration,' followed most probably by a refusal to proceed; or, if the case is too strong to be rejected point-blank, by exasperating pauses, tedious forms, worrying requirements, much suffering to the inhabitants whose houses will be pulled down and the sites left vacant for years, and finally, heavy loss to the whole neighbourhood. Of the thirty-three Representations,

tions, ten have been rejected altogether. In six instances the cause of rejection is said to be 'the limited size' of the area. The numbers of houses in these six Representations were 15, 6, 10, 25, 90, 38. Until 1882 there was no limit to the number of houses which might be dealt with under Cross's Acts, but in that year the minimum was fixed at *ten*, so that the Legislature has taken a view very different from that of the Board, as to 'limited areas.' Of the remaining twenty-three Representations, six are still 'under consideration.' Of these, two were made in 1877, two in 1878, one in 1879, and one in 1882. The total number of cases accepted and dealt with is thus reduced to seventeen. But of these, no less than thirteen are still unsettled. Either the area has not been cleared, or, having been cleared, it is still vacant or partly vacant. In some instances the land is not yet sold. Yet eight out of these thirteen cases were brought to the Board's notice in 1875, within a month or two of the enactment of the statute, and the other five during the next year. These wholesale deductions leave us only four cases in which, after eight years, the intentions of Parliament have been fully realized! In only four cases has the work of demolition and reconstruction been completely carried out! It will not be denied that this record of results is disappointing. But it has one advantage. It removes all uncertainty as to the immediate cause of failure. Cross's Acts have failed, so far as London is concerned, because they have been very languidly worked by the Metropolitan Board of Works. The statistics we have given point to this conclusion too clearly to be misunderstood. Just as Torrens's Acts have been ignored by the Vestries, so Cross's Acts have been strangled with red tape by the Metropolitan Board. The reason in both cases has been the same—the expense of working the Acts. The Vestries dare not face it at all; the Board endeavours to minimize it by restricting operations.

Great complaint has been made on account of the enormous sums of money which have been paid away in compensation under Cross's Acts. The loss to the ratepayers of London is said to amount already to a million and a quarter sterling. The Board point to this loss as a cogent reason for not working the Acts more vigorously, while it is regarded by the public as evidence that far too much has been paid in compensation to the owners of unwholesome dwellings. Mr. Chamberlain takes this view very strongly, and in his pleasant way denounces the efforts at reform hitherto made as simply 'offering a premium for neglect and wilful indifference to sanitary provisions.' The subject

subject is not an easy one, and it appears to have been greatly misunderstood by those who, shocked at the total amount of the bill, do not examine the items. Mr. Chamberlain, although he regards 'the cost as the insuperable obstacle to a bold and comprehensive dealing with the subject,' has taken so little pains to master the considerations which affect it, that his conclusions, although not wanting in confidence, are essentially crude.

The statutory rules of compensation under Cross's Acts and Torrens's Acts are identical, so that our remarks may be taken as applying to both.

Compensation is to be based—

- (1) On 'the fair market value' of the property.
- (2) Deducting the expense of remedying any nuisance or disrepair existing on the property at the time of valuation.
- (3) Having regard to the 'nature, then condition, and probable duration,' of the buildings.
- (4) Without any allowance in respect of compulsory purchase.
- (5) If other premises belonging to the same owner are made more valuable by the demolition of the property taken under the Act, the compensation is to be reduced by the amount of the added value.

In addition to these statutory rules, the arbitrators under Cross's Acts, Sir Henry Hunt and Mr. Rodwell, Q.C., have laid down two canons which have received the express approval of the recent Parliamentary Committee, and may therefore be considered established. They are:—

- (a) An unhealthy house too bad for repair is not to be valued as a house at all, but as a plot of land with so many cart-loads of bricks and materials upon it.
- (b) In valuing such a plot of land regard is to be had to its 'evil surroundings.'

Severe as these canons undoubtedly are, they do not seem unjust. A man, who is making an income out of a house which ought to be demolished, is carrying on an illegitimate trade, and is not entitled to compensation in respect of it. His property is in the eye of the law not a dwelling-house, but a pile of bricks, and as a pile of bricks he should be paid for it. We have no means of judging how often these canons have been applied during the huge clearances of the last few years, but we suspect not very frequently. The truth is, a house so utterly bad and rotten and unwholesome that repair is impossible, is a comparative rarity. The majority of the houses, even in an unhealthy area, are at any rate theoretically capable of being made habitable,

habitable, and in their case these canons would appear to have no application. According to the evidence of the arbitrators, the 'fair market value' of a house not incurably unhealthy has hitherto been based, subject to the deductions we have mentioned, upon the rental. Surely there is a flaw here. Just as a house which ought to be pulled down is not regarded as a house at all, so a house which is being improperly used ought not to acquire extra value by reason of that fact, but ought to be valued as if the use made of it were legitimate. For instance, a house, if employed for immoral purposes, is far more remunerative than if not so employed. An over-crowded house generally brings in more rent than one not over-crowded. A necessary extension of the excellent canons (a) and (b) given above would therefore seem to be—

(c) The rental value of a house is to be estimated on the assumption that it is legitimately used.

The persons entitled to compensation under Torrens's Acts are, as we have seen, the freeholder and lessee for a long term. The supposed injustice of excluding the actual tenant and the short leaseholder, has often been brought forward as a reason for not using these Acts. There is some doubt as to the persons who, according to the strict reading of Cross's Acts, could claim compensation; but in practice, the freeholder, the long lessee, the short lessee or yearly tenant, and the actual occupiers, have been compensated in respect of their various interests in the property taken. The compensation for businesses has been an especially heavy item, and has caused much embarrassment to the arbitrators.

Mr. Chamberlain makes two complaints against the present system of compensation. The first is, that too much compensation has been paid; the other is, that it has been paid by the wrong person. We will take the last point first. There is a fallacy running through everything he says on this head, against which we must protest. He uses the word 'owner' to denote persons occupying widely different positions. The freeholder is confounded with the ground lessee, and the ground lessee with the middleman or actual tenant. The extortion of the middleman is tacitly placed at the door of the freeholder, in order to give force to an attack on the landed interest, which seems to be the real object of Mr. Chamberlain's essay. The party spirit, which he begins by deprecating, soon resumes possession of a mind far too much accustomed to its control; and, as if the difficulties of the problem were not already sufficiently great, he seeks to multiply them indefinitely by making it a burning question of party politics. It is untrue that the
landlords

landlords of London as a class are making, or have been making, a profit out of the wretchedness and overcrowding which exist on their property. By far the greatest number of houses in the Metropolis are let and sub-let, sometimes through five or six hands, the landlord getting a moderate ground-rent, settled probably long ago, when a ninety-nine years' lease was granted, and independent altogether of the actual profit made by sub-letting. The extortionate rents, the scant accommodation, and the neglect to repair, go to swell the gains of one or more of the middlemen or mesne lessees. The utmost which can be fairly charged against town landlords is that they have not in all cases used powers which some of them possess, by means of covenants and conditions in leases, to compel better management by lessees.

Mr. Chamberlain proposes to transfer the expense of clearing London of 'slums' from the ratepayers in general to the land-owners. He leaves the reader in doubt whether this new impost on land is to be regarded as a penalty for wrong-doing and neglect, or a duty incident to real property. The confusion of one class with another gives a plausible air to Mr. Chamberlain's case, and to secure this advantage he in his discussion takes the former view; but in the end he invites assent to the general principle, that the expense of housing the poor ought to be borne by the land, as though it were the natural conclusion from his premisses. Mr. Chamberlain may be tactically right in trying to utilize, for the advantage of the Radical party, the sympathy with suffering which now fills the public mind, but we confess we regret the attempt. Surely, enough has been made of the wretchedness and neglect and overcrowding of the homes of the poor, without turning them to account for the production of political capital.

Again, by ignoring the actual incidents of landed property in London, and inventing an imaginary personage, whom he chooses to call 'the owner,' Mr. Chamberlain is enabled to play odd tricks with statistics. Quoting the Blue-books, he tells us that it has cost on an average 17s. per foot to clear the sites dealt with under Cross's Acts. The commercial value of the land when cleared is only 10s. per foot; therefore, says Mr. Chamberlain, 7s. per foot has been overpaid to 'the owner' as a reward for his 'lâches and criminal neglect.' 'Strangely enough,' he naively adds, 'the Parliamentary Committee do not seem to have drawn this inference.' The over-payment, which Mr. Chamberlain imagines his composite 'owner' to have received, represents the compensation for businesses broken up, compensation

sation to the poor themselves, who are obliged to seek new lodgings, and many other expenses which could not without gross injustice have been avoided. They all go to augment the cost of acquiring a site, while there is no corresponding addition to its selling value. A plot of ground in the middle of many similar plots is not worth a farthing more or less because before the clearance a baker's shop stood on it, although the necessity of compensating the baker for the breaking-up of his business must have very seriously increased the cost of clearing the plot. In other words, directly we take Mr. Chamberlain's 'owner' to pieces, and recognize the different elements of which he is composed, this argument from statistics loses every vestige of plausibility. It involves an arithmetical blunder.

It is most likely that there has been some over-payment of compensation, though probably to a much less degree than is supposed. Indeed, if the difference between the compensation paid and the commercial value of the land cleared were really only 7s. per foot, there would not be much cause for complaint; but it is to be feared that the commercial value is far less than has been stated. Many large metropolitan areas have been thrown into the market almost at the same time, with the natural consequence that a glut has ensued. Last June the Metropolitan Board attempted to sell land at Islington, Marylebone, and Whitechapel. The reserves were fixed at sums representing much less than 10s. per foot for commercial land, yet there were very few sales.

Mr. Chamberlain's proposals for a reformed system of compensation are of very unequal merit. He insists, as we think rightly, upon the impropriety of using a rental swollen by unjust gains as a criterion of value. His suggestions for fining negligent landlords not only seem fair, but are practically identical with existing enactments. But his attempt to define 'fair market value' is not so successful. We have already explained how it is now arrived at. According to Mr. Chamberlain, the 'fair market value' is what 'a willing seller would obtain in the open market from a private purchaser, with no allowance for prospective value or compulsory sale.' Now, the law has already settled that the owner of a house in an unhealthy area shall receive nothing on account of compulsory sale. That is an undeniably drastic regulation. But it does not satisfy Mr. Chamberlain. The owner is not only to be treated as if the sale were not compulsory, but further, as if he were desirous to sell his property, although in reality he is nothing of the kind. He is not only to give up his house, but he must do it with yearning

ming alacrity. At any rate, a yearning will be presumed. Mr. Chamberlain's proposal means anything, it means that price is to be lower than it would otherwise be, on account of the owner's assumed anxiety to sell. The only difference between a willing vendor and another is, that the former will make a sacrifice to be rid of his property, which the latter will not make. The extent of the sacrifice, of course, depends upon the urgency of the vendor's desire to sell. How this is to be regulated under the Dwellings Acts, Mr. Chamberlain does not descend to explain. Perhaps the Board of Trade will be asked to construct tables in which the statutory 'willingness' of the owner will be proportioned to the insalubrity of his property. The scandalously negligent landlord will be credited with a devouring passion for sale, while the careful landlord will be allowed a mild inclination, just strong enough to admit of a little confiscation.

To learn the true philosophy of this knotty question of reform, let us turn from Mr. Chamberlain to Miss Octavia Hill. The following sentences, which contain the gist of the whole matter, were written eight years ago:—

Clearing away old abuses cannot pay, except in the sense in which reform pays. Abolition of slavery didn't pay; the nation had to pay for it. Happy if by mere payment in money it could efface so great a wrong! So it must be with these courts and alleys. It cannot be remunerative in £ s. d. to remove them, neither can you simply throw the cost on the individual owner; the community—their conscience of which allowed them to grow up—must pay for removing them. But once cleared, the buildings erected ought to be remunerative; and I earnestly hope no short-sighted benevolence will ever deceive our legislators into losing sight of this.'—*Homes for the London Poor*, Preface, p. 8.

Closely connected with 'pulling down' is the rebuilding or constructive branch of the subject. The destruction of 'rookeries,' without provision being made for the displaced inhabitants, can only aggravate the evil of over-crowding, by increasing the congestion of population in the neighbourhood. Indeed it is on this account that the poor themselves regard the clearances which have been effected, during recent years, under Cross's Acts, and through various street improvements, with marked repugnance. Unfortunately, experience has not led to lessen this repugnance. When courts and alleys are swept away to make room for railways, warehouses, public buildings, or broad streets, it is obvious that every foot of land transformed is so much taken away from the already

insufficient house-accommodation of the poor. But even under Cross's Acts, where the land cleared is destined to be again covered with artizans' dwellings, the beneficent purpose of Parliament is so long in being accomplished, that the hardships of enforced eviction and the evils of tighter squeezing are keenly felt. In round figures, the Metropolitan Board have cleared away forty acres of buildings. Of these, twenty-three are still, at this moment, vacant. Some of the sites have been lying useless and waste for years, with the result that the overcrowding of London is aggravated by some 10,000 people having been squeezed into houses already full to overflowing. The fact is, that rebuilding has not kept pace with pulling down. Notwithstanding the enormous sacrifice at which the Metropolitan Board of Works is forced to offer sites for sale, purchasers cannot be found. Artizans' dwellings, built according to the Board's plans and under its supervision, are not a promising speculation. Even the great building companies are not attracted. There is no competition. Of eight sites put up to auction last June, only three were sold. But for the Peabody Trustees, who have found in Cross's Acts the solution of what was their great difficulty—how to procure sites, most of the seventeen acres bought under these Acts, and now covered with model dwellings, would probably be still lying waste. Until a remedy has been found for this reluctance to build, the prosecution of fresh schemes under Cross's Acts is a matter of very doubtful expediency, and even safety. Unemployed areas, such as at present exist, mean a ruinous waste of income to the ratepayers, and a serious amount of suffering, discontent, and injury, to the poor. Happily the need for wholesale clearances, though still great, is not so pressing as it was in 1875. There is far greater scope for the application of Torrens's Acts to single houses. Rebuilding under Torrens's Acts has never been attempted, but there seems good reason for thinking that it would not be attended with the difficulties which have so seriously interfered with the success of Cross's Acts. In the first place, the vestries can build, and can levy a rate to meet the expense thus incurred, while the Metropolitan Board has no similar powers. Moreover, the number of possible buyers of small plots is indefinitely larger than that of capitalists or societies capable of carrying out a scheme under Cross's Acts. Philanthropic persons, to whom a few shares in a gigantic building society would not present any attraction, might yet be willing to devote the necessary money and time and attention to the work of re-erecting and managing a single house. If each

stry or District Board could be induced first to find out, and to take in hand, the bad spots in its own territory, and that ample unofficial assistance would speedily be given.

As to the multitude of counsellors whom the present agitation has called forth, it is satisfactory to notice one piece of common sense common to them all. There is unanimity in the opinion with which the notion of the State's giving homes to the poor is condemned. The extravagance of the idea, and the evil its realization would bring upon the poor themselves, are so generally recognized, that it is needless to discuss them. But while it is clear that the State must not assume the duties of a landlord, it is by no means so clear how the rebuilding, so urgent and necessary as we have seen it to be done. The expense of sites makes it very difficult for artisans in London itself at rents which yield even a small percentage of profit to the owner. How to house the poor without commercial loss, is at present an unsolved problem. Miss Octavia Hill has done it on a small scale, and is confident that her plan would succeed equally well on a large one; but the trade-builder, the large Dwelling Company, and the Peabody Trustees, have all hitherto failed. I quote the Report of the Parliamentary Committee:—

'The special callings of many of the workpeople, the hours of their labour, the employment of their children, the maintenance of their families, the economy of living together in a family, the cheapness of food owing to the nearness to the great evening markets, render it probable that a large portion should be enabled to rehouse themselves in or near their old places of living.'

But men's trains and suburban houses will do much to relieve the congestion of the Metropolitan centres, but, when these are done their utmost, the necessity for finding houses for a large class of the poor, and especially the very poor, in London, will remain as great as ever.

There can be no doubt that the financial difficulty could to a considerable extent be met, if it were possible for building societies to obtain loans at a low rate of interest. Lord Salisbury's objection to the State's becoming a mortgagee for this purpose. Certainly, as his Lordship points out, precedent is lacking for the adoption of the principle involved. Mr. Balfour, I believe, it is true, sees difficulties, but whether his difficulties really belong to the subject, or whether they are not caused by the distorting medium through which he views it, may well be doubted. Mr. Torrens, to whom the State is already indebted for the valuable Acts which bear his

his name, advocates the application of future balances of deposits in the Post-Office Savings Bank (these balances have amounted in the past to the prodigious aggregate of 39 millions sterling), as a fund out of which loans might be made to the Vestries at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., i.e. at the rate of interest allowed the depositors. Security could be given on the rates which, as we have seen, the local authorities are empowered to levy for the purpose of providing labourers' dwellings. The form in which assistance can best be afforded is a matter for consideration; but that assistance in some form is desirable, seems not less clear than the failure of unassisted efforts to supply the demand for wholesome dwellings.

There is another point connected with rebuilding, which has not received anything like the attention it deserves. The necessity of keeping a watch on the construction of new houses has been overlooked. The Metropolitan Building Act is admitted to be exceedingly defective, yet no effort is made to amend it. One of the chief causes of unhealthiness in a house is the absence of back windows and a back yard. The Building Act of 1855 provides that every house shall have an open space of at least 100 square feet in its rear. The required space is the same for a house of the size of the Grand Hotel as for the smallest house. The 100 square feet need not be distributed along the entire length of the house, so that a well, or yard with an area of 100 square feet placed at one corner of the house would satisfy the Act; and finally, there is nothing to prevent the open space from being built on as soon as the house to which it belongs has been inspected and approved by the authorities. As might have been expected, speculative builders constantly take advantage of the unsatisfactory state of the law. Should the building of artisans' dwellings become, as it is much to be hoped it may, a recognized department of commercial enterprise, the anomaly of the existing state of things would be made unpleasantly clear. It is of little avail to sweep away ancient 'rookeries,' if we allow modern 'rookeries' to be built in their stead. The Artizans' Dwellings Acts provide specially for submission of building plans to, and their approval by, the authorities; but it is to meet the case of private owners building on sites obtained otherwise than under the Acts that an alteration is necessary.

There has been a remarkable sameness about the fate of all the attempts of Parliament to deal with the different phases of this dwellings' question. The supervision Acts are excellently conceived, but they have failed. Torrens's Acts and Cross's Acts are thoroughly practical and well-arranged measures, but the

they have failed also. Moreover the cause of failure is the same in the three cases. The Acts have not broken down in working, but for want of working. Again, to go a step further, this lack of administrative energy, however variously exhibited, proceeds from one source. Why are there not more Inspectors of Nuisances? Because of the expense. Why are not Torrens's Acts put into operation? For fear of increasing the rates. Why are not Cross's Acts loyally worked? On account of their costliness. Why is it almost impossible to get decent dwellings for the poor built in London? Because 'it does not pay.' In one form or another, the money question is at the bottom of every difficulty which besets the subject. If, therefore, public opinion is in favour of a general improvement in the dwellings of the poor, it must also be in favour of spending public money in order to effect it. Without the support of public opinion, it is unjust to expect local authorities to undertake liabilities which must add seriously to the burden of taxation, and are certain to be distasteful to a large class of the ratepayers. The best advice which can be offered on this question at this time is that which Don Quixote gave to Sancho Panza: 'Publish few edicts, but let those be good, and above all see that they are well observed, for edicts that are not kept are the same as not made.'

The results to which the foregoing observations lead may be formulated as follows:—

- (1.) Appoint sufficient Inspectors of Nuisances to allow of the registration and regular inspection of all tenement-houses, and devise some means to compel them to do it.
- (2.) Consolidate Torrens's Acts and Cross's Acts, placing the executive under both sets of Acts in the same hands. The result of this arrangement would be, that a representation under Cross's Acts could never be rejected as applying to too small a space.
- (3.) Create a small Commission, lasting for a fixed number of years, to which the local authorities, including the Metropolitan Board, should delegate the administration of Cross's Acts and Torrens's Acts, except the levying of rates. Its first business would be to collect statistics of the state of London with reference to poor dwellings.
- (4.) Add to the present rules as to compensation, by providing that the value of a house is to be based on what the rental would be if there were no overcrowding, or other circumstances tending illegitimately to increase the rental.
- (5.) No area to be cleared under Cross's Acts, until arrangements have been made for rebuilding over the whole area. The sale

sale of areas in sections to be permitted. Pulling down to be gradual, and rebuilding to commence as soon as sufficient ground has been cleared for the purpose.

(6.) Rebuilding on large areas, cleared under Cross's Acts, to be encouraged by Government loans at a low rate of interest, but properly secured. These loans should be open to trade builders able to give adequate security for the money, and guarantees for the proper management of the houses when built. The property held by the Peabody Trustees would afford ample security for loans. They have already borrowed a quarter of a million sterling from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and with further assistance they might perhaps, with benefit to the public, become the recognized rebuilding agency for large sites. One advantage of quasi-charitable bodies becoming landlords on a large scale is, that they to some extent control the market and keep down rents.

(7.) For the purpose of rebuilding on small sites cleared under Torrens's Acts, Government loans, secured on rates raised under these Acts, might be advanced. The local authority might itself rebuild and then sell, or, which would be preferable, sell the site to private persons willing to build, subject to supervision. In the latter case, the local authority would lend the money advanced by Government to the buyer of the site, on the security of the property.

(8.) An amended Building Act, under which provision should be made for the creation and maintenance of sufficient air-space at the rear of all houses, whether newly built or rebuilt.

Troja: Results of the Latest Researches and on the Site of Homer's Troy, and in the Heroic and other Sites, made in the year 1882; and a Narrative of the Journey in the Troad in 1881. By Dr. Henry Schliemann, Hon. D.C.L., &c. &c. Preface by Professor E. Curtius. London, 1884.

and Hellenic Ilium. By R. C. Jebb. Reprinted from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies.* 1881.

ins at Hissarlik. II. Their Relation to the Iliad. By R. C. Jebb. Reprinted from the same *'Journal.'* 1882.

we first introduced Dr. Schliemann's narrative of his wonderful discoveries to the English public,* we were reminded of the prophecy:—

‘Trojæ renascens alite lugubri
Fortuna tristi clade iterabitur,’

little foresight to predict that—

‘erunt etiam altera bella,
iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles.’

that the fated period of ten years has once more been fulfilled, we do not hesitate to declare that the controversy has been decided in the most essential points at which there remains for solution a whole series of problems, the very raising of which is not the least of Schliemann's services to Greek scholarship and to classical science. Into the details of those problems we have more than once declared, that it is premature to enter; and there is left only the task, which we trust will be interesting to our readers as it is specially incumbent on us, of bringing into one focus the result of the labours which he declares to be now for ever finished. He has done this in his present work by recalling to our memory the curious prophetic—which he wrote from His first year of his excavations (Nov. 3, 1871):—

My expectations are extremely modest; I have no hope of finding anything of art. The single object of my excavations from the beginning to the end is only to FIND TROY, whose site has been discussed by scholars in a hundred books, but which as yet no one has brought to light by excavations. If I should not succeed I shall be perfectly contented, if by my labours I have penetrated to the deepest darkness of prehistoric

Troianische Alterthümer (afterwards translated as *'Troy and the Troad'* in the *'Quarterly Review,'* April 1874, vol. 136, p. 526, f.

times,

times, and enriching archæology by the discovery of a few interesting features from the most ancient history of the great Hellenic race.—‘Troy and its Remains,’ p. 80.

That in *both* these objects he has attained a success unexampled in the history of ‘research by the pickaxe and spade’ is freely confessed, even by the antagonists whose vehemence seems to grow in proportion to the smallness of the issues that remain open; and Dr. Schliemann has the fullest right to the satisfaction with which, from the topmost height of Ida, and again from the tumulus of Ujek Tepeh—itsself a monument of his labours, and the best point for a near view of the plain of Troy—he looked for the last time over the ground which he has made at once his own and a new possession of our knowledge.

It is this survey of the Tröad as a whole, that forms one of the most valuable parts of the new work now before us. That little *angulus terrarum*, the foremost corner of Asia, has fixed and fascinated the attention of the world from the earliest dawn of Greek poetic legend down to the latest political questions still in agitation. Lying where the great land and waterways of the European and Asiatic continents meet and intersect, it has been traversed to and fro by the migrations of peoples, the hosts of contending tribes, the armies of invaders and conquerors, the footsteps of the first Apostles of the Gospel, from before the dawn of history to the Turkish capture of Constantinople. As it is one of the most striking results of new discoveries to bring out the real sense of old records and traditions, so we now learn that Herodotus was right in dating the long conflict of the Hellenic race with Asia from legends which had become mythical; and the war of Troy finds its place among the traditions, preserved by obscure historians, of collisions between kindred tribes on the opposite shores of the Ægean and the Hellespont; the *round number* of its ten years’ siege pointing to the long duration of the conflict. If we only avoid the confusion—which critics still persist in making, in order to impute to Dr. Schliemann opinions which he never ceases to disclaim—between the *actual primeval Troy*, whose fate he rightly describes as the germ of the Homeric legend, and the *ideal Troy* which Homer’s imagination rebuilt on its historic site, we may regard the two-fold question of its reality and true site as now for ever ended. Let not our readers fear the renewal of the old controversy: as to the *site*, we have said our say;* and as to the real base of the legend in actual fact, we are content to quote judgments far

* Review of ‘*Ilios*,’ in the ‘Quarterly Review,’ July, 1881, vol. 152, p. 205, *l.*
more

more weighty than our own. The greatest historian of our age, who at an age approaching ninety is crowning his life's work by the composition of a Universal History, says emphatically: 'There existed, beyond all doubt, a primeval prehistoric Ilium, the excavations show; and this name forms the nucleus of the Homeric poems.'* It is but one example of the great principle expressed by Count von Moltke in the passage which Dr. Schliemann has happily chosen for his motto: 'A locality is the fragment of reality which survives from an event long since past;' and the true poet's instinct made Byron point the same moral:—

'And so great names are little more than nominal:

... I've stood upon Achilles' tomb,
And heard Troy doubted; time will doubt of Rome.'

Yes! the whole 'tale of Troy divine' hangs on the locality: the shores washed by the Ægean and the Hellespont, the plain watered by the Scamander and backed by the range of Ida, from whose summit the traveller still sees the islands which Homer brings by name within his vision; all the attendant circumstances of climate and natural phenomena, from theustering blasts of Boreas, which made Dr. Schliemann's work 'windy Ilium' as painful as it was laborious, to the very towers he gathered on Gargarus and identified botanically with those which decked the couch of Jove and Hera in the Iliad: all are as true to fact as if a modern realistic poet had taken them for the setting of a new artificial Iliad. All this clears the ground of the purely imaginative theory, that the Troy of Homer is to be found among the Muses on Olympus rather than in the trenches of Hissarlik; and makes it certain that, if there ever was a Trojan War, it was fought out upon this plain.

Does then the region itself, either in its known history, or its silent monuments of antiquity, give any certain testimony to the reality and character of that primitive nucleus of fact, which has ripened into the perfect fruit of Homer's poetry? This is the problem meditated by Dr. Schliemann from his boyhood, and to which he has devoted twelve years of self-sacrificing toil and arduous study; for the present work gives new proofs that it is the student as well as the explorer. His Homeric enthusiasm is a sufficient rebuke of the silly sentiment, that Homer's poetry is debased by being brought into any relation with actual facts; a strange notion, indeed, seeing that, like the earliest epic poetry of all nations, it is based on fact and not on mere fancy.

* Leopold von Ranke, 'Weltgeschichte,' vol. i. p. 159, f.

Its spirit is too vital to be quenched or bottled up by the Dryas-dusts, who would make history and archæology prevail over the poetry (a race, by the bye, represented by some of Dr. Schliemann's assailants rather than by himself); but that spirit gains substance and precision, without any loss of ethereal life, from the facts with which it is connected by old studies as well as new discoveries: the animated body is a better possession than the disembodied spirit.

The 'slaves of the lamp' owe a deep debt to the more active pioneers of knowledge. At the very beginning of the modern war of Troy, it was a traveller of the best type, Dr. Clarke, who said that the long controversy, excited by Mr. Bryant's publication, and since so vehemently agitated, would probably never have existed, had it not been for the erroneous maps of the country; and now Dr. Schliemann has for the first time made an exhaustive examination, not only of the Plain of Troy, in its narrower sense, but of the whole region which we may call the peninsula of Mt. Ida, down to the southern edge of the range along the Gulf of Adramyttium. A most essential complement to his researches at Hissarlik and other sites in the plain itself, is the journey which he undertook in May, 1881, with the express 'purpose of determining what other sites of ancient habitation, besides Hissarlik, demanded archæological investigation.' The narrative (Appendix I. to 'Troja'), which includes an ascent of the twin summits of Ida, and the discovery of Jove's throne and altar, is deeply interesting in many points on which we cannot stay to dwell, besides setting the question of Troy in its proper relation to the whole region. The result which most concerns us now, is the contrast between the Troad as it is and as it was under the Roman empire, a condition from which we may look back to its flourishing state under the empire of 'Priam the Rich.' Where now there are only seven wretched villages on a pestilential plain, ravaged by neglected river-courses, intersected by barren ridges, and backed by the wild pastures of Ida, whose very herbage is poisonous for part of the summer, the land infested by brigands and the coast by cruel pirates,* a busy population lived and laboured in prosperity and peace, drawing abundant sustenance from the soil and wealth from the mines, and at times exchanging the heat of the plains for the breezes and baths of Ida.† Besides many towns of consequence, up to the highest habitable regions of Ida (all ex-

* See the tragic story of a murder at Alampsa, p. 311. In all his work and journeys Dr. Schliemann was obliged to have a guard of gendarmes.

† The splendid Roman baths of Ligia Hamam are an impressive monument of wealth and luxury.

explored by Dr. Schliemann, who has made some important identifications), the Plain of Troy itself, in a space of only eight miles long by less than half the breadth, contained eleven flourishing cities, all probably independent, and five of them coining their own money; among which Ilium, with a population estimated at 70,000, and great buildings to be spoken of anon, was supreme, till eclipsed by Alexandria Troas. Now Dr. Schliemann has explored every ruin, and excavated every mound and site where ancient remains could be supposed to exist, with these remarkable results. *Only three sites in the whole country* (Bounarbashi not being one of them) have yielded remains that can in any sense be called *pre-historic*, namely, HISSARLIK and the mounds of *Hanai Tepeh* and *Besika*; the two latter showing pottery altogether unlike that of the first, and having, for other sufficient reasons, no claim to be the site of Troy; while even their *débris* are insignificant compared with the depth of 50 feet at Hissarlik. Of the other results of his explorations of the Troad in 1881 and 1882, the most important, including the final *coup de grâce* to the claims of Bounarbashi by a new and valuable discovery, may be summed up in Dr. Schliemann's own words:—

'I have further once more brought to naught the pretensions of the small city on the Bali Dagh behind Bounarbashi to be the site of Troy, inasmuch as I have shown that it belongs to a much later time, and that it cannot be separated from the strongly fortified city on Eski Hissarlik, which, at a distance of only a few hundred yards from it, crowns a lofty hill on the opposite bank of the Scamander, having been built simultaneously with it, and having been together with it the key to the road which leads through the valley of the Scamander into Asia Minor.

'I have further proved that the accumulation of ancient ruins and *débris*, which exceeds sixteen mètres in depth on the hill of Hissarlik, is quite insignificant on the Bali Dagh, as well as at Eski Hissarlik and on Mount Fulu Dagh, and amounts to nothing in the only two places in the Troad where the most ancient human settlements ought to have existed, and where the archæologist might confidently expect to find a rich abundance of most ancient prehistoric ruins, namely, Kurshunlu Tepeh (Dardanié and Palæscepsis), and the Chalidagh (Cebrené). I have proved that the most ancient remains on all these sites, scanty as they are, belong most probably to the period between the ninth and the fifth centuries B.C., and that there is no trace among them of prehistoric pottery.

'By my exploration of the "heroic tombs," I have further proved, that the tumulus which by Homer and the tradition of all antiquity had been attributed to Achilles, as well as one of the two tumuli ascribed to Antilochus and Patroclus, cannot claim a higher antiquity than the ninth century B.C., that is to say, the Homeric age; whereas

whereas the tumulus, to which tradition pointed as the tomb of Protesilaus, may with the very greatest probability be attributed to the age of the second city of Hissarlik, which perished in a calamity. My excavations in this tumulus have also confirmed ancient tradition which brought the earlier inhabitants of Ilium from Europe and not from Asia.'

The highly important inference thus drawn from the excavation of the mound on the European shore of the Hellespont forms a fit transition to the view of the whole question in the light of history and tradition. It gives a striking confirmation of the conclusions long since formed from abundant indications, not the least of which are found in the Homeric poems themselves, of a connection in race and language, intercourse, conflict, between the peoples who dwelt round the western, northern, and eastern shores of the Ægean, before the dawn of recorded history. But our first approach to sure ground,* though still enveloped in the mists of tradition, very uncertain date, is the great Hellenic colonization of the Minor, an epoch from which we may look backwards as well as forwards. The Homeric poems were its choicest product; they contain the germs of the legends which they have immortalized; doubtless supplied by the local traditions of the great cities of former ages, brought to a climax—in actual fact, as well as in the legend—by the destruction of Troy. To the realization of such a catastrophe, and to its occurrence long before the dawn of the Hellenic colonization, we have now the consentient witness of tradition, of remains and of historical tradition. There can no longer be any doubt that the Æolian and Achæan settlers found in the Hellespont the local tradition of an ancient kingdom, rich in the natural and agricultural resources of the region and powerful by its subject allies, which had perished at the hands of enemies in a catastrophe so striking, that its fame had spread to the Semitic nations of Western Asia, and even as far as Egypt.† In the strife of an unknown age the Greek colonists might well find a prototype of the struggle by which their own footing was established; good; and, even if the tradition did not (as more probably it did) make their own ancestors parties to that ancient war

* We say this, not at all as neglecting or disparaging the striking fragments of evidence, which the Egyptian monuments supply, to the existence and power of tribes bearing the names of the Trojans and their allies, at the time of Ramses II. and III.; but these fragmentary notices of Dardanians and Lycians, Lycians and the rest, await further discussion to set them in their proper historic light.

† The Egyptian legends of Paris and Helen and Menelaus are familiar to the readers of Herodotus: these and the Semitic, as well as the local tradition, are ably discussed by Karl Müllenhoff, 'Deutsche Altertumskunde.'

would assuredly import into it their own heroic legends; the Peloponnesians ascribing the conquest to the Atridæ, the northern Achæans making Achilles its great hero, the Ionians bringing in Ulysses; and so with the rest. The existence of such a local tradition is signally attested by the legend, which we find in the 'Iliad' itself, and repeated in numerous forms, of a revived Trojan kingdom under Æneas and his line, after the destruction of the city by the Greeks ('Iliad,' xx. 307-8):—

‘Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη Τρῳέσσιν ἀνάξει,
καὶ παῖδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.’

‘But still Æneas’ might shall o’er the Trojans reign,
And sons succeed to sons, until the line shall end.’

This prophecy has the value of an historical tradition; for assuredly Homer would never have put it into the mouth of Poseidon, save to represent what was believed in the poet’s time to have been an historical fact.* May not the influence of this local tradition be recognized in the spirit which makes Hector only second to Achilles, and in the special sympathies shown with other heroes on the Trojan side, especially Æneas and Sarpedon, and Priam himself? And if the local tradition was preserved till it appeared full-blown in the poetry of the ‘Iliad,’ we have the strongest presumption for the truth of that other local tradition, which made the Greek Ilium the rightful heir of the glories of ‘divine Ilios.’ The links of connection, indeed, are severed in both cases, though—thanks to the labours of Dr. Schliemann and the discussions he has started—their restoration by the efforts of scholars and archæologists is no longer hopeless. Meanwhile the ruins of ‘the burnt city’ in the heart of the fortress-hill of Hissarlik, now laid open for all visitors to see, are the tangible type of that primitive tale of dominion, wealth, and ruin, long-enduring strife and final destruction, which hung about the spot for ages, till it was wrought into the glory of the ‘Iliad.’

It is in this sense that Dr. Schliemann justly claims to have revealed, *not the very Troy of Homer*,—that is, such a city as any one with a sense of poetry must know that the poet or poets of the ‘Iliad’ created by investing the circumstances of their own age with the forms of imagination—but, as he is careful to show in the title of his third chapter, as throughout his book, the *primeval city whose fate gave birth to the Homeric legend*.

* As our present object is to give a broad view of results, avoiding the tangled details of discussion, we refer the reader, who may wish to follow out the question of the continuity between the heroic and the historic Ilium, to Professor Mahaffy’s masterly essay in the Fifth Appendix to ‘Troja.’

However

However the enthusiastic hopes with which he began his work may have coloured some of his phrases, he frankly announced the disappointment of those hopes, in their literal sense, in his original letters from Hissarlik ; * and during the last ten years he has reiterated his true meaning as consistently as certain of his critics have persistently misrepresented him. He now tells us that he had supposed his contributions to the Trojan question to have been finished by the publication of 'Ilios;' but there was still a misgiving that would not suffer him to rest. With his characteristic readiness to give up preconceived ideas for what seemed the truth, he had accepted the paradox, that rich and powerful Troy, whose long resistance and final fate had been a wonder of the world, was a petty fortress with an area no larger than one of the squares of London ! But it is first and third thoughts, rather than second, that are best ; and, as he meditated over the traditional fame of the city and the war, from the hints supplied by the Egyptian records to the glowing descriptions of Homer, he resolved on a new search, with the express object of testing the magnitude of the original city.

The result of his labours in 1882 is now given to the world in 'Troja,' as a supplement to his 'Ilios,' with the same profusion of careful work and unsparing cost in the text and illustrations. Among its special characteristics is a further confirmation of Virchow's saying, 'And now the treasure-digger has become a scholar;' for we are simply amazed at the industry and learning with which he has ransacked the Museums of Europe and the writings of archæologists, to bring every object he has discovered into comparison with other examples, and so to determine its probable place in prehistoric times. Among the valuable subsidiary contributions of Virchow and others, at whom it pleases critics to sneer as the *ἐπίκουροι*, Professor Sayce's Preface is a masterly exposition of the relation of the discoveries to our daily growing knowledge of the primeval civilization of Western Asia.

To aid his judgment on the whole constructive features of the ruins, as well as in the hope of discovering new and more important buildings, Dr. Schliemann engaged the services of two skilful architects, one of whom, Dr. William Dörpfeld, had had four years' experience in the great German diggings at Olympia. One of the first-fruits of this professional assistance was another proof that second thoughts are not always the best. Readers of Dr. Schliemann's former works will remember that he first supposed himself to have found the remains of primeval Troy

* See 'Troy and its Remains,' pp. 18-20, 305, 345-6, &c., written in 1873.

in the stone substructions upon the original surface of the hill, but that he afterwards recognized them in the great stratum of calcined bricks (the *third* above the surface), which, besides these marks of a tremendous conflagration, contained (as he then thought) the ten 'treasures' of gold, silver, and electrum, bronze armour, arms, and implements, with innumerable other objects indicative of civilization and commerce. But now the architects have convinced him that these strata of calcined bricks have for the most part fallen from the superstructures of buildings raised on the stone foundations of the second stratum. It is this *second stratum*, therefore, which he now regards as the chief primeval city of Troy, the kernel—so to speak—of the whole hill; while the *third* is reduced to insignificant dimensions. Of the thousands of objects, the types of which are described in 'Ilios' as belonging to the third stratum, by far the greater number, including all the 'treasures,' must now be referred to the second; and, in the task of future discrimination, Dr. Schliemann proposes as a test the marks of intense heat which characterize this one stratum only, among all the others on the hill, and thus assimilate its fate to that of Troy.

Another interesting sign of the importance of this settlement is, that it alone, except the topmost stratum of the Greek Ilium, was founded on a platform of earth levelled and consolidated above the ruins of the first; and its long duration is attested by the new discovery of two distinct ages in its buildings. In it were brought to light the foundations of six large edifices, much too considerable, and occupying much too large a proportion of the small area of the hill, to be explicable on any other hypothesis than that to which we ventured to adhere even when it was abandoned by Dr. Schliemann,* that, as in the mounds of Nineveh, this was really the sacred and royal quarter, the citadel or Pergamus, with the ordinary habitations on the lower plateau, their less durable structure being a sufficient cause of their having vanished.

The hypothesis of a Lower City has been signally confirmed by the unexpected discovery of two more gates of this 'second city,' in addition to the one previously found at the south-western angle: like it, they are double, and enclosed by walls which had evidently supported great buildings. One of these gates is on the south, the other on the south-east; both therefore opening on to the plateau. The inference is obvious. Had the primitive city been a small fortress confined to the hill, both the nature of the ground and the requirements of defence would have prescribed

* 'Quarterly Review,' April, 1874; cf. 'Troy and its Remains,' *Pref.* pp. xvi. xvii.
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one gate only, namely, the south-western one, giving an exit down the slope of the hill into the main road, which still runs at its base. Dr. Schliemann proved (in 'Ilios') that this gate had been used by successive settlers, and supposed it to have been renewed for similar reasons in each of the cities till the Ilium of Homer, whose 'Scæan Gate' it represented, *in this sense only*. But the new light now obtained has reminded him of what is clear from the 'Iliad' (vi. 390-3), that the Scæan Gate did not belong to the Pergamus, but led out of the Lower City onto the plain; and its site is now lost in the destruction of the ancient walls. The discovery of two more gates, then, raises a strong presumption that they connected the Pergamus with a lower city.

To put this presumption to the proof, Dr. Schliemann proceeded to a more systematic excavation of considerable portions of the plateau, with results which show that, while his own special work—the search for Troy—is ended, large gleanings remain for future explorers on the site of the Hellenic Ilium. We must, having regard to our present subject, pass by his most interesting discovery of a grand theatre, where the spectators could look out over the scene-wall upon the Hellespont and the hills beyond, just as the Athenians in the theatre of Dionysus had the sea and Salamis in full view; as well as of a Corinthian portico, house-walls, mosaic floors, painted pottery, and remains of sculpture. Nearly all these monuments of the historic Ilium belong to the Roman age, rather than the Greek and Macedonian; but the general course of the wall built by Lysimachus, the great restorer of the city after the Macedonian conquest, was traced partly by blocks of masonry, partly by the levelling of the rock for its foundations.

From the epoch of that Macedonian restoration we can now look back on the state in which Alexander found the city, and trace its previous history by the light of this new exploration. Of all the pottery and other objects, that specially characterize the strata of Hissarlik, below the topmost or Hellenic down to the second or Trojan—the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th of Dr. Schliemann—not a vestige has been found on the plateau.* Unless this result should be affected by future exploration, it follows that these four settlements were confined to the hill, and that no lower city existed during the ages between the great catastrophe and the Macedonian restoration; a fact of supreme importance in the lesser controversy which is still open.

But the result vital to Dr. Schliemann's last great problem is,

* For the sake of perfect accuracy, an exception must be made in favour of the 5th city, the site of which was enlarged by filling up the hollow between the hill and the plateau; but this was an extension of the hill-site rather than a lower city properly so called. In fact the area of the hill was necessarily extended by the throwing down of the *débris* of each successive settlement.

that the excavations on the plateau yielded pottery of the very same kind as that which is characteristic, not only of the second, but of the first city on the Hill of Hissarlik; giving decisive proof that, after all, as every one would infer from the legend, and as Dr. Schliemann felt sure at first, though he yielded to that apparent evidence which often prevails over the instinct of truth—for who has not often thus yielded a firm conviction which he has at last found right?—that *the primitive Troy was a city on the plateau, with only its citadel, or Pergamus, on Hissarlik.* Nor is it wonderful that he has found no buildings—for those outside the citadel were doubtless frail structures of unburnt bricks which the rain has merged in the soil, while timber and all else worth anything would be carried off by the peasants whose villages are still adorned with the sculptured blocks of the Greek Ilium; nor that his search for the city wall ('cyclopean' or otherwise) has proved vain, though he has found places where the rock was levelled for it, with continuity sufficient for him to venture to indicate its course on the map. But a more definite explanation is at hand. Accepting the tradition as we are disposed to read it, the new settlers (call them Æneadæ or what you will), occupying the site desolated by the catastrophe, would first take possession of the hill only, and, in the renewed troubles and invasions to which tradition testifies, there they and their successors seem to have remained, using part of the ruins of the lower city for their own buildings, and leaving the rest to ravage and decay. We have even a positive tradition, preserved by Strabo (xiii. p. 599), that Archæanax of Mitylene built the walls of Sigeum with the stones of Troy, that is, probably, the blocks from the walls of the lower city.

What remains on the plateau is, the indestructible fragments of *pottery*, which Dr. Schliemann justly calls the 'cornucopiæ of archæological science.' Here we can have no argument with the objector who reminds us that, as one plain pipkin is very like another in all ages and among all peoples, the character of pottery is a fallacious test of the age and race of the makers. It is a question of degree, and interpretation may often be uncertain, as in the practical use of every science. But the critic who flings this general objection at the heads of archæologists might as well say that, because one daub of paint is very like another, it is hopeless to assign the work of a great artist to its true author. Dr. Schliemann has a full right to say 'that it is no part of the duty of a discoverer to waste his time in giving his critics elementary lessons in archæological science.' There is a 'ceramic' science; and we are content to accept its canons and results from Newton and Birch, Virchow and

Dumont; and, if there be any characteristic pottery in all the world, it is that of the chief types distinctive of the first and second strata on Hissarlik, the plateau at its base, and the tumulus of Protesilaus on the Thracian Chersonese.

Such, apart from the testimony of the 'Iliad' and of history to the site of Troy, is the main outline of the evidence on which we may decide the twofold question:—Was there such a city as the Troy which gave birth to the Homeric legend?—and, Has Dr. Schliemann found it? We may well be content with the following brief answer, considering that it comes from an antagonist of Dr. Schliemann on certain points, and one as strenuous in this controversy as he is eminent for learning and ability;—'The *large city*, which extended over the plateau and had only a few buildings on the mound, would, in this view [which the writer is propounding], be *non-Hellenic and prehistoric*. We are, as it seems to me, quite at liberty to suppose that *this was the city, the siege and capture of which gave rise to the legend of Troy*.* And again:—'Dr. Schliemann has proved that Hissarlik was a seat of human habitation from a prehistoric age. This has not been proved for any other place which could claim to be the site of Homeric Troy. Assuming that "the tale of Troy" is founded on a central fact—i.e. that a very old town, placed as the *Iliad* roughly indicates, was once besieged and taken—the claim of Hissarlik to be the site of that town is now both definite and unique. Thus far, Dr. Schliemann's argument is unanswerable.'†

After these admissions, the question whether 'the intelligent opinion of Greece' accepted or rejected the claim, that the Greek Ilium stood on the site of Homer's Troy, seems little more than a scholastic exercise, maintaining the paradox, 'Malim cum Platone errare, quam cum Iliensibus recte sentire.' Only, in this case, Plato himself bears the most decisive testimony in favour of the Ilians. Quoting the famous passage of Homer about the building, first of Dardania on the foot-hills of Ida, and afterwards of *Sacred Ilios in the Plain*, he adds:‡—'For we say that Ilios was founded by a removal from the heights into a large and fair plain, on a hill of moderate elevation, watered by several rivers which flow down from their sources in Ida,' on which Mr. Jebb frankly remarks that, 'if Plato had wished to indicate Hissarlik, as distinguished from Bounarbashi, he could scarcely have described it better.' Add to this that, besides the inferences drawn from such evidence as Herodotus's account of the visit of Xerxes, and the absence of

* Professor Jebb, 'The Ruins at Hissarlik,' p. 6.

† 'Homeric and Hellenic Ilium,' p. 1.

‡ Plato, 'Legg.' p. 682.

contradiction of the Ilian claim down to the time of Alexander, this passage of Plato is till then the sole explicit testimony to the site; and surely we could have no more decisive than to 'the intelligent opinion of Greece.'

Against this plain testimony, there is little force in the inference drawn from the strong assertions (in which himself joins) of the utter and final destruction of Troy. That 'opinion' on a question of history and topography is inferred from the fervid utterances of poets and rhetoricians, resting on the popular and religious belief in the fate which fallen Priam and his race and city for their crimes against the gods and her gods? It was the *ancient Troy*, of whose fate Homer spoke; nor did they ever point to the site of its desolation as their own. Or if we suppose that the orator Lycurgus, for example, speaking just before the restoration promised by Alexander was carried into effect, had the true site in mind, his words might literally apply to the state in which the lower city lay beneath the eyes of one looking down on it from the 'village' (as Strabo calls it) on the hill. For the rest, we content to leave this part of the question to the argument of Mr. Mahaffy in the fifth Appendix to 'Troja.'

The only practical importance of Mr. Jebb's view of Greek Troy lies in the confirmation it might give to his peculiar theory of the strata on the hill of Hissarlik, by interposing an artificial gulf, in place of the evidence of continuous habitation, from the destruction of Troy and the historical settlement site by the Æolian colonists. When his theory was first published in the 'Edinburgh Review' (April, 1881), we offered objections,* to which we still adhere, with the respect due to a contemporary, which could only be increased when we considered the authorship of the article. That theory, as since modified by its distinguished author, is briefly stated thus:—

As far as I am aware, no one has thought of denying that remains of successive periods, belonging to several successive periods, are found at various depths. But I would refer several of these successive strata to one city, viz. the historic Greek Ilium—in three (or four) successive phases—and only one "stratum," or two at the most, to earlier settlers.'—Jebb, 'The Ruins at Hissarlik,' p. 7.

His last words indicate that *second stratum* (the first being but slightly distinguished from it) in which, with its lower city, we recognize that Mr. Jebb virtually recognizes the primitive Troy. But he leaves in doubt, as *possibly* the Æolic Ilium in its

* 'Quarterly Review,' July, 1881.

earliest phase; and he denies the *sixth* (or 'Lydian'), for the defence of which it will suffice to refer to the replies by Schliemann and Virchow in 'Troja.' There remain in question, then, three strata, the 4th and 5th, which Dr. Schliemann regards as prehistoric, and the 7th, of only $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, in which he finds all that is left of the historic Ilium—Greek, Macedonian, and Roman (besides the remains on the plateau): while Mr. Jebb regards this topmost stratum as *Roman* only, the 5th as Macedonian, and the 4th as the remains of the Greek city before the age of Alexander.

Falling, as we think, into the trap of *à priori* symmetry, he pairs off these two strata against two epochs in the known history of Ilium. The 'village,' as it is called by Strabo, famed for its temple 'small and plain' of the Ilian Athena, was taken by a stratagem by Charidemus, a captain of mercenaries, about the beginning of the reign of Philip the Great (B.C. 359). Its destruction in this hasty surprise is improbable, nor is it asserted; but its ruins furnish Mr. Jebb's explanation of the 4th stratum. The city, thus strangely assumed to have lain in ruins for a quarter of a century when it was visited by Alexander, who certainly found it and its temple standing when he betowed on it honours and promises of aggrandizement, was splendidly restored by Lysimachus about B.C. 300. During the first Mithridatic War it was taken by the Marian partisan Fimbria (B.C. 85 or 84), and speedily retaken by Sulla; an event again unlikely to have involved its utter destruction. And so Strabo simply tells us, that Fimbria and his men 'damaged' or 'maltreated' (*ἐκάκωσαν*) the city, and that Sulla 'comforted the Ilians by many restorations.' When Appian, writing two centuries after the event, repeats the boast of Fimbria,—that he had taken in ten days the city that had withstood Agamemnon for ten years, and destroyed it more utterly than the Greeks had done, so that not a house of it was saved, not a temple nor an idol (except, as some said, the Palladium)—who does not detect the exaggerated partisan story he is following? Yet this event is assumed to be the final end of the Macedonian city, the *fifth* stratum. Above this, in the uppermost stratum, we only recognize the exclusively *Roman* city of the *Cæsars*. This narrow view of the history of Ilium is the keystone of the whole.

The question

the ground:

Troy, rests

evidently

we might have expected on the part of Greek colonists, a new city above the abandoned habitations of former occupants of the hill (such as the *Trêres* and *Cimmerians*, a tradition, preserved by Strabo, places there before its occupation by the *Lydians*); but how can this entirely new position possibly denote the restoration begun by Sulla and continued by the Cæsars? Any doubt as to the answer is at once removed by the testimony of the architectural remains; which—Greek and Roman alike—are found *above* the platform, and *within* the topmost stratum of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There is no escape from this decisive test. According to the position of all the Greek and Macedonian remains must be lying in irretrievable ruin *below* the plane of demarcation, and *above* it must be Roman only. The remains, if any, of the small temple, ought to be in the *fourth* stratum; those of the temple built by Lysimachus, in the *fifth*; for the blocks certainly not work their way upwards in the hill. But whether of these strata is there a single fragment of Greek or indeed any other vestige of Greek habitation; while the limit were found—besides a Roman gateway and—the remains of walls, *Macedonian* as well as Roman, two Doric temples, one smaller and older, of which we do not stay to speak, the other of white marble, whose capitals, and other sculptures, are unmistakably of the fine Greek which marks the age of its erection by Lysimachus. And, to complete the demonstration, this temple, which Appian expressly declares to have been first burnt and then utterly destroyed by Fimbria, reveals the hand of the *Roman restorer* side with the original *Macedonian work*.

The whole case is summed up by Dr. Dörpfeld, who is most anxious to guard himself from giving any opinion beyond his province as an architect:—‘Dr. Schliemann’s statement, that Greek or Roman architectural remains are found at a depth than 2 mètres ($6\frac{1}{2}$ feet) can be contradicted by no evidence *it exactly describes the facts*.’* In this stratum also are found Greek inscriptions and coins and painted pottery of Macedonian as well as the Roman age, and other distinct traces of Hellenic habitation, which are equally ‘conspicuous by their absence’ in the whole series of the other strata. In the decisive *Leitmuscheln* (to use Virchow’s happy invention of the term), we have the complete absence of *words*, and *lamps*, and the presence of rude stone-in-

* in the ‘Times,’ March 22nd, and in the ‘Allgemeine Zeitung,’ 1883; and to the same effect before in the ‘Allgemeine Zeitung,’ 1882.

ments, primitive idols, and the famous 'owl vases' with female characteristics, which Mr. Sayce has now proved, by the similar forms on Chaldean and Hittite cylinders, to denote the ancient Asiatic goddess 'Athi, the original of the Trojan Atê, whom the Greeks identified with Athena, if indeed their real connection was not still closer. Thus even in religion, as well as in their stage of civilization, these prehistoric strata give evidence of a continuity, attested also by the slight division between their ruins, in striking contrast to their complete severance in all respects from the Hellenic stratum above them.

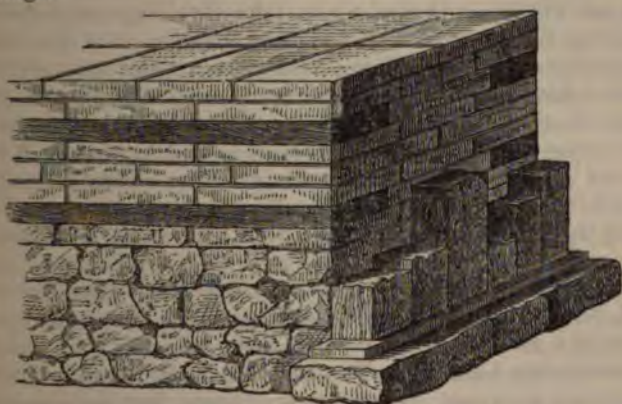
The case of the pottery, in particular, is discussed by Virchow (in Appendix VI.) with his characteristic union of scientific precision and caution, resulting in the judgment, '*that the earliest traces of Hellenic culture are met with not far below the surface of the hill.*' On the other hand, the approach to the first rudiments of Greek forms is a fruitful topic for future study. What further remains is a vast accumulation of new facts for the patient investigation of archæologists, by that strict comparative method of which Dr. Schliemann himself has set the example. As we have said before, this field is too wide to be entered on here, and it is much too soon to express a decided opinion on most of the novel questions it involves. It may not, however, be superfluous to warn some who are better scholars than archæologists, that the science bristles with traps as dangerous to them as the old Scotch 'calthrops' in the Antiquary's chair, which did damage to a learned professor.

It would be unjust to Dr. Schliemann to conclude without a word respecting certain new discoveries, which give a special interest to his latest work. Among the buildings of the primitive Troy, are two edifices side by side, showing in their plan—with the threefold division of porch, sanctuary, and inner chamber—the exact prototype of the Greek temple.

He has found that the Trojans, like the Babel-builders on the plain of Shinar, erected their edifices of crude bricks, and burnt the walls *in situ* after their erection. His description of the appearance presented by the ruins, and the clear opinion which the architects formed on the spot, put beyond all doubt the fact of the process, to which we have parallels in one stage of the famous Birs-i-Nimroud, in the Scotch vitrified forts, and in the ancient 'burnt city of Aztulan,' in Wisconsin, described to Dr. Schliemann by an American correspondent.

Walls thus treated, as well as those built (as are all the *foundation-walls* of Troy) of unwrought stones, would present rude and somewhat unstable *ends*. Accordingly, where the ends of the side-walls of the temples, gates, and other buildings,

ings, formed part of the front or portico, they were faced with solid upright jambs of timber (six to the thickness of the wall of nearly 5 feet), resting on wrought stone bases, and serving the double purpose of buttresses to the wall-ends and supports for the timber architrave above. And, just as that timber architrave is the long recognized original of the stone architrave of a Greek portico, so we now learn the new and striking fact in architectural history, that these upright jambs, now first found at Troy, were the true constructive origin of the 'antæ' or 'parastades,' which serve only an ornamental purpose in the Greek temple. Not that any complete portico has survived the conflagration; but the charred lower ends of the timber antæ are found standing in their original place in several of the buildings.*



Parastades on the front ends of the lateral walls of the larger Trojan temple.

For the sake of readers whose interest in the famous 'whorls' may have been confused for want of some knowledge of the forgotten industry of hand-spinning, Dr. Schliemann has added a note, with illustrations, tracing its history down from the earliest ages of Egypt and the Bible; and little doubt can now remain as to the use and meaning of these curious objects, of which no less than 22,000 have been found in the five lower strata at Hissarlik.† The *whorl* or *whirl* was simply a weight

* Mr. James Fergusson (one of Dr. Schliemann's despised *ἐπικούριοι*) has supplied him with a very interesting transitional example of the use of antæ in the ancient temple of Themis at Rhamnus in Attica. (See 'Troja,' p. 83.)

† In the contrast of this abundance with the very few found in the uppermost stratum—and these all plain, without any of the curious significant patterns—we have another decisive test of the non-Hellenic character of all the five lower strata.

fixed as a ring or flange on the spindle, to aid the rotation of the stick by its momentum; and thus it is seen on Egyptian and Greek pictures of spinning, of which Dr. Schliemann gives examples.* The Greeks and Romans used to dedicate the implements of industry as votive offerings, and, in particular, those of spinning to the patron goddess of textile work. Her famous image, the Palladium, we are told by Apollodorus, carried the distaff and spindle, and so it is figured on the coins of Ilium, with the whorl plainly visible. While therefore the multitude of these objects found in the strata testifies to a necessary industry, Dr. Schliemann is justified in regarding them as votive offerings to Athena Ergané; especially as he has now found a whorl with the hole still filled with a copper pin, by which it may have been nailed to a wall. On the other hand, the Egyptian tombs at Thebes, and the Swiss lake dwellings explored by Dr. Victor Gross, have alike yielded *spindles with the whorls still sticking on them*. These two cases, then, may serve as typical examples of their *common* and *sacred* use; and their ultimate destination will account for the remarkable patterns, of which some are beyond doubt sacred, and probably Aryan, emblems. The attempt to dismiss them as *scratches* reminds us of Oldbuck's retort about the cleverness of some people in playing the fool where nature has been beforehand with them.

The last War of Troy ends, like the first, with the brief record, *TROJA FUIT*, in the certainty of its primitive existence, as well as the reality of its fate. There was a Troy, and Dr. Schliemann has found it. The new ten years' siege is finished by a victory won, not by hollow stratagem, but by unwearied labour in the trenches, animated by high enthusiasm, directed by signal skill, and illustrated by wide and varied learning. The author's most welcome reward is perhaps denoted by three letters on his title-page; his reception at Oxford was the fit crown of his past career. Even his severest critics, whom we will not believe to be his enemies, will join us in regretting the sacrifice of his health, and in the hope that there may be in store for him much future service and honour; for, amidst all the criticisms which have appeared during the few weeks since the publication of 'Troja,' we have not seen one which has not paid a warm tribute to the greatness of his work and the spirit by which it has been prompted and achieved.

* The subject appears also on the beautiful cover of 'Troja,' which is due to the artistic taste of Mr. Hallam Murray.

VIII.—1. *Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne.* Nouvelle édition. 45 tomes imp. 8vo. Paris, 1843–1865.
Nouvelle Biographie Générale. Publiée par MM. Firmin-
 lot frères sous la direction de M. le Dr Hoefer. 46 tomes.
 Paris, 1852–1866.
Specimen of a 'Dictionary of National Biography.' Edited
 Leslie Stephen. London, 1883.

THE biographical part of literature,' said Dr. Johnson, 'is what I love the best,' and his remark is echoed daily in arts, if not in the words, of hundreds of readers. The lives of genius, or even of men of learning, are always of great value, however dead may be their writings. How many are there who care nothing for 'Rasselas,' 'The Vanity of Human Wishes,' or the 'Rambler,' who yet take delight in the biography of Johnson! The writings of Casaubon and Scaliger are so valuable, that, unlike some of their contemporaries, they could not be galvanized into the momentary appearance of life; yet we all read with pleasure Mr. Pattison's admirable monograph on the one, and are looking forward with eagerness to the promised biography of the other. The 'Lives' of Plutarch and Suetonius were the novels of the Greeks and Romans, as the 'Lives' of our English statesmen, with their mixture of truth and fable, were of the Middle Ages; and though for the last half-century pure fiction has been the dominant mode of writing, the popularity of biography, if not relatively less, is absolutely, seems to be continually increasing. The success of such series as those of 'English Men of Letters' and 'Ancient and Modern Foreign Classics' shows the extent of the interest felt in the lives of men of letters. But not less keen is the desire to know the details of the personal histories of kings, queens, nobles, statesmen, soldiers, and churchmen. Lives of the Lord Chancellors, of the Chief Justices, of the Archbishops of Canterbury, of the Archbishops of York, of the Speakers of the House of Commons, of the Queens of England, of the Princesses of Wales, of more or less (generally we fear less) value, and with their merits not always proportioned to their merit, find numerous readers, while single lives appear daily in still greater abundance, if not of superior quality. Formerly it was thought that a man did not deserve a statue or a biography until his death. But now, Bismarck, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Bright (to say nothing of men of less mark), have been the subjects of elaborate biographies (or eulogies) in their lifetime, and the grave of a man of any reputation is hardly filled up before an announcement is made of a speedily forthcoming 'Memoir.'

There are two classes of biographies—the spiteful and the panegyric—

gyrical—the latter is by far the more numerous. The long obituaries of men of second, third, and fourth-rate eminence, which fill the columns of the ‘Times,’ scarce ‘hint a fault or hesitate dislike;’ while those of men of no eminence whatever, appearing daily in still greater number in that child of the affections of Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone, the provincial press, show that ‘the prominent citizens’ of our great cities possess every virtue and every talent under heaven. Lord Campbell’s ‘Life of Lord Lyndhurst’ is one of the most conspicuous specimens of the spiteful class of biographies, but his misrepresentations have been exposed, and a faithful portrait given of the great Chancellor and statesman, in Sir Theodore Martin’s biography. But we would not be thought to be unmindful of the many excellent biographies which the last few years have produced. To say anything in praise of Mr. Trevelyan’s Life of his uncle would be merely to re-echo what has been already said by every one competent to form an opinion. In the biography of Bishop Patteson we have the narrative of an heroic life simply and naturally told; and though the biographers of Bishop Wilberforce have written an elaborate defence of their hero, they have neither indulged in panegyric nor attempted unduly to colour their facts. Whatever indiscretions they—or one of them—may have committed, a true and lifelike picture of the Bishop is set before us, and we have no difficulty in seeing him as he really was.

But while no country, not even France, can rival England in the importance and number of the biographies which have appeared during the last half-century, we are still without an universal Biographical Dictionary—one, that is to say, worthy of the name, or comparable either for value or extent to either of the two works, the titles of which we have placed at the head of this article. The space of more than sixteen years has elapsed since their completion, yet no attempt has been made in this country either to displace them from their position as by far the best biographical dictionaries in existence, or even to provide a biographical dictionary in the English language coming anywhere near to them in merit.

That England, indeed, is capable of planning and carrying out a biographical dictionary on a scale at once extended and well-proportioned, which should rival the merits, while it avoided many of the defects, of the Biographies ‘Universelle’ and ‘Générale,’ has been shown by the fragment published under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1842–1844); but the sudden collapse of that work on the completion of the letter A, owing chiefly to failure of obtaining
support,

shows that in England at that time there was no public required in a biographical dictionary anything but the official and meagre of compilations. Are there any grounds for expecting that the 'Biographie Universelle' will be deposed from its unquestioned position? The world has grown too vast for anything like a truly exhaustive *universal* biographical dictionary. How many men and women have died in the past twenty years for whose place would be demanded! How great is the number of persons hitherto omitted, of persons who have been, as it were, mentioned and written about, and who are entitled to be mentioned! Every year adds to, and will at least for some time continue to add to, the list. Had the Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge been carried on the scale on which it was commenced, it would have reached at least one hundred and fifty volumes of the same size as the seven actually published, and that without including the names of persons deceased in the last thirty-eight years; a new edition of the 'Biographie Universelle,' carried on the same scale as the last, would certainly bring up the number of large volumes to at least sixty. The lives, indeed, of the great, third, and fourth-rate French generals and politicians of the Revolution and the Empire, might with advantage be abridged in length. Yet the relief thereby gained would be appreciable, in the face of the number of names constantly increasing and pressing for admittance into a dictionary of universal biography. Μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν is a proverb which still holds good in England. In Germany, indeed, a book can never be too long. The excellent Encyclopædia of the last century, known as 'Zedler's Lexicon,' though it reached sixty-eight folios; and that of Ersch and Gruber, commenced in 1818, has now, after sixty-four years, reached its hundred and fifty-fourth volume, but has not yet approached its end. The earlier volumes have become long before the work is completed.*

Enough a general biographical dictionary, on the scale on

the 'Encyclopædia' of Ersch and Gruber has been carried on in three commenced simultaneously. The first, A—G, has just reached its eighth and last volume; the second, beginning with H, has arrived at its eighth volume and the end of the letter J; the third, beginning with O, has reached its twenty-fifth volume and the word *Physicos*. In an article on the 'Quarterly Review' for 1863 (vol. 113, p. 371), it was compared to a gigantic tunnel for the execution of which three shafts are obliged to be bored. The 'Encyclopædia' of Krünitz, commenced in 1773, was completed in one hundred and forty-two octavos. We may add that both 'Zedler' and 'Ersch and Gruber' include admirable biographical dictionaries. There are many others which we should seek in vain elsewhere.

which

which such a work ought to be composed, is not to be expected perhaps not even to be wished for, in England, yet books which may supply its place better than any single work could do, may be expected, and are even in progress. The 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology,' edited by Dr. W. Smith is a book which far surpasses any book of the kind in existence. The 'Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines, during the first Eight Centuries,' edited by Dr. W. Smith and Dr. Wace, and of which the third volume has recently appeared, is a work of still greater merit. Many of the articles in the new volume—notably those on Hippolytus, Ignatius, Irenæus, Jerome, Julian, and Justin Martyr, (as well as many shorter and less important ones)—show a ripeness and depth of scholarship, a thoroughness of investigation, and a power and clearness of expression, which have rarely been found in the contributors to dictionaries and encyclopædias, and which prove that now at least, whatever may have been the case a few years since, England has no cause to fear a comparison with the best and highest German scholarship.

The 'Biographia Britannica,' projected by Mr. Murray under Dr. W. Smith's editorship some years since, unfortunately fell through, but we rejoice to know that the task has been taken up by Mr. Leslie Stephen, and we hope shortly to see the commencement of an adequate and exhaustive 'Dictionary of National Biography.' If, when the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography' is completed, it could be continued by a 'Dictionary of Medieval Literary Biography' on the same scale and equally well done, a grievous *hiatus*, not only in English literature, but in literature generally, would be filled up, and we might point to a series of books in the department of Biography unequalled in Europe.

Nothing in any way resembling our modern Biographical or Historical Dictionary was known to the Greeks and Romans, or even to the Middle Ages. Collections of special biographies, indeed, were not wanting. Those of Plutarch and Suetonius among the ancients, and of St. Jerome and St. Isidore at a later period, are among the most important. But while the *Lexicon* of Suidas, which combines in one, Grammar, Geography, and Biography, came the nearest to an Historical Dictionary of any work of antiquity, it is altogether a misnomer to describe it as such, as is done by Moreri in the Preface to his '*Grand Dictionnaire Historique*.'

The direct ancestor of the 'Biographical Dictionary,' and the earliest that has as yet been discovered, is a small volume compiled by Herman Torrentinus (Van Beeck), and printed at
Deventer

at the end of the fifteenth century, under the title *Elucidarius Carminum et Historiarum vel Vocabularius continens Historias Provincias Urbes Insulas Fluvios et Illustres.* It is, as its title implies, and as the title tells us in his Preface, a Dictionary alphabetically of the proper names of gods, illustrious men, provinces, islands, cities, and rivers, which are to be found in the poets. Its object was the assistance of those reading the poets, and the authors from whom it is compiled are Terentius Sallust, Livy, Strabo, Pliny, Justin, Virgil, Perottus, and Craston. The descriptions of the different names are generally given in a line or two, but many of the geographical articles are longer, extending in two or three more than half a page. The two longest are those on *Colchis* and *Medea*. The book was found to be most useful and indispensable to students, and no less than twenty-five editions of it (before 1537) are enumerated by Panzer, which we have ourselves seen, or found noticed in catalogues, in seventeen later editions in Latin, besides two of an Italian translation.*

The first step in advance was taken by Robert Estienne, who in 1530 and 1535 given reprints of the '*Elucidarius*.' In 1539 he printed a Dictionary of proper names, incorporating the '*Elucidarius*,' but with three times as much additional matter. The edition of the book of '*Torrentinus*,' put forth by Torrentinus in 1540, and which is now before us, contains 12mo, small 8vo.; that of Robert Estienne—a quarto—has 12mo, and each page contains more than double the quantity of a page of *Torrentinus*. The name and preface of *Torrentinus* have disappeared, and a short preface by Robert Estienne is prefixed, in which, as well as on the title-page, he says, and justly, that his work is '*plane novum nec antea editum*.' A comparison of the two books, which does not seem to have been made by any writer who has spoken of them, shows how erroneous it is to treat the work of Robert

of the most interesting articles in the '*Dictionnaire Historique*' of Marchand is that upon *Torrentinus* (Part II. p. 283), in the notes to which is found a long dissertation, not only upon the different editions of '*Elucidarius*,' but upon Historical Dictionaries in general, and an account of many early editions of Moreri. The article is the result of careful research in the department of literary history, on which it throws much light. Unfortunately it is disfigured by many errors, especially in the matter of dates and authorities of which should be verified before being relied upon. It also omits to mention as well of the '*Elucidarius*' as of the other Dictionaries that it is the '*Biographie Universelle*,' in its notice of Juigné-Broissinière, refers to this article in Marchand; but by a strange blunder, unpardonable in a work of this kind, in the second edition, the article is stated to be *Terentianus*, instead of *Torrentinus*.

Estienne,

Estienne, as has been frequently done, merely as a new edition, with additions and corrections, of that of Torrentinus. A certain number, not one-fourth, of the less important articles of the 'Elucidarius' are, indeed, textually reproduced in the 'Dictionarium,' a certain number are altered, enlarged, and corrected, but the greater part of the 'Elucidarius' has disappeared. All the important articles are new. The names are no longer only those mentioned by the poets, but all the chief names of antiquity, orators, poets, and historians, are inserted. Of Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus, real biographies are now to be found. But a still more important advance is made. Several names not belonging to classical antiquity are included. Though why a distinction should be conferred upon Bede, Benedict, Bernard, and Boniface, which is granted neither to Thomas Aquinas, Gregory the Great, nor Charlemagne, it is not easy to understand, especially in a Dictionary of names occurring only in 'scriptis prophanis,' and which finds no place either for Augustine or Jerome. But, so far as we have noticed, the 'venerable' monk of Jarrow, the founder of the Benedictine order, the great abbot of Clairvaux, and the apostle of the Saxons, are the only post-classical names.

In the twelve years which followed 1541, several editions of the book of Robert Estienne appeared, with some additions, but of no great importance. But the year 1553 is an era in the history of Biographical Dictionaries, of which it may be said to be the birth-year, for in it Charles Estienne printed the first edition of his 'Historical Dictionary,' the first book to which this title was given, and the first that purported to be a universal Dictionary of Biography, modern as well as ancient. The book is really, as Charles Estienne admits in his preface, a new edition of the 'Dictionarium Propriorum Nominum' of his brother Robert, but it is in all respects greatly extended and improved. It forms a thick quarto, and was destined to hold its ground against all comers for upwards of a century, and more than five-and-twenty editions proved its popularity, and attested its merits. Meagre and full of inaccuracies, and absolutely worthless as it seems to us, it was found to be an enormous help to scholars and students. The second edition, published in 1566, two years after the author's death, is greatly improved, while the 'augmentations,' comprising six hundred new articles, besides many corrections, subsequently made (according to Marchand, by Frederic Morel), greatly raised the value and increased the utility of the editions of and subsequent to 1596. According to the Preface, much is added, much corrected, and much rubbish (particularly in the mythological part)

omitted.

1. But the modern names are still but few and far n, and the information respecting them is most scanty. s of a good many emperors and kings, of a few medieval and philosophers—such as Accursius and Bartolus, es and Avicenna—constitute almost the whole of the a department. A single line is devoted to ‘Franciscus cha.’ In 1627 (according to the ‘Biographie Univer- but in 1644 according to the ‘Biographie Générale) it was ted into French by Juigné-Broissinière, with some unim- t and frequently incorrect additions, taken, according to , chiefly from the works of Magin and Sebastian Munster. tact and superficial as the book seems now, yet, as the only ical and Biographical Dictionary in the French language, found so useful, that it attained an enormous popularity, ght or ten editions, successively enlarged and corrected, red in the next thirty years. In 1670, Nicholas Lloyd hed at Oxford an edition of the ‘Dictionarium His- m’ of Charles Estienne, but with numerous additions, cor- ns, alterations, and omissions, a book which gave the a high reputation, not only in England, but on the Con- , where it was acknowledged as superior to any of the pre- editions of the book of Charles Estienne. But Prosper and thinks the praises given to this book by Moreri and much in excess of its real merits, and considers the alter- made by Lloyd often disfigurements rather than improve- . A second and in many respects improved edition on, 1686) was published after the editor’s death, and was l times reprinted on the Continent. Yet in some im- t matters the earlier work would seem the more useful. English and French kings and German emperors are to nd in the earlier edition, though on what principle they cluded it seems impossible to conceive, for the Henries, sh, French, and German, are to be found, but neither is I. nor Elizabeth. In the second edition, however, all modern European sovereigns have disappeared, except emagne and Charles V.; yet the preface gives no hint of ticle being omitted.

rtly after the appearance of Lloyd’s book a work was d, the reputation and popularity of which—altogether portioned to its real merits—was destined to throw all edecessors into the shade, or rather to cause their com- and permanent disappearance; a work which has passed h more than twenty editions, the last of which, after a of a century and a quarter, is still an indispensable com- a of every student of literary history, and ought to be . 157.—No. 313. o four

found in every library, but which really owes all its value to the labours of its successive editors. The original edition of the 'Grand Dictionnaire Historique' of Louis Moreri in a single folio, was given to the world in 1674. It was received with so much favour, that a new edition was in preparation when its author died in 1680, at the age of thirty-seven, after the labours which he had devoted to the work. The second edition, increased to two folios, appeared in 1681, and far surpassed the first in popularity as in merit. It was received with a chorus of praises. The 'Acta Eruditorum' of Leibniz compared it with the 'Journal des Sçavans' in praises of the industry of the dictionary and the learning of its author. It was pronounced the most exact, the most excellent, that had ever appeared. The judiciousness of its criticisms was not less favourably spoken of than its accuracy in matters of fact. It was certainly an improvement on Juigné; it omitted or corrected some redundancies, it added much, it corrected much. Many faults were innumerable, and the words of censure which Moreri used of his predecessors, Estienne and Juigné, might, perhaps, be more fitly applied to himself. In truth, we ought rather to use of Moreri the language of Bayle.

'I am of the opinion of Horace with respect to those who speak the way. The earliest writers of dictionaries have committed many faults, but they have performed great services, and they ought not to be deprived by their successors of the glory which is their due. As Moreri took great pains, his work has been of some use to ever since, and to many has afforded sufficient information. It has thrown light into regions to which other books would never have brought. Where an exact knowledge of details is not necessary.'

Never did a book so completely efface its predecessors as that of Moreri. For a whole century it had the field to itself. The Dictionaries of Bayle, Marchand, and Chauffepié, were not so much supplements to it. The care of successive editors, among whom were Saint-Ussan, Leclerc, and Goujet should be mentioned, was special praise, corrected and enlarged it. An immense number of biographies were added. Many redundancies were corrected. Until at last, in the ten huge folios which constitute the last and best edition of Moreri (the 21st or 22nd) it is difficult to discover any traces of the original work of the author whose name is given to it. The last edition of Moreri is one of the collections still useful and necessary to the literary student. Upward of half the work is occupied by biographies; among them are many names not to be found in any subsequent Biographical Dictionary. They are no doubt mostly obscure ecclesiastical scholars, and jurists; yet they include not a few names of

of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries whom we are surprised to find omitted from the 'Biographie Universelle.' Again of many writers a much fuller account is to be found than in any subsequent work, with references to authorities which would be sought in vain elsewhere. Nor are the genealogical articles on the great French historical families of less interest and value. Of the non-biographical part, the geographical has entirely lost its value and interest; but among the miscellaneous articles there are many, such as the lists of Cardinals, of Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost, those on *Parlements*, on *Lits de justice*, containing information which one would have some hesitation in deciding where else to look for. In short, the last edition of Moreri, easy as it would be to draw up a long list of its errors, is a book which is not likely now to be superseded, though a single folio would probably contain all that gives the book its present value.

But Moreri's Dictionary has a claim to distinction beyond its intrinsic merits. It brought for the first time into a field, which had hitherto been abandoned to compilers and Dryasdusts, a man of real and rare genius, and gave birth to that armoury of obscure learning and acute criticism, whence successive generations of scholars and dialecticians have drawn their choicest and sharpest weapons. Bayle's Dictionary, originally intended merely to fill up the deficiencies and to correct the errors of Moreri, became in the end one of the greatest monuments of erudition and critical acumen which any single scholar has given to the world. The names which occur in the text form so many pegs on which to hang all kinds of recondite and interesting information, acute and profound criticisms, keen and unanswerable attacks on the fallacies of dogmatism and superstition. Never was there a man whose character, equally in its defects as in its merits, so fitted him to be a perfect critic. He is neither creative nor destructive. He doubts, and that is all; or rather he puts forward the two opposing arguments with so much force, so much clearness, and so much impartiality, that they seem to destroy each other and produce doubt in the mind of the reader. As for himself, he is indifferent. He compares himself to the cloud-gathering Jove of Homer. 'Mon talent est de former des doutes; mais ce ne sont que des doutes.' And to 'Peter Bayle' Carlyle has applied the epithet 'stupid!'

We can never calculate with certainty what names we shall find in Bayle; and, as the notes are frequently unconnected with the life to which they are appended, we often find the information we are seeking under the most unlikely heads. 'If Bayle,' says Gibbon, 'wrote his dictionary to empty the various

collections he had made without any particular design, he could not have chosen a better plan. It permitted him everything and obliged him to nothing. By the double freedom of a dictionary and notes he could pitch on what articles he pleased, and say what he pleased in those articles.' His critical dictionary first appeared in 1697, in two volumes folio, subsequently amplified into five, and in this century an edition has been published with notes and additions in sixteen octavos. But Bayle's Dictionary is one of the few books which, from its arrangement, can only be read conveniently in folio. The comparatively insignificant text, the long and far more important and interesting notes, and the notes upon notes, make the reading it in any form but a folio an incessant turning of pages backwards and forwards. But while Bayle's plan was admirably suited to his subject matter, it had the misfortune to be taken as a model for all the historical and biographical dictionaries which followed for nearly half a century. Those of *Chaufepié* and *Marchand*, and the '*Biographia Britannica*,' have all short and meagre texts, with notes and dissertations many times longer, to say nothing of notes upon notes—making it a weariness to the flesh as well as to the spirit to study or even consult them.

The Dictionary of *Chaufepié* (1750–56), in four bulky folios, forming, as its title-page tells us, a supplement to that of Bayle, acquires an interest for us, not so much on account of its intrinsic merits as because it was derived from an English source. In 1694, there had been published a translation of the Dictionary of *Moreri* 'by various hands,' all more or less incompetent. The book, however, sold, and a new edition being called for, the preparation of it was entrusted to *Jeremy Collier*. He re-wrote much and corrected more, and his edition of '*The Great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical, and Poetical Dictionary*,' appeared in two folios in 1701, but he was so little satisfied with it that he gave a supplement in 1705, and a further supplement in 1721. These four volumes are known as '*Collier's Dictionary*.' Besides what is taken from *Lloyd*, *Bayle*, and *Hoffmann*,* there are a considerable number of original articles relating to England and Englishmen.

Passing

* In 1677, *John Jacob Hoffmann*, a professor at *Pasle*, gave to the world a '*Lexicon Universale Historico-Chronologico-Poetico-Philologicum*,' in two closely printed folios. It is based on the Dictionaries of *Lloyd*, *Estienne*, and *Juigné*, though with large additions. A supplement was added in two still larger folios in 1683, and the whole was revised, corrected, and incorporated in an edition issued by the author in 1698 in four folios. It contains an immense mass of information on all the subjects mentioned in the title, and its biographical articles

Passing by the translation of Bayle's Dictionary, published in 1710, in four folios (of which a second edition was put forth in 1734-7, in five volumes), with the remark that it was made by a company of French refugees, whose knowledge of the English tongue was wholly insufficient for the work they undertook, we arrive at the 'General Dictionary, Historical and Critical,' which appeared in ten folios (1734-1741). The basis of this work is a new and improved translation of Bayle, but it corrects some errors, enlarges many of his brief notices into complete biographies, and, above all, adds more than nine hundred new lives, including a large number of Englishmen, chiefly men of letters, whose lives, though contained in the collections of Pits, Bale, Boston, Fuller, and Wood, had not before been included in any general, historical, or biographical dictionary. J. P. Bernard, Thomas Birch, John Lockman, and, for the Oriental part, George Sale, were the compilers of this book, which, though not wanting in faults, is a most creditable, and in many respects an admirable performance, which may still be consulted with advantage, and should be found on the shelves of every well-stored English library. Of several more or less eminent Englishmen it contains exhaustive biographies; and copious extracts from, and often judicious criticisms upon their writings, are to be found in the notes. But the book is in general eminently unreadable. The English lives are mostly due to Birch. 'Tom Birch,' said Dr. Johnson, 'is as brisk as a bee in conversation, but no sooner does he take a pen in hand than it becomes a torpedo, and benumbs all his faculties.' Soon after its appearance, J. G. de Chauffepié, a Dutch minister of French extraction, translated into French the greater number of those articles which were not themselves translations from Bayle (altering and correcting some few of them), and, with additions compiled from other sources, formed them into the '*Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique pour servir de supplément ou continuation au Dictionnaire de M. Pierre Bayle*,' which was published in four folios, 1750-1756. The bulk of the book, being merely a translation from our own Historical Dictionary, is of little interest; but many of the lives of which Chauffepié was the author, notably those of Postel, G. J. Vossius, and Utenbogaert, are still by far the fullest and best that exist of those learned persons. But the book is intolerably dull reading, and the author's disquisitions are enlivened neither by the wit,

articles may still be referred to with profit. Isaac D'Israeli's remark upon it has often been quoted: 'I heard a man of great learning declare that whenever he could not recollect his knowledge he opened Hoffmann's "*Lexicon*," where he was sure to find what he had lost.'—*Curiosities of Literature.*

the

the sarcasms, nor the acute criticisms, of Bayle. Of about fourteen hundred articles that the book contains, six hundred are simply translated from the English, two hundred and eighty are revised by *Chaufepié*, and nearly five hundred are entirely new.

Shortly after the completion of *Chaufepié*, there appeared the last of the 'Historical Dictionaries,' or rather supplements to *Moreri* and *Bayle*. The dictionary of *Prosper Marchand* was compiled after his death, from his manuscript notes written upon loose sheets and scraps of paper. It is a series of literary biographies and dissertations by a man of much reading and of literary taste, written in a lively and agreeable style, always interesting, and containing much matter of literary history not elsewhere to be met with; but, as was to be expected from the manner in which it was compiled, full of errors, especially of dates and editions.

With the last edition of *Moreri* in 1760 the canon of the 'Historical Dictionary' is complete. The twenty large folios of *Moreri*, *Bayle*, *Chaufepié*, and *Marchand*, form together a *Biographical Dictionary*, of fullness, of accuracy, and of general utility, up to that time unknown and not dreamed of half a century earlier. They contain notices of many men whose names do not appear even in the '*Biographie Universelle*,' numerous dissertations which may still be read with interest and profit, and lives, especially of men of letters, which remain our chief sources of information respecting them. But the books had grown too unwieldy, and the biographies too long. Like *Nares's* '*Life of Burleigh*,' the '*Dictionary*' of *Chaufepié* might, 'before the Deluge, have been considered as light reading by *Hilpa* and *Shalum*'; but life is not now long enough to allow any but professed students to wade through the double columns of his closely-printed folios. To the student the books are still invaluable, but even in the middle of the eighteenth century 'the general reader' had become a person to be catered for, and he required a lighter and more easily digested diet. A short and easy book of biographical reference was needed, and the '*Biographical Dictionary*,' properly and strictly so called, though for another half-century generally retaining the old title, was the result.

The '*Historical Dictionary*,' though in its final stage of development chiefly biographical, was not exclusively so. *Moreri* professed to include history, geography, and genealogy; and, even in the last edition, not much more than half is devoted to biography pure and simple. *Bayle*, *Chaufepié*, and *Marchand*, not only occupied themselves to a large extent with literary criticisms, but admitted numerous articles which were not even in form biographical. The dissertations on *Anabaptists* and *Manicheans*

Manicheans in Bayle, Adamites and Picards in Chaufepié, and 'De Tribus Impostoribus' and 'Bibliothèques Beligiques' in Marchand, are still, after the lapse of a century and a quarter, not the least interesting or the least instructive of their articles.

The year 1752 saw the birth of the first book strictly entitled to be called a General Biographical Dictionary. Abundance of special collections of lives, and particularly those of men of letters, had existed for centuries, but the 'Dictionnaire Historique portatif des Grands Hommes' of the Abbé L'Advocat was the first book which purported to comprise the lives of all persons worthy of being commemorated, and to comprise nothing else. The book is merely an abridgment of the biographical part of Moreri, with a certain number of additional lives, some taken from Bayle and Chaufepié, but with a few new names, chiefly ecclesiastics. The book (in two volumes, 8vo.) is crowded with faults of every description:—

'Men, measures, seasons, scenes, and facts all
Misquoting, misstating,
Misplacing, misdating,'

as the 'young gentleman of Oxford' wrote of the 'Memoirs of Sir Nathaniel Wraxall.' Nor could we expect anything better of a work which, as the author says in his Preface, was composed 'pendant les vacances à la campagne par manière de délassement.' Yet that the book supplied a want is proved by its numerous editions, the last so recent as 1821 (in five volumes), and by translations of it into English,* Italian, German, and Hungarian. Successive editors enlarged and corrected it, and the orthodoxy of its sentiments in the matter of religion preserved for it a certain reputation for the first quarter of the present century.

The 'Dictionnaire Historique littéraire et critique des hommes célèbres' of the Abbé Barral (1758, six volumes) is a work of a much higher character, displaying far more research and greater accuracy; and is compiled on a scale more proportioned to the importance of its subject. But the pronounced Jansenism of its author, which manifests itself in season and out of season, detracts from its value, and prevented its attaining the success which the learning and research of Barral and his two coadjutors deserved. It has not been unfairly described as 'Le martyrologe du Jansénisme fait par un convulsionnaire.'

Eight years after the publication of the work of Barral, a book appeared, which was destined to eclipse all its rivals, and

* The English translation, by Catherine Collignon, in four volumes, was printed at Cambridge in 1782. A second edition appeared in 1799-1801.

to reign supreme in Europe as *the* 'Biographical Dictionary' for nearly half a century. The 'Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique portatif' (four volumes, 1766), printed at Avignon, but with the rubric *Amsterdam*, so as to avoid the censorship, was the sole work of Dom Chaudon, a Benedictine of the congregation of Clugny; though—to escape the necessity of submitting it to the approval (and expurgation) of the congregation of which he was a member—his name nowhere appeared, but the title-page announced it as the work of 'une société des gens de lettres.' The book originated in that of L'Advocat, a copy of which Chaudon had corrected and annotated for his own use. The innumerable errors and the meagreness of that work, as well as the prejudice and bigotry shown in that of Barral, from which he had hoped much, determined Chaudon to give an improved 'Dictionary of Biography' to the world, and the remainder of his life was devoted to its revision and extension.

A book must be judged from the point of view of its time, its contemporaries, and its predecessors; and, so looked at, our judgment of Dom Chaudon's work will be favourable. It has neither the prolixity of Moreri, the meagreness of L'Advocat, nor the prejudices of Barral. It is marked by impartiality and good sense. The popularity of the book was great; imitations or translations appeared in English, German, and Italian; and seven editions, with successive improvements, were issued by its author. To the seventh edition—that of 1789—was added an appendix of four volumes by Delandine, which in the eighth was incorporated with the original work. In that edition the two authors' names appeared on the title-page—Chaudon consenting very unwillingly to the addition of that of Delandine—and the book has thenceforth been known as 'Chaudon Delandine.' In 1810 the copyright was purchased by Prudhomme, and a new edition was published in twenty volumes, to which a supplemental volume was afterwards added. To this edition Chaudon contributed only some notes and corrections. But the editor was furnished with more than four thousand notes by Brotier and Mercier de St. Léger. He received the assistance of men like Haillet de Couronne, H. Grégoire, and P. H. Marron. Materials of every kind were furnished him from different quarters. But, whether from the incompetence of Prudhomme as an editor, or from the haste with which the book was hurried through the press, the edition of 1810–12 is crowded with every kind of fault possible to occur in a Biographical Dictionary. Ginguené called it 'le recueil le plus complet et le plus quiproquo bibliographique que l'on connaisse.' With this edition the name of 'Chaudon and Delandine' disappears, and

the '*Dictionnaire Historique*,' edited by J. D. Goigeux, in thirty volumes, 1821-1823, is in fact only a new edition of that of Chaudon and Delandine, much corrected and improved.

But Chaudon had not given universal satisfaction. Though a priest, he was not a bigot, and though he had written against the philosophy of Voltaire, he was imbued to some extent with the liberal spirit of the eighteenth century. The *parti prêtre* was alarmed at the popularity of his book, and the Jesuit Feller took the field against him in a '*Dictionnaire Historique*,' the first edition of which was printed in 1781, in six volumes. Feller's method of producing his dictionary was simple enough. He took Chaudon's book, and merely altered it as much or as little as he conceived the interests of religion to require. The lives of heretics, Protestants, and infidels, are curtailed in length, their abilities are disparaged, and their merits decried; while the most insignificant Jesuit is lauded to the skies, and genius as well as virtue is shown to be the monopoly of the orthodox.

'In the dictionary of Chaudon,' writes M. Henrion, a recent editor and biographer of Feller, 'the cause of religion is not sustained in a sufficiently marked manner, dangerous novelties are not combatted. A work was needed which should supply these defects. That is what the Abbé Feller undertook to do. He has used the materials of Chaudon, making only such changes as seemed absolutely necessary. Thus, without touching the substance of the work, he has confined himself to supplying omissions, to suppressing blameable reflections, and substituting others more likely to be approved by well-disposed persons, to rectifying the judgments dictated by partiality, to making it, in short, a book which young people may read without risk, and which will be applauded by all pious persons.'

A book compiled on these principles was sure of success. Dom Chaudon and his friends indeed complained of it, and the more so, that Feller never acknowledged those obligations to Chaudon which M. Henrion admits, but put his book before the public as a new and original work, and never mentions Chaudon but to find fault or to sneer. His dictionary he calls '*le moins mauvais de ses ouvrages*.' Feller's Biographical Dictionary reached thirteen editions; the last, much improved and enlarged, and edited by the Abbé Simonin, appeared so recently as 1860. It has also had the honour of translations into Italian and Dutch.

The book of Feller completes the list of the French Biographical Dictionaries of the eighteenth century, and its immediate successor was the '*Biographie Universelle*.' But we may turn aside for a moment, to enquire what has been done outside France

France in the same direction. Italy and Spain had contented themselves with translations from the French. The ten folios into which Moreri had grown were translated into Spanish and printed in 1753, while both Italy and Germany had translations of L'Advocat and Chaudon. In Germany, while dictionaries of the lives of learned men, and critical or bibliographical accounts of their works abounded, some of them most excellent, witness those of Jöcher and Adelung—no important dictionary of universal biography, except the translations already referred to, has appeared; though the biographical parts of the later *Conversations-Lexicon*, and of the great *Encyclopædias* of Zedler and of Ersch and Gruber, have attained a high standard of excellence.

In England the '*Biographia Britannica*,' comprising only lives of natives of Great Britain and Ireland, does not come within the scope of this paper, except indeed as the connecting link between the great '*Historical Dictionary*,' already mentioned, and the '*New and General Biographical Dictionary*' of 1761 (eleven volumes 8vo.). The last-named work, projected by the well-known bookseller Osborne, and published by him and others, deserves special notice as the first book in any language having the title of *Biographical Dictionary*. 'It is sometimes ascribed to Birch,' remarks Hallam, 'but I suspect Heathcote had more to do with it.' We cannot ourselves find any trace of Birch having taken any part in the compilation of the book, or indeed of the '*Biographia Britannica*,' with which his name is commonly connected, though many of his lives in the great '*Historical Dictionary*' clearly form the basis of the notices in the '*General Biographical Dictionary*.' Ralph Heathcote certainly contributed many of the most important articles.

Not content with the humble though useful position of a book of reference, the '*New and General Biographical Dictionary*' aimed at affording light and entertaining reading, as the following extract from the Preface shows:—

'And we have also been attentive to the instruction and amusement of the ladies, not only by decorating our work with the names of those who have done honour to the sex, but by making our account of others sufficiently particular to excite and gratify curiosity, and, where the subject would admit, to interest the passions, without wearying attention by minute prolixity or idle speculations.'

Editions, each with improvements, of this useful compilation, in which, as the title announces, special attention is given to lives of persons of the British and Irish nations, appeared in 1784 and 1798–1810. The latter, in fifteen volumes, was edited as to the first five by W. Tooke, and as to the last ten by Archdeacon

deacon Nares and W. Beloe, and contains three thousand four hundred lives, either re-written or wholly new. Much of the additional matter is taken from Chaudon. Early in the present century the book was entrusted to Alexander Chalmers, for a new and improved edition, which was published between 1812 and 1817, in thirty-two volumes. It is still, after sixty-five years, the standard English Biographical Dictionary, and indeed, with the exception of that of Rose, the only one, and is now as necessary a companion for every student of English literature as it was on the day of its completion. It contains many articles valuable for their accuracy and learning, though they are generally among those transferred either from the earlier editions or from some other work. Chalmers's own articles, though not without the merit which characterizes a laborious compiler, are too long and tedious for the general reader, and show neither sufficient research nor sufficient accuracy to satisfy the student. No one would read for pleasure an article by Chalmers. Moreover, they are often marked by a narrow and intolerant spirit. The book contains about nine thousand notices: of these, three thousand nine hundred and thirty-four are entirely new, and of the remainder, which constitute the articles of the preceding edition of the 'General Biographical Dictionary,' two thousand one hundred and seventy-six have been re-written.

A few years prior in date to Chalmers, and far before it in point of merit, appeared the work of Dr. Aikin (ten volumes, 4to., 1799-1815), assisted in the first volume by Dr. Enfield, and in the later ones by others of less reputation; by far the best of the lives being the work of the editor. But, unfortunately, the book does not profess to be a Dictionary of *Universal Biography*. It contains only the lives of the more eminent persons, and, for most of the purposes of a Biographical Dictionary it is therefore almost useless. But while Aikin surpasses Chalmers in learning, accuracy, and criticism, he is nearly, if not quite, as dull and heavy, and hardly less prejudiced, though in an opposite direction. We should not advise our readers to form their judgments of Churchmen from Aikin, or of Dissenters from Chalmers.

The biographical dictionary which passes under the name of Rose, having been planned by Hugh James Rose, and the first volume edited by his brother, Henry John Rose (twelve volumes, 1840-1847), is the only one which has appeared since that of Chalmers,* and is the most useful compilation of the kind which

* We do not forget the many meritorious and popular Biographical Dictionaries which have appeared in this country and in America during the past half-century.

* Gorton's

which we possess, containing a much larger number of names than any other English biographical dictionary. Under the earlier letters of the alphabet, more than double the number of names contained in Chalmers are to be found. In general its articles, except as to persons recently deceased, are abridgements; in the case of Englishmen, of those contained in Chalmers, and as to foreigners in the '*Biographie Universelle*;' though, especially in the earlier volumes, there are a certain number of original articles of considerable length, and not devoid of merit. The Greek and Roman lives are among the best, and are carefully written. In the later volumes there is a considerable falling-off in every respect, as might be expected from the fact that exactly half the work is devoted to the letters A, B, and C. The book is composed from the orthodox and high church point of view, and abounds in moral reflections and criticisms of the most commonplace character, delivered in a pompous style, which seem inserted rather as being in accordance with the general opinion of the compilers, than as required by the subject-matter. The 'sceptical tendency and objectionable matter of much in Bayle's work,' we are told, 'renders it unfit for indiscriminate use,' and of Alfieri it is said, that 'under due control, and with religious principles, he might have been a shining light; but he is now only a beacon to warn men against his errors and his vices. His works, indeed, have their admirers, but it is chiefly from the boldness of his views and his attacks on the present state of things.'*

It was early in the present century that two French men of letters, the brothers Michaud, conceived the idea, which they subsequently successfully carried out, of a Universal Biographical Dictionary, on a far more extended scale, and on a far superior plan to any that had before appeared. For such a work the co-operation of the foremost men of letters and science then living in France was sought and obtained. The more important articles were entrusted to the most eminent men in their respective departments, and a committee was associated with MM. Michaud, to which each article was submitted for revision before being inserted in the work. The lives of naturalists and geographers were entrusted to men like Cuvier

* Gorton's Dictionary' is a closely packed and useful compendium. The Biographical division of the '*English Cyclopædia*' contains numerous biographies of a very high degree of merit, but it does not profess to be a Universal Biographical Dictionary. Only names of men of eminence are to be found in it. For a review of this work, and other Cyclopædias, see an excellent article in the '*Quarterly Review*' (vol. 113, p. 354), the writer of which was the late Joshua Watts.

* What purports to be an edition of Rose's Dictionary, printed in 1837, is simply the original impression with a new title-page.

and Malte Brun. Delambre and Biot undertook the mathematicians, Sylvestre de Sacy the Orientalists. The statesmen of Italy were entrusted to Sismondi, and her poets and artists to Ginguené. Guizot and Benjamin Constant wrote the lives of the public men of Germany, and Lally Tollendal and Suard those of England. And round these chiefs of the undertaking were grouped Madame de Staël, Raoul-Rochette, Boissonade, Charles de Rémusat, de Barante, Nodier, Quatremère de Quincy, and at a later period Chateaubriand, Villemain, Humboldt, Cousin, and numerous less brilliant lights.

The first volume of the '*Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne*' appeared in 1811. The elder Michaud soon withdrew from the direction of the work, and confined himself to writing the articles on the Crusaders and others, for which his historic studies especially qualified him; and M. Michaud *jeune* had the satisfaction of completing it in fifty-two volumes in 1828. But completion is not the word. The seventeen years during which the work had been in progress had seen the deaths of numerous men of eminence, including many of the writers in the earlier volumes. In other respects lacunæ had been noticed, and a supplement was immediately commenced. Three volumes were devoted to mythology, and twenty-nine to humanity, bringing up the work in 1857 to eighty-four volumes and to the article '*Vandamme*.' Three hundred writers had co-operated with M. Michaud, and had received from him little less than half a million of francs for their articles. But the work needed consolidation, revision, and addition. With its double supplement it was inconvenient for reference.

The lives of many philosophical writers, and especially of the schoolmen, were become wholly inadequate, in view of the great advance made, both in knowledge and in scientific modes of treatment. Numerous errors required correcting, numerous lacunæ filling up; and accordingly, in 1843, the publication of a new edition commenced. M. Michaud *jeune* again undertook the office of editor, though he had disposed of the copyright to M. Thoisnier Desplaces. The founder of this great work did not live to see its completion. He died in 1858, at the age of seventy-five, having retired some time before from the editorship, in which he had been succeeded, after the twelfth volume, by M. Ernest Desplaces. To the second, as to the first edition, the most distinguished men of the time contributed; and among the names of the new writers we find Arago, Barthélemy and Geoffroy St. Hilaire, Brunet, Capefigue, Chaix d'Est-Ange, Philarete Chasles, Dupin, de Falloux, Figuier, Gerusez, Jules Janin, Paul Lacroix, Legouvé, John Lemoine, H. Martin, Mérimée,

Mérimée, Montalembert, Paulin-Paris, Quatrefages, E. Renan, Saint-Marc Girardin, Sainte-Beuve, and E. Thierry. The work was completed in 1865, in forty-five large octavo volumes, each containing as much as four or five volumes of the original edition; and M. Ernest Desplaces could say with truth, and with just pride, that the second edition of the '*Biographie Universelle*' was as superior to the first, as the first was to all the biographical dictionaries that had preceded it.

But the progress of the book was neither as smooth nor as rapid as its proprietors and editors had hoped and expected. It had to fight for its very existence in one of the longest, most important, and most interesting actions at law, that have dealt with literary rights.

Hardly had the first volume of the original edition appeared, when an action was commenced against MM. Michaud by the bookseller Prudhomme, as the assignee of Dom Chaudon, who alleged that the new dictionary was a piratical imitation of his '*Dictionnaire Historique*.' It was not difficult for the defendants to show that their book was wholly original, and in no respect indebted to that of Chaudon, though it would contain much matter common to both. In the forty years which followed, several imitations of the work of MM. Michaud appeared. One of these, by General Beauvais, was published in 1826, under the title of '*Dictionnaire Historique ou Biographie Universelle Classique*.' A second edition was issued by the bookseller Furne in 1833, with the title '*Biographie Universelle, ou Dictionnaire Historique*.' An action was forthwith commenced by MM. Michaud against Furne, with the result that judgment was given for the defendant, and the title *Biographie Universelle* was declared to be part of the public domain. In 1852 a new and more formidable rival appeared, which threatened the very existence of the *Biographie Michaud*. A '*Nouvelle Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne depuis les temps les plus reculés*' was commenced by MM. Didot, the eminent publishers, which, as in the case of all new publications, was to have all the merits without any of the defects of the *Biographie Michaud*. It was to be at once more extensive and more concise. It was to include all living men of eminence, as well as innumerable deceased persons worthy of note who were omitted in the older work. But it would not be half the length of the *Biographie Michaud*, and this would be accomplished by merely omitting superfluous details, and by substituting condensation for diffuseness. Above all it was to be cheap, wonderfully cheap, 3 fr. 50 c. the volume, which was to contain about two-thirds as much as a volume of the

edition of the 'Biographie Universelle,' which cost, well worth, 12 fr. 50 c. The MM. Didot were the rs of several collections of lives, of the 'Dictionnaire éditique de la France' of M. Lebas; of the 'Encyc-Moderne'; they had also the right of reproducing rom the 'Encyclopédie des gens du Monde,' a work atained many excellent biographical notices by men of dged eminence. With these and articles from the 'ie Universelle,' and from the dictionaries of Chaudon, nd others, MM. Didot calculated on publishing a biographical dictionary on an extended scale, without o pay, as MM. Michaud had done, for any original xcept such as the editor, Dr. Hoefer, might himself . The book came out in weekly parts, ten making . In the first two volumes, which appeared in 1852 3, no less than 336 articles from the 'Biographie lle,' mostly by men of eminence, including Cuvier, Delambre, B. Constant, and Maltebrun, were inserted in the Biographie Didot. Sixty-nine articles ropriated with slight alterations, and a considerable besides were clearly based on those in the 'Bio-Universelle.' Madame Thoisnier Desplaces, upon y the death of her husband, the copyright of the 'ie Universelle' had devolved, hastened jointly with aud to appeal to the law for the protection of her lf MM. Didot were to be at liberty to appropriate the of the 'Biographie Universelle' at pleasure, her late in purchasing the copyright had bought nothing, and aud had sold what was not his to sell. On the 19th of 2, the action of Madame Desplaces and M. Michaud, t of fifty-nine articles textually reproduced and twenty- tly altered, which appeared in the first seven numbers Biographie Didot—all that was then published—was before the tribunal of the Seine, and the further pub- of the 'Biographie Universelle' in the meantime Unless the copyright could be protected, the con- of the publication would be utter ruin to Madame s. No one would buy a book at 12 fr. 50 c. the hen all the cream of it could be had in another book 0 c. The defence of MM. Didot was bold and simple. immed up in the formula, *Feci, sed jure feci*. The ts admitted the fact of appropriation, but alleged that aphie Michaud was not a single work, but a collection d lives by different authors, without unity, without n, and without plan, and they claimed that on the death

death of any author his article became public property. To MM. Michaud they gave no other position than that of publishers of the work. As to the use of the words *Biographie Universelle*, they relied on the decision in Furne's case. The tribunal of the Seine gave judgment for the defendants, and Madame Desplaces and M. Michaud forthwith appealed to the Imperial Court of Paris. They were again unsuccessful, for, though the court recognized the unity of the work, and acknowledged in MM. Michaud its originators and its editors, yet it held that each writer was to be considered as the independent author of the article to which his name was attached. Again Madame Desplaces and M. Michaud appealed, this time to the Supreme Court, the Court of Cassation. This court confirmed the judgment of the court below so far as related to the title of the book, holding that the words *Biographie Universelle* were public property; but it decided that the *Biographie Michaud* was a single work, and that MM. Michaud were entitled to the position and to the rights of authors of it. The decree of the Court of Paris was quashed, and the action sent to the Imperial Court of Amiens, to be heard and decided on the principles laid down in the judgment of the Court of Cassation. It was now necessary for MM. Didot to change their line of defence. After the decree of the Court of Cassation, they could no longer contend that M. Michaud was not the legal author of the '*Biographie Universelle*,' and they now alleged that, having regard to the proportion which the eighty-one inculpatéd articles bore to the whole '*Biographie Universelle*,' so small an appropriation did not amount to a '*contrefaçon*.' The court took this view, and gave judgment for the defendants. Again Madame Desplaces and M. Michaud appealed to the Court of Cassation: the decree of the Court of Amiens had the same fate as that of Paris, it was quashed, and the action sent for trial to the Imperial Court of Orleans. Here the defendants adopted a third line of defence; they alleged, in their lengthy *mémoire* in answer to the plaintiff's '*statement of claim*,' that the MM. Michaud had put themselves out of court by acts of the same nature as were complained of in the defendants; that a large number of articles in the '*Biographie Universelle*' had appeared also in the '*Dictionnaire*' of Chaudon and Delandine; and that, as this book was anterior in point of date to the '*Biographie Universelle*,' these articles must have been piratically appropriated by MM. Michaud. The answer of the plaintiffs was complete and crushing. The whole of the articles referred to in the *mémoire* of MM. Didot appeared for the first time in the edition of Chaudon and Delandine of 1821,
and

was borrowed from the 'Biographie Universelle'! The Orleans held that an attempt to deceive it had been made by the defendants, and judgment on all points was given in favour of the plaintiffs. By two decrees of the Imperial Court of Orleans, of the 10th of July, 1854, and the 12th of July, 1855, MM. Didot were declared guilty of piracy (contrefaçon) in respect of eighty-one articles in the first six volumes of their dictionary; they were forbidden to use the 'Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne,' were ordered to pay the costs of the action, and 45,200 francs.

Some time after the commencement of the action, MM. Didot continued to appropriate the articles of the *Biographie Universelle*, so that in the remainder of the first volume, and in the second volume of the *Biographie Didot*, no less than two hundred and seventy-seven further articles were textually reproduced, and forty-seven only colourably altered. With the commencement of the third volume MM. Didot changed the title of their book. Henceforth (until the tenth volume) it was called '*Nouvelle Biographie Universelle depuis les temps reculés*,' the words *ancienne et moderne* being omitted. From this time very few articles from the '*Biographie Universelle*' were textually reproduced, though it was clear that many of the number were really based upon those in the older work.

In August 1851, MM. Didot announced that the entire edition of the first two volumes was exhausted (a statement the least of it, inaccurate) and that they were being reissued with numerous changes and new articles. In fact, the existing copies of the first two volumes were withdrawn and reprinted, with important alterations, under the new title, without a word in either volume to intimate that it was a new edition, or that it had any alterations. The articles taken from the *Biographie Michaud* were omitted and replaced by

new ones. Encouraged by the success of the first action, Madame Didot did not hesitate to commence a second, claiming that the new title was not less an infringement of her rights than the old one, alleging the piracy of the two hundred and seventy-seven articles reproduced, and the forty-seven colourably altered articles of the first editions of volumes 1-2, and of twenty-nine articles reproduced in volumes 3-7. The action was commenced on the 2nd of September 1854, by the seizure, on behalf of the plaintiffs, of the whole stock of volumes 1-10 of the *Biographie Didot*, including as well many copies of the

original as of the new edition of the first two volumes. The tribunal of the Seine declared MM. Didot *contrefacteurs* so as the two hundred and seventy-seven and the forty-seven articles were concerned, ordered the confiscation of the volumes containing them, and gave Madame Desplaces 300 francs damages, but acquitted MM. Didot in respect of the other charges, and held that the title 'Biographie Universelle' was common property. The tribunal decided that Madame Desplaces had been wrong in seizing the remaining volumes; and ordered each party to pay half the joint costs of the action. Madame Desplaces appealed, first to the Imperial Court of Paris, and from it to the Court of Cassation. Arguments of great length and of much interest, antiquarian as well as legal, were adduced on each side, as to the right to use the words *Biographie Universelle*; but the decree of the tribunal of the Seine was in the end upheld, except as to the 300 franc damages awarded to Madame Desplaces. This the Court of Appeal held MM. Didot were entitled to set off against the damage done to them by the illegal seizure of volumes 3-4. Thus terminated the litigation between Madame Desplaces and MM. Didot, which had lasted upwards of three years, during which time the publication of the 'Biographie Universelle' was entirely suspended. It at once re-commenced under the editorship of M. Ernest Desplaces. With the tenth volume of the *Biographie* Didot, the name of this work was again, and the time definitively, changed to that of the '*Nouvelle Biographie Générale*.'*

The forty-fifth and last volume of the '*Biographie Universelle*' was published in 1865, and the '*Nouvelle Biographie Générale*' ended with its forty-sixth volume in 1866. To a comparison of these two great works, and of their respective merits and shortcomings, the greater part of the remainder of this paper will be devoted.

The '*Biographie Universelle*' is in every respect greatly improved in its new edition. Numerous errors of fact, particularly as to names and dates, are corrected. A considerable number of names, to be found neither in the first edition nor in the supplement, are added, and these not only of recently deceased persons, but of those who certainly ought to have found a place in the first edition. Thirty-three new names appear in the first volume, fifteen being of persons recently

* At the same time new title-pages were printed for all the copies of volumes i.-ix. still in stock, and a new preface was added to volume i. Of volumes i. and there are thus three varieties: (1) the original edition with the 405 articles taken from the '*Biographie Universelle*'; (2) the new edition with the title '*Biographie Universelle*'; (3) the same new edition, but with a fresh title-page and preface and with '*Nouvelle Biographie Générale*' for the title.

deceased. A considerable number of articles have been in whole or in part re-written, and to a still greater number notes or appendices have been added. In the first volume, 64 articles were thus re-written or completely revised, and the editor tells us that not less than 20,000 new notices (and notes) appear in the new edition. Many of the scientific and literary men—particularly the schoolmen and others of the Middle Ages—could not have been adequately treated in the early part of this century. Many were then thought only worthy of a contemptuous notice, whom the more scientific study of later days has seen to be deserving of far different treatment; and the immense mass of documents brought to light in the first half of this century has shown many men in an altogether different light from that in which they necessarily appeared to the men of the Empire and the Restoration. An article on Abelard written in 1811, however accurately it might narrate the facts of his life, could not give an account of his opinions, his writings, or his character, which would seem adequate or satisfactory to a reader in 1850. But the most serious fault of the earlier edition has yet to be noticed. MM. Michaud, and many of the writers whom they associated with themselves, were pronounced royalists and orthodox Catholics, and in too many of the articles dealing with the men of the revolution and the empire, and with republicans and freethinkers generally, a violence and a party spirit is displayed, such as we are not surprised to find in the journals of a time when party spirit runs high, but altogether inconsistent with a work of the character and pretensions of the '*Biographie Universelle*.' And none of the writers in the first edition was a more conspicuous sinner in this respect than M. Michaud *jeune*. He as well as MM. Lally-Tollendal, Suard, and de Bonald, speak with the voice of men to whom the reign of terror had been a living reality, to whom rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and to whom scepticism in religion and liberality in politics seem to be trees necessarily bearing as their fruit atheism, immorality, and anarchy. In the volumes which appeared after the fall of the empire (10 *et seq.*),* the violent and unfair party-spirit becomes more and more manifest. On the other hand, in the first nine volumes of the first edition the severe censorship of the empire would allow nothing but what was in harmony with

* Although volume x. bears date 1813, it was not in fact published until after the fall of the empire. The article '*Cromwell*' in this volume contained passages not obscurely pointing at Napoleon, and the censorship forbade its appearance without modification. The writer, M. Suard, refused to allow his name to appear on the article as modified, and the publication was delayed until the fall of the empire permitted it to appear as originally written.

the Emperor's views, and several articles, particularly those of a certain M. Durdent, seem written with a view of gratifying the personal spite of the Emperor. The life of General Acton is little more than a collection of the calumnies which the French journals had, from time to time, heaped on that well-known enemy of French influence in Italy. Of M. Durdent, it was said by one who knew him, that the same motive, which had engaged him under the Empire to heap up praise on the great man, inspired him under the Restoration to produce royalist writings marked with the same exaggerations. In the new edition, a new life of Acton is inserted.

After the fall of the empire, M. Michaud *jeune* took his revenge for the enforced curtailment of some of his articles, and the necessity of saying in others what would be agreeable to the authorities. In his remarkable article on Napoleon (first printed in the supplement to the first edition, at a time when the Napoleonic legend, fostered by Louis Philippe and M. Thiers, was entwining itself in the hearts of the French, and preparing the way for the second empire), though he has done full justice to the greatness of the Emperor's genius, to the splendour of his achievements, and to the glory which he acquired for France, he has yet set forth with unsparing truthfulness the meanness of the great man, his selfishness, his utter carelessness of truth, justice, and human suffering. He inserts at full length the perhaps exaggerated account, given by Count Waldbourg-Truchsess, of the contemptible behaviour of Napoleon on his way to Elba, and gives verbatim his will, which the Emperor's friends would gladly have forgotten. In the thirtieth volume of the second edition, printed in 1861, though the reprint of a life which had been in free circulation in France for nearly twenty years could hardly be forbidden, it was necessary to make some sacrifices to imperial susceptibilities. A few excisions were made. The narrative of Count Waldbourg-Truchsess is omitted as '*remplie de détails invraisemblables*.' The will is also left out. An appendix of sixty-seven columns is devoted to an apotheosis of *l'homme*, and to a bibliography and criticism on his writings; and a running commentary on the text by M. Begin, the author of the appendix, appears at the foot of the page, flatly contradicting M. Michaud's statements wherever the reputation of the Emperor seems to require it. Notes like the following appear at every few pages, and make the article and its commentary most entertaining reading:—'*L'exagération vindicative de l'écrivain écraserait peut-être la vérité si,*' &c., '*Ce récit n'est pas exact,*' '*C'eût été la pensée d'un fou.*' '*Jamais l'empereur n'a pu l'avoir,*' '*Cette scène n'est pas vraisemblable:*'

blable ;' 'Ceci est une exagération ;' 'Pourquoi dénaturer belles paroles ;' 'Ces expressions vulgaires ne sont pas vables.'

In the new edition much has been done to remedy the violence of party spirit displayed in the original book. The lives of Voltaire, D'Alembert, and of other encyclopedists and philosophers of the eighteenth century have been in some cases modified, in others appendices have been added, and much fairer sentiments of the men are given. The same course has been taken in the earlier volumes with the men of the revolution, while in the later volumes most of the lives which disfigured the original edition have completely disappeared, and have been replaced by articles leaving nothing to be desired in point of truth or accuracy. For M. Michaud's bitter article on Robespierre, which is little better than a caricature, is substituted a life from the pen of M. Ernest Hamel, which is a model of impartiality. Unfortunately in the earlier volumes, of which M. Michaud was the editor, or in which his influence was still strong, the defect we are noticing has not entirely disappeared. At a time when orthodox churchmen in this country were beginning to see the profanity of the comparison between Charles I. and our Saviour, and when the service for the Blessed Martyr was about to be removed from the Book of Common Prayer, the editor of the second edition of the 'Biographie Universelle' finds nothing to modify in M. Lally-Tollendal's account of Charles I., the tone of which will be seen from the following passage:—'On a dit *le martyr*, on aurait pu dire la *mort* de Charles I^{er}. Tous les cœurs chrétiens sont d'accord avec celui de Clarendon quand on lit dans son histoire: The most execrable murder that ever was committed since that of the Blessed Saviour.'

But unfairness and party spirit are the exceptions, and not the rule. It is only in a small number of lives, transferred from the earlier edition, that these faults are found. The new lives are written with an entire absence of party spirit, and generally with conspicuous fairness. But an article originally written from a violent and party point of view can never be made satisfactory by the mere excision of certain passages, and the substitution of others, or even by corrective or explanatory notes. It is irritating to a reader who goes to a book published in 1859, expecting to find there the result of the most recent investigations, the most authentic documents, and the most accurate nar-

The article Napoléon, with its notes and appendix, extends to 160 pages of the new edition, equal to 350 pages of the 'Quarterly Review.'

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ratives of the life of Louis XVI., to meet with an article prefaced by a note like the following :—

‘ Le mérite littéraire de cet article, le nom de son auteur, nous e fait un devoir de le conserver tel qu’il a paru dans la 1^{re} édition la “ Biographie universelle,” en supprimant toutesfois les passages qui sont le plus empreints de la violence de M. de Bonald. Il est facile de s’apercevoir que cet article a été composé à une époque de réaction contre la révolution ; outre que les principes de l’absolutisme les moins déguisés y servent de *criterium* à l’appréciation des faits les faits eux-mêmes n’y sont pas toujours exactement rapportés.’

One of two courses ought to have been adopted by the editors in the case of such an article, either to print it in full, originally written, adding corrective notes, or better still, insert an entirely new biography. If the articles on a certain class of men were all written with a strong party bias, the evil would be less, for when once we knew of the tendency it should be on our guard against it. But we cannot read any of the long and generally able articles on the men of the Revolution, the Empire, and the Restoration, without an uneasy feeling of doubt as to whether we are reading a patched up article from the first edition, or an original article, which really gives the results of the writer’s independent investigations based upon the most recent authorities.

In a book to which three hundred writers have contributed there must necessarily be a great inequality in style, in treatment and in merit. A large number of the more important articles written by men of ability and learning, leave little or nothing to be desired, such as those on Fox and Fénelon by M. Villain, on Buffon and Lavoisier by Cuvier, on Boccaccio by Ginguené, which may be considered as models for articles in a biographical dictionary. On the other hand, we sometimes find meagre and superficial notices where we should least have expected them. Those by M. Durdent are always superficial and generally inaccurate. But the book, on the whole, has been well edited, and with one exception bears signs of that uniformity of treatment and sense of proportion and fitness, for which M. Michaud justly claimed credit.

Lives of men of letters form the chief and the most satisfactory part of the work, at least in the earlier volumes. Those of natives of France, Italy, and Spain, are in general excellent and the same may be said of a large number of those of Germany, England, and other countries. Their lives are narrated with fulness and accuracy of detail, and an adequate account of their writings is given. Nor, except in the case of a freethinker

thinkers, is there much fault to be found on the score of unfairness. The bibliography of the work is deserving of great praise, and is due to a large extent to the labours of M. Weiss, to whom the supervision of this department in the first edition was entrusted. No book in any language contains such an amount of bibliographical information, much of it not to be found elsewhere, as the new edition of the '*Biographie Universelle*.' For precise details on rare books and rare editions, indeed, we go to Brunet, to Graesse, or to Lowndes. But no single book contains lists so detailed, and on the whole so accurate, of the works of so large a number of writers, and of their principal editions. These alone would make the work invaluable, and indeed indispensable to literary students. But bibliographical information is worse than useless if it is not strictly accurate; and M. Weiss, though a born bibliographer, and possessed of an enormous fund of literary information, shared that carelessness as to accuracy in trifling matters of detail, characteristic of most of his countrymen, which detracts so much from the value of their brilliant generalizations, and makes their admirable literary skill often mislead instead of inform the unwary reader. Nowhere is this failing more mischievous than in bibliography, where accuracy is the one thing needful. It is the extreme care and accuracy of their writings, that has given such deserved pre-eminence as bibliographers to Barbier, Renouard, Quérard, and Brunet, and has placed them on so much higher a level than men greatly their superiors in point of literary skill, like Peignot, Nodier, and P. Lacroix. Unfortunately it is among the latter class of bibliographers that we must place M. Weiss. The bibliographical information contained in the '*Biographie Universelle*' abounds in errors, especially of names and dates, many of them no doubt mere misprints, showing (in the first edition) only carelessness on the part of the corrector; but when reproduced in the second edition they are unpardonable, and betray great deficiencies in editorial supervision. The substitution of a 6 for a 5, or an 8 for a 3, may perhaps seem a very trifling and venial offence, but when the result is that an edition of the works of Pomponatius is given as 1625 instead of 1525, it will at once be seen how serious the error really is, and what an amount of inconvenience it may cause the reader.* That two editions of the entertaining journey of Ambrose the Camaldolese, to which he gave the title '*Hodœporicon*,' are cited as printed at

* The error cited caused us to waste many wearisome hours searching for the book, before we came to the conclusion that no edition of 1625 existed, and that the date was a misprint for 1525.

Florence in 1431 and 1432, might be supposed to indicate a mere misprint, were it not for the fact that the book itself was not printed until 1678 or 1680, and that 1431 and 1432 are the dates of the journeys which Ambrose took. Nor is there less editorial carelessness shown in the statement that Nicolas Bourdin, who died in 1676, was a son of Jacques Bourdin, who (six lines before) is accurately stated to have died in 1567.

In the article on the celebrated Rabbi Joseph Albo, one of his works is said to have been edited by *Soncino*. The author, M. Durdent, has mistaken the name of the town so celebrated for its Hebrew press, for that of an editor; and this mistake, although noticed in the Preface to Rose's 'Biographical Dictionary' in 1840, was continued in the second edition of the 'Biographie Universelle,' printed three years later. The same book notes an error in the article 'Alberti (Cherubino),' who, though born in 1552, is called a contemporary of the celebrated artist, Marc Antonio, who died before 1550. Nor is this mistake corrected in the second edition. These are only specimens of the kind of mistake that is unfortunately frequent in the 'Biographie Universelle,' nor are blunders wanting that show something more than mere carelessness. In the sixth volume there is a short article devoted to an imaginary Gilbert Cagnati, whom the writer (M. L. M. A. Dupetit-Thouars) describes as an Italian author born at Nocera, in the kingdom of Naples, who lived about the middle of the sixteenth century, and was the author of the treatise 'De Hortorum Laudibus' (Basle, 1546), afterwards printed and inserted by Joachim Camerarius II. in his collection of treatises 'De Re Rustica.' In fact, however, the treatise 'De Hortorum Laudibus' is one of the works of Gilbert Cousin, called in Latin *Cognatus*. At the end of the book of Camerarius, 'Opuscula de Re Rustica' (Norimbergæ, 1596) is a list of authors and treatises *de re rustica*, among which is 'Gilberti Cognati Nozerani de Hortorum Laudibus,' Basileæ apud Oporinum, 1546. The work itself, however, is not inserted in the Opuscula of Camerarius. M. Dupetit-Thouars clearly knew nothing of the book or its author, but having copied the title from the book of Camerarius, and never having heard either of Gilbert Cognatus or of Nozeray in Burgundy, and knowing there was a town of the name of Nocera in Naples, he made an unsuccessful guess, and then amplified an imaginary fact into a detailed biography.

The English department of the 'Biographie Universelle' cannot, on the whole, be considered as satisfactory. In the treatment of our sovereigns, our leading statesmen and generals, our men of science and our travellers, and a certain limited

class

class of our men of letters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we have indeed in general nothing to complain of.* Addison and Pope, and other writers of the eighteenth century, to whom Voltaire introduced his countrymen, are amongst the best of the English biographies; but when we go further back, and particularly all through our history in that important department of literature, theology, we find an inadequacy of treatment which would be ludicrous, were it not so entirely to be expected as a matter of course. A Frenchman, unless (if we may be pardoned something like a bull) he is from Geneva or Lausanne, is, whether a Catholic or a freethinker, absolutely incapable, not only of appreciating Protestant theology, but of understanding that any intelligent human being exists to whom it can possibly be of importance or interest. Those of our divines, indeed, who were in the 'Historical Dictionary,' and whose lives were translated by Chaussepé, are treated with sufficient fulness, but the rest and our earlier men of letters generally receive but scant justice.

That the book abounds in a certain class of errors as regards English names and titles, is unfortunately a matter of course in a book written and printed on the other side of the Channel; but it is only just to say that we know of no book where these errors are so few, in proportion to the great extent of the work. An immense number which appeared in the first edition are corrected in the second; yet there still remain many, which a little care and attention would have obviated, besides errors of a more serious character, of which two specimens must suffice. In the life of Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, it is stated that he was eighty-eight years of age at his death. 'His English biographers,' says the author (M. Lefebvre-Cauchy), 'state that shame and chagrin, at seeing himself despised by all right-minded people, threw him into an illness in which he died in March, 1687, in his eighty-eighth year.' Now as M. Lefebvre-Cauchy had written a few sentences before, and as is the fact, that Bishop Parker was born in 1640, he must, one would suppose, have written eighty-eight instead of forty-eight by a mere clerical error, but so careless is he that he founds upon his mistake a reason for distrusting Parker's English biographers. He thus continues, 'La passion perçe évidemment dans ce récit : à un pareil âge on peut bien mourir sans les effets du chagrin.'

The 'ever memorable' John Hales is honoured with two notices, one as Ales (Jean), described as originally a Calvinist

* There are, however, some notable exceptions, especially in the earlier volumes. The articles Bacon, Clarendon, Cromwell, Melbourne, and Walpole (Robert), are wholly inadequate.

and afterwards a Catholic, author of a tract on Schism; the other as Hales (John), Anglican Theologian, whose works were collected and published under the title of 'Golden Remains.' Each of the notices is most inadequate. It would be easy to give a long list of the errors in English biographies, though in general not so flagrant as those relating to Bishop Parker and John Hales.

But probably few Englishmen will go to the '*Biographie Universelle*' for the lives of their countrymen. If, however, any one should desire a piece of most amusing reading, we can refer him to the long and elaborate article, ten pages (equal to about twenty-two of the '*Quarterly Review*,' and more than twice the amount of space devoted to Hume or Holbach) on Theodore Hook, written by M. Parisot, an enthusiastic admirer of Hook, of whom he relates many well-known stories paraphrased in a thoroughly French fashion, in order, as we suppose, to suit the received French ideas of English manners and customs. The well-known story of Hook dining at a house at which he was not invited, is related with extraordinary fulness, if not accuracy, of details. It occupies three columns, and its 'vraisemblance' to the original may be judged by the fact that Hook is represented as informing his Amphitryon that he believed the house to be that of 'Le correct et ponctuel Noll Dick Jack Smith!'

We have said that there is one exception to the unity of treatment and sense of proportion generally to be found in the '*Biographie Universelle*.' As far back as 1837, Hallam, in the preface to his '*History of Literature*,' remarked, 'there seems a redundancy of modern French names; those, above all, who have even obscurely and insignificantly been connected with the history of the Revolution—a fault, if it be one, which is evidently gaining ground in the supplementary volumes.' The fault has gained enormous ground in the second edition, and has greatly increased in the later volumes. As a rule, before a Biographical Dictionary arrives at its termination, the editor, the publisher, and perhaps the subscribers, become wearied. The book is hurried to its conclusion; important names are crowded out, and those that are inserted are treated in a superficial and perfunctory manner. This, at least, is not a cha-

* The '*Biographie Générale*' is not less complimentary to Hook, to whom it devotes a long article (eight columns), which, though written in a less absurd manner than that of M. Parisot, contains the following astounding piece of criticism: 'Parmi les romanciers de nos jours, en un mot, nous ne voyons que deux peintres exacts de la vie réelle; Théodore Hook pour la classe élevée et la classe moyenne; Charles Dickens pour les classes populaires!' Dickens is only honoured with half a column, in which we have remarked five mistakes.

acteristic of either edition of the '*Biographie Universelle*.' The lives become more and more lengthy and elaborate, the further we advance in the alphabet. The first volume (of the new edition) has 1643 names, the fifth 1376, the twentieth 776, the fortieth 827, the forty-fourth 1100, and the forty-fifth 947.* But each volume is within a few pages of the same length. Thus, in the later volumes, every name has on the average nearly double the amount of space allowed to an article in the first. But though undoubtedly many men of the highest eminence are more adequately treated in the second half of the work than would have been the case had their names appeared in the earlier volumes, it is, unfortunately, the second, third, and fourth-rate men of the Revolution, the Empire, and the Restoration, that crowd the pages of the '*Biographie Universelle*,' and have, especially in the later volumes, articles altogether disproportioned to their importance and interest. The *soi-disant* Count de Monbreuil did nothing in his whole life of the slightest interest to any human being, except rob the Queen of Westphalia of her jewels, and slap Talleyrand on the face; yet eight columns are devoted to his worthless life—as much as to Lorenzo de' Medici, and nearly twice as much as to Melancthon! The latter, is, indeed, most inadequately treated. Forty-six columns may not be too much for Robespierre, or thirty-three for Talleyrand, but surely sixty-eight is too much for Fouché, twenty-six for Marmont, and twenty for Merlin (de Douai), when we find that Wellington has only sixteen columns, Suvaroff six, and Von Stein two and a half. In fact, in the case of French names of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the editors have confused the functions of biographers and historians—two entirely distinct things. The lives of Louis XVIII., Charles X., and Louis Philippe, are histories of France during their respective reigns. Nor has the '*Biographie Universelle*' escaped the tendency common to all Biographical Dictionaries, to exaggerate the importance of royal and princely personages, and to devote to them long historical articles, with hardly a single biographical detail.

But with all its shortcomings, no literary student can have any other feeling towards the '*Biographie Universelle*' than that of deep admiration and gratitude. It is impossible to pursue any investigation bearing upon literary history or biography, especially of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, without having the book constantly at one's elbow; and although it is to be regretted that the authorities for so few of the lives

* In the case of members of the same family several names are frequently eluded in what at first sight looks like a single article.

are specifically stated, yet the articles themselves generally point to the sources for verifying their statements, correcting their errors, and amplifying their details.

Turning now to the '*Biographie Générale*,' the first point which must strike every reader is the utter want of proportion in the book, and, in most of the volumes, the want of any guiding principle for the insertion or exclusion of a name, or for the length or importance of the respective articles. We have noticed as a fault in the '*Biographie Universelle*' the greatly increased length of the articles in the later volumes devoted to inferior men; in the '*Biographie Générale*' the fault is precisely the opposite. Of its forty-six volumes, upwards of thirty-six are devoted to the letters A—M, leaving less than ten for N—Z; and long before the middle of the book is reached, the professions with which it was commenced, as to the insertion of names, are wholly thrown aside, and the evident desire of the editor and proprietors is seen to be to bring the work to a conclusion as speedily as possible, and to omit as many names as can with any decency be omitted. The original intention was to insert, first, all the names in the '*Biographie Universelle*,' secondly, a large number to be found neither in that work nor in any other Biographical Dictionary; thirdly, all living persons worthy of note. The first three volumes are devoted to the letter A, and contain more than nineteen hundred and fifty names of deceased persons, chiefly (though with some not unimportant exceptions) obscure Spaniards, Portuguese, and Orientals, omitted from the '*Biographie Universelle*,' besides notices of more than one hundred persons then living. But the additions become fine by degrees and beautifully less, until at length, before the end of the work, they wholly disappear, while the later volumes do not include nearly all the names in the '*Biographie Universelle*.' Of nine hundred and eighty names in the thirty-ninth volume of the '*Biographie Universelle*,' five hundred and thirty-four are omitted, and of eleven hundred in the forty-fourth volume of the '*Biographie Universelle*,' more than seven hundred and sixty are omitted from the '*Biographie Générale*!' In fact, in the last few volumes it is useless to look for any less important name, and on nearly every page there is evidence of the strongest desire to bring the book to a close.

We have already remarked how many articles are merely abridgments or reproductions of those in the '*Biographie Universelle*,' and the mistakes of the original are in many cases left uncorrected. The ridiculous blunder in the life of Joseph Albo, as to Soncino, is duly reproduced in the '*Biographie Générale*,'
while

while the error as to the date of the first edition of the 'Hodæporicon' is hardly corrected by being altered from 1431 to 1451. The duplication of John Hales has not been followed by Dr. Hoefer, yet both in the name and in the details respecting Jean Alès we have some difficulty in recognizing the 'ever memorable;' while in the article immediately preceding, on the Scotchman Alexander Alès, we have the extraordinary statement that he must not be confounded with *his elder brother who bore the same prænomen of Alexander*, and who published the 'Expositio in xii. libros Aristotelis Metaphysicæ!' But Dr. Hoefer did not always confine himself to copying the errors of the 'Biographie Universelle.' M. Briquet has pointed out in the 'Bulletin du Bibliophile'* several errors in the articles 'Amalthée' and 'Aléandre' in the 'Biographie Universelle,' all of which have been faithfully reproduced in the 'Biographie Générale,' every other error which was possible being added concerning the relationship of the several members of the Amalteo family, besides making of Marc Antonio Amalteo two distinct persons, and devoting to him two articles. So that, as M. Briquet remarks,—

'Dans cette farce biographique le plus ancien des Amalthée est classé le dernier; les fils deviennent les frères de leur père et de leurs oncles; le père devient le frère cadet de son fils; le frère devient le fils aîné de son frère cadet. C'est le désordre élevé à sa plus haute puissance.'

The general editing of the book is in fact disgraceful. Of the editor, Dr. Hoefer, we know nothing, except from the laudatory article on himself which he caused to be inserted in the twenty-fourth volume, where twice as much space (nine columns) is devoted to his life as is given to Thomas Hobbes, more than is given to Madame Roland, and, to go to his contemporaries, four times as much as is devoted to Michelet, and eight times as much as is thought sufficient for the Vice-Emperor, M. Rouher. Yet M. de Bellecombe, the author of the article, informs us in a note that 'par un sentiment de modestie et de convenance, à notre avis exagéré, le directeur de la "Biographie Générale" ait cru devoir supprimer une grande partie de notre article!' But though, according to this article, he was a man of universal genius, who 'took all knowledge for his province,' he certainly does not shine as the editor of a Biographical Dictionary. Innumerable are the names, even of persons of eminence, mentioned in the book as to which we are referred to non-existing articles in other volumes.

* 12^me série, p. 360.

Under the name 'Liset' is the reference 'voy. Lizet,' but no article 'Lizet' is to be found, nor does a life of this celebrated first President appear in the book. In the article 'Du Pont, sieur de Drusac,' we are referred to the article 'La Borie' for a notice of 'Arnaut de La Borie,' but no such article is to be found, the notice of La Borie being given under 'Arnaut.' For Duplessis-Bellièvre we are sent to 'Rougé,' but neither under that nor any other name does the life of Jacques de Rougé, Marquis Duplessis-Bellièvre, appear, nor any other member of that distinguished family; the only Rougé mentioned in the book, being a contemporary professor of philology in the Collège de France. In the article 'Saint-Florentin' we are referred to the article 'Vrillière' for Saint-Florentin's father Louis, but under 'Vrillière' we simply find 'voy. Saint-Florentin et la Vrillière,' but no article 'La Vrillière' is to be found. Under 'Bamboche' is the reference 'voy. Laar,' but on referring to 'Laar dit Bamboche' we find only 'voy. Laer,' and no article 'Laer' is to be found, nor does any notice of this celebrated Dutch painter appear in the book. Polydore Virgil is omitted, though under 'Virgile' we read 'voy. Polydore.' These are merely specimens out of a much larger number, which we have ourselves accidentally lighted upon, and we doubt whether there is a single volume which does not contain many references to non-existing articles.

One of the principal points, upon which the proprietors of the 'Biographie Générale' took credit to themselves for its superiority over the 'Biographie Universelle,' was, that to every life a list of the authorities would be appended; certainly a most useful feature, the absence of which deprives many of the articles of the 'Biographie Universelle' of much of their value. We have ourselves repeatedly found the greatest advantage from these lists of authorities in MM. Didot's book, in many instances when sources of information have been indicated which we might otherwise have been unable to discover without much labour and research. But unfortunately truth obliges us to add, that in many cases authorities are cited which contain no reference whatever to the persons in question. In a large number of lives, particularly those simply borrowed from the 'Biographie Universelle,' the plan seems to have been to refer to Cöttinger's 'Bibliographie Biographique,' and to copy his list of authorities, adding the names of any other books the subjects of which made it seem probable that they might contain references to the person in question. We have already mentioned the invention of Gilbert Cagnati, by M. Dupetit-Thouars, in the 'Biographie Universelle.' Dr. Hoefer has simply pitchforked M. Dupetit-Thouars

Thouars' article textually into the '*Biographie Générale*,' adding however (as was his wont, in order to suggest independent research) imaginary authorities to the imaginary biography. The authorities cited in the '*Biographie Générale*' for the notice of Gilbert Cagnati are, *not* the '*Biographie Universelle*,' but '*Biographie Médicale*,' and '*Eloy, Dict. de Médecine*,' neither of which, it is needless to say, contains any mention of Gilbert Cagnati, or indeed of Gilbert Cousin or Cognatus. For the life of Nicolas Berauld as a native of Orleans, '*Les Hommes Illustres de l'Orléanais*' is cited,' but no biography or notice of him is there to be found, though his name once occurs. For the great architectural Bishop of Limoges, Jean de Langeac, '*La Croix du Maine*' is given as an authority, but the '*Bibliothèque Française*' will be searched in vain for any mention of him. For the life of Gui Breslay, '*Taisand, Vies des plus célèbres jurisconsultes*,' is cited, but there is neither a life nor any mention of him in that useful but inaccurate work. It is assumed that the life of every physician is in Eloy, or the '*Biographie Médicale*,' and of every jurist in Taisand.

The lives of Englishmen are not in general an improvement on those in the '*Biographie Universelle*.' Though upwards of a column is given to Bishop Bonner, there is not the slightest reference to the persecutions with which his name is connected, or, indeed, to any event whatever of his life during the reign of Queen Mary. But this does not appear to have arisen from any desire to screen Bonner from censure, but simply from the carelessness with which most of the lives of the less important persons are written.

But we now turn with pleasure from the shortcomings to the merits, and they are many, of the '*Biographie Générale*.' And first let us say that the book seems to us to be perfectly fair, and generally free from any party spirit or party bias. Again, though most of the articles are inferior to those of the '*Biographie Universelle*,' the exceptions are numerous and important. Many of the longer articles, written and signed by men of literary eminence, are in every way admirable. The articles on the Aldes, the Estiennes, Dolet, Josse Bade, and other printers, by M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot, and one or two by Gustave Brunet, are far superior to those on the same persons contained in the '*Biographie Universelle*.' To the general crowding of the last few volumes, the article on Voltaire, by M. Eugène Asse, is a noteworthy exception. It extends over eighty-five columns, and is the best life of Voltaire of that length which we have met with. A certain number of other literary biographies, not perhaps equal in merit to these, but of a very high character, and

and also occasionally elaborate literary analyses, will be found throughout the work; though it is not easy to say on what principle they have been selected nor where they will be found.* Nothing but praise can be given to those (principally of men of science) written by Dr. Hoefer himself. Again, several of the series of lives of members of the same family, particularly of royal or quasi-royal houses, are of a high degree of merit. The articles on the princes of Condé and of Conti, the families of Sforza and Visconti, are instances which may be cited.

But it would be improper, in a review of the '*Biographie Générale*,' to pass over without notice the most remarkable series of articles in the book—those upon Napoleon, his dynasty, and the members of his family. They occupy five hundred and thirty-eight columns† of the thirty-seventh volume, which appeared in 1863, at the time when the second empire was at the height of its glory. Apart from the internal evidence derived from the articles themselves, it is clear from the printing and the pagination that the entire series, as originally printed, has been suppressed, and that the present articles are double the original length. They are all written from the imperialist point of view, and the source of their inspiration is not far to seek. The glories, the talents, and the virtues of the imperial family, are set forth in the most glowing terms, and without even that amount of shade which a judicious portrait painter will always know when to insert. All the men are brave, and all the women (with one exception) are virtuous. The life of Prince Napoléon Jérôme is especially entertaining. Two columns are devoted to his military abilities, and the bravery which he showed in the Crimean War and the Italian campaign; and the like space is given to his oratorical distinctions. Nor is there a single word, in the nine columns occupied by his life, which affords the slightest hint of any of those traits in his character which, ten years after the downfall of the Empire, have occasioned his being left without a single friend or admirer among the party of which he is the nominal head. The single exception to the universal pan of praise is found in the life of the Empress Marie Louise; but though her heartless conduct to her husband and son are duly censured, and her disgraceful *liaison* and subsequent marriage with her chamberlain, Count Neipperg, are duly chronicled, for some reason her third marriage is not even hinted at, and the reader is left in ignorance

* To the lives of Augustine and Jerome are appended long and elaborate analyses of their works (that of Augustine being extracted from Du Pin, and occupying twenty-one columns).

† Equal to 580 pages of the '*Quarterly Review*.'

at the wife of the greatest captain and sovereign of *Madame de Bombelles!* But the articles contain a fund of information respecting the Bonaparte family. Inception of this series of articles, for which clearly must not be considered as responsible, it cannot be that any particular class of men are treated at too great a disadvantage and receive undue notice. The long articles are all of a high order, and may fairly be said to be of exceptional merit, or to receive an exceptionally lengthy treatment. If we are to have a disproportionate length, we at least prefer them to the *Encyclopædie* or Voltaire, rather than of Joseph Fouché or

a larger number of the less important literary men there are more than their names, the dates of their birth and the titles of their principal works, without any information respecting the contents or subjects of their works, which adds so much value to the articles in the *Encyclopædie Universelle.* Nor are these lists so full, or complete, or so much accurate, as those in the *Biographie*

In one point, however, and that of no small importance, the bibliographical information of the *Biographie* is superior to that of its rival. The titles of books are given in Latin, or in any modern European language, are given in the original language. In the *Biographie* there is no fixed rule on this subject. In general, the titles of books written in English, Italian, or German, are given in French, while those written in Latin are given in Latin; but as this rule is not universally followed, it is impossible to guess whether the title of the book is given by the *Biographie Universelle,* or in what language the book was in fact written. Another excellent feature of the *Biographie Générale,* which may appear to be a disadvantage, which is really important, and of great convenience to the reader, is that each article begins with the date, and states the place, of the birth and death of the person.

This ought never to be omitted in a biographical dictionary. In many of the longer articles of the *Biographie* we have to spend some time before we can discover the date of the death of the subject of the article.

We have thus noticed at some length the merits and the differences between the two great biographical dictionaries. Giving the preference in general to the *Biographie* we have seen that there are points, and those of no small importance, in which the *Biographie Générale* is superior. In the letters A-M we are more likely to find any obscure names.—*No. 313.*

name in the '*Biographie Générale*,' under N-Z in the '*Biographie Universelle*.' In fact, the two books are complements of each other; each is necessary for the student. But, alas! how many hundreds of names there are, which ought to be included in a biographical dictionary, which are to be found in neither! In the case of a large number of lives, the greater conciseness of the '*Biographie Générale*' is an improvement. But, perhaps, this is hardly ever so in the case of literary men, where we generally seek in a biographical dictionary more details than we want in the case of great historical or political characters.

We end as we began, by saying that there is little prospect of an English universal dictionary of biography on anything like the scale of either of the two French dictionaries, still less of one upon a scale which we should now consider satisfactory, nor do we think that such a work is, on the whole, to be desired. Special biographical collections, such as those edited by Dr. W. Smith, to which we have before referred, are better for the scholar and student, while for the ordinary reader compilations like that of Rose are perhaps sufficient. We look forward with the greatest possible interest, and with some anxiety, to the new '*Dictionary of National Biography*,' about to be edited by Mr. Leslie Stephen, which we hope may prove a worthy companion of the two dictionaries of National Biography now in course of publication, the '*Biographie Nationale de Belgique*' and the '*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*.'

The first question which the editor will have to decide, and certainly one of the greatest importance, is what names are to be included; and we cannot but express regret that, to judge from the tentative list of names proposed to be inserted under the letter 'A,' it is not intended to include nearly so many names as were contemplated in the '*Biographia Britannica*' formerly announced by Mr. Murray under Dr. W. Smith's editorship.

'I exclude names,' Mr. Stephen has written in the '*Athenæum*,' 'which are only names, because otherwise I should have to publish (amongst other things) all the parish registers. A biographical dictionary should surely consist of biographies, however brief; and this circumstance seems to me to define the point at which the province of such a dictionary divides from mere catalogues of books and lists of names. . . . I hope to have as many thousands of obscure names as possible, so long as they are not merely names. If nothing is known of John Smith except the bare fact that he published a pamphlet, he belongs, in my opinion, to the bibliographer, and not to the biographer. As soon as anything more is known of him he has some claim to a place in a biographical dictionary.'

Now while we are glad to have the promise of as many and obscure names as possible—for these, in our judgment, the most valuable part of a biographical dictionary—we think Mr. Stephen cannot have fully considered the effect of the here laid down. It would exclude the John Smiths of the sixteenth century, about whom the student wants to know something, and would include the John Smiths of the nineteenth century, about whom no one wants to know anything. Numerous are the John Smiths of the nineteenth century, but whom there is much more known than the fact that they published pamphlets, yet whom, to judge from his tentative list, Mr. Stephen does not intend (and, in our judgment, rightly) to include in the new Dictionary. Of nearly every one of the many thousand deceased persons of this century, and of most of those of the last, who have written nothing but insignificant pamphlets, much may be known by any one who takes the trouble to enquire; yet in the tentative list many writers, not of insignificant pamphlets but of substantial books, are omitted, of whom copious biographical details exist. Indeed, when we examine this list, we are altogether at a loss to discover any principle upon which some names, which are little more than names, have been inserted, and many others which are much more than names omitted. In the printed specimen of the Dictionary is a notice of John Angus, a Dissenting minister (whose name did not appear in the tentative list), whose sole claim to distinction appears to be the publication of several general sermons. If any persons who in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries have printed funeral sermons or pamphlets are to be considered merely as names, we should have thought that this worthy minister was one, and we are altogether at a loss to conceive on what principle he is inserted, unless several hundred others, of whom just as much is known, and who have published sermons just as interesting and important, are also added. We are far from complaining of the insertion of a memoir of Mr. Alchin, the late librarian of the Guildhall, and the compiler of several indices and calendars of wills, but we fail to see on what principle he is included, and innumerable other writers of more or less useful and successful books, which have appeared during the past century, are omitted.

Whether every writer of a meritorious book ought to be noticed is a question which we have not space to discuss, but we are satisfied that the point requires more consideration than Mr. Stephen has given to it, and that the rule as laid down by him in the 'Athenæum' must be withdrawn, or materially modified. Up to a certain (or uncertain) period, every one who

has written the most insignificant pamphlet deserves some notice, if the Dictionary is to be of real use to the literary or historical student. If nothing more can be discovered of a John Smith who lived in the reign of Henry VII. than the fact that he wrote a pamphlet, his name and the title of his pamphlet, and the fact that nothing more can be discovered, ought to be recorded. But there may be many writers of substantial volumes in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, who do not deserve this—or rather who, as Mr. Stephen suggests, must be relegated to books like Lowndes, Watt, or Allibone. To include them, however briefly, would be to extend the book beyond practicable limits. The date before which every writer is entitled to a notice is not easy to fix; we should ourselves place it towards the end of the seventeenth century. The Revolution synchronizes with the commencement of an enormous increase in the publication of pamphlets and other ephemeral literature. From this time, and for a century onwards, Mr. Stephen's rule not to insert names that are only names, may be fairly applied. But from somewhere about the latter part of the eighteenth century, a different rule from that of nothing more being known about an author than the fact of publishing a book must be adopted, unless the length of the Dictionary is to be enormously extended. For this period no rule can be laid down. The editor himself must wade through the titles of innumerable worthless books and tracts, and weigh the claims of their authors to a niche in his Dictionary.

The question as to the length of the respective articles, and the maintenance of a due proportion, is one of no less difficulty. No fixed rule can be laid down, but the inconsistencies of the great French collections in this respect will at least afford suggestions of what is to be avoided. At the same time it must be borne in mind, that the length of the article ought not in every case to be proportionate to the importance or interest of the person treated of. It is not the most important persons to whom the longest and most elaborate articles should be devoted. For an account of our great writers and chief historical characters we naturally go to special biographies or literary and civil histories. Few readers turn to an article on Shakspeare or Milton in a biographical dictionary for any other purpose than that of being reminded of names and dates. Marvell and Prynne demand fuller and more elaborate treatment; while the articles on Dr. Dee and Hugh Speke should be still more nearly exhaustive.

A word of caution may be added as to modern and contemporary lives, which there is always a tendency in biographical dictionaries

onaries to treat at too great length, so difficult is it to have regard to historical perspective in painting those who are to us—especially those to whom accidental circumstances given a temporary and wholly factitious notoriety. Above all things, the editor must impress upon his contributors, in reference to the lives of royal, political, or military persons, that they are to write biography, and not history. What is wanted is commonplace biographical details illustrating personal character, concisely stated, duly marshalled in order, and accompanied by dates and authorities. The presentment of the reign, and not military or political disquisition, is what we want in the case of a general or statesman. We do not go to a biographical dictionary for a narrative of the campaigns of Marlborough or Wellington, or for the political history of the reign of George III., but to have the *men* and their lives and characters brought before us. So much history as is necessary for a connected view of their lives, in the briefest possible form, must indeed be stated. The reign of George III. is one of the most important in our annals, but the King's biography is comparatively uninteresting and unimportant, and requires no extended treatment. Political affairs must indeed be touched so far as they were affected by, or had an influence upon, his personal character, and so far as is necessary for a connected narrative of his life, but the political history of his reign would intrude out of place.

As to the lives of literary men, while the account of their writings and the bibliographical information must be full and accurate, anything like elaborate and detailed criticism must be avoided, nor should any place be found for critical theories or general views such as are now so much in fashion.

Turning to the specimen of the Dictionary which has been selected, we have nothing but praise to give to the life of Addison by the editor, which occupies nine out of the fourteen pages. It is a model of what an article on a writer like Addison ought to be; it is full of details, yet clear and concise. The criticisms, though brief, are sufficient and satisfactory, and nearly every statement is appended its authority, and a reference to the page whence it is taken. If Mr. Stephen will require his contributors to follow this model strictly, we shall have no fear for the result so far as the lives of the more important characters are concerned. But when we come to bibliography, and the statement of the authorities at the end of the article, we are unable to give the same measure of praise. Six collected editions of the works of Addison are enumerated, without a word to suggest which is the best, the most

most critical, or the most nearly complete. One of the principal editions is omitted, and, strangest of all, Bohn's is simply described as a reprint of Bishop Hurd's edition, without any reference to the fact that it contains a great number of elucidatory notes, many letters never before printed, and upwards of one-fifth more matter than is in Hurd's edition. In fact, whatever shortcomings there may be in the editing, it is the most nearly complete, the most useful, and the most accurate, of any English edition of the works of Addison.* Moreover, in the list of authorities, the letters in Bohn's edition, and the life of Addison in the General Dictionary, Historical and Critical, ought to have found a place. 'It is of primary importance,' as Mr. Stephen has himself remarked in the '*Athenæum*,' 'to give in all cases, and upon a uniform plan, a clear reference to the primary authorities, and in the case of literary biographies it is important to give a bibliographical notice.' But a bibliographical notice is worse than useless, unless it is the result of the writer's personal examination of the books referred to, or states where the information it purports to give is derived. Judging, however, from internal evidence, we should say that the writers of several of the articles in the specimen have not personally examined nearly all the books to which they refer, while in more than one article important primary authorities are omitted, and modern compilations alone cited.

If we have noticed what seems to us faulty, either in Mr. Stephen's design or, so far as the specimen goes, in its execution, it is with the view, before it is too late, of indicating some points which may deserve reconsideration by the editor, and of making suggestions which we believe, if adopted, would tend to enhance the value and promote the success of the book. We cannot doubt either the ability or the special qualifications of Mr. Stephen; and while we are sure that in each department of English literature and English history he will receive the assistance of those who are most competent to afford it, it will principally depend upon the editor himself whether a national biography is produced, to which Englishmen may point with pride as a monument no less worthy of the men whom it commemorates than of those by whom it was written; or whether a mere commonplace book is produced, a little better than Chalmers and Rose, and a little, or even more than a little, worse than the '*Biographie Universelle*.'

* We say English edition, because Mr. Stephen cites an edition edited by G. W. Green, of New York, which we have not seen.

ART. IX.—1. *Scientific Socialism*. Letters to the 'St. James's Gazette.' By H. M. Hyndman. January and February, 1883.

2. *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom*. 1883.

3. *Supplement to the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Registrar-General*. 1875.

4. *Census of England and Wales*. Vol. iii. 1883.

IN our last number we set before our readers, in all its main points, that general theory as to the production of wealth, on which all forms of Socialism, which pretend to appeal to the reason, avowedly and ostentatiously rest. We approached the subject in a candid spirit; we did it full justice in stating it; we admitted it to be in some points so ingenious and plausible, that its inventors might well be the dupes of their own ingenuity, and numbers of honest men might well be the dupes of its inventors. We did more than this. We urged on our readers to reflect how highly dangerous these characteristics made it; and we earnestly entreated all true Conservatives not to allow themselves to despise it, until they were in a position to see and to show to the people exactly why it is despicable.

We did not offer this advice as a precept merely. We promised ourselves to put that precept in practice. Fully aware, for our own part, how mad and how monstrous the theory is to which we were then calling attention, and how easy to sneer, and to cause others to sneer at it, provided only those others have an interest in deriding its tendencies, we handled it with as much deference as though it really were what it claimed to be—a complete and coherent body of scientific doctrines; and not till we had set its arguments one by one in order, till we had localized exactly the points where the reasoning broke short or halted, till we could say with distinctness on every such occasion, here the logician ends, and here the dolt begins, did we invite the reader to unite his judgment with ours, and pronounce what presents itself to us as the new Economic Gospel, to be at once the most specious, and yet the crudest tissue of fallacies, that has ever threatened society, or disgraced any modern thinker.

In doing thus much, however, we have only half completed the task which, in our last article, we marked out for ourselves. We there treated Socialism as though its doctrines were purely speculative: but, as we reminded the reader at the time, this is far from being the case. Not only has the Socialist a distinctive

distinctive theory of political economy, but he has a distinctive view of social history also, and more especially of recent and contemporary history. Not only does he say that, as property is at present distributed, most property is theoretically robbery, but he declares that, as a fact, under the present system, society every year is becoming practically more intolerable. The rich he says, are getting constantly richer, and the poor poorer, and hence we are fast hastening on to the inevitable social catastrophe. He expresses this statement; he reiterates it; he rings the changes on it; he illustrates it with long strings of figures; he emphasizes his figures with long strings of exclamations. Indeed, in addressing the populace, and in exciting the passions which he trades upon, he trusts more, at least in this country, to this method of representing concrete facts, than to his exposition of abstract theories. We purpose in the present article to approach him, in his capacity of historian and politician, in the same spirit in which we approached him in his capacity of political economist; and we engage to demonstrate, by the most ample and unimpeachable evidence, that his history and his statistics are even more false than his economy; that whereas his economy failed because, taken as a whole, it had no relations at all to reality, his history and statistics fail because, taken as a whole, they are in direct contradiction to it.

It is our present intention, however, to do something more than this; and what we have to say of the professing Socialists will form the text rather than the body of our argument. The main point we shall seek to impress upon our readers is, that the ignorance, the perversion of facts, which we shall bring home to the Socialists, is by no means confined to them; but that in a less grotesque, and for that very reason in a more dangerous form, it is infecting at this moment almost every popular movement that is started or countenanced by the so-called Party of Progress; and is so far from being confined to the manifestos of Socialistic Federations, that it is reproduced in all its essential features by that bourgeois member of the present Ministry, whom the Socialistic Federations most detest and despise.

After thus much of preface, let us proceed to our work. We take up the thread of our criticism where we dropped it in our last article; and we again make use of Mr. Hyndman as the representative and spokesman of the Socialism which is now trying to make itself a power in England. Indeed he is, we believe, as a matter of fact, the source from which his followers and associates take most of their detailed statements and figures. Let us see then how Mr. Hyndman fares when, after we have
listened

ned to his menacing generalizations as to the course of modern ety, in which the rich get constantly richer, and the poor rer and more miserable, we examine in detail those various ements and authorities, which he has publicly cited as the t signal proofs of his position. We said in our last article hese pretended proofs, that many of them proved nothing use they are absolutely false to fact; that such of them ere true proved, not what Mr. Hyndman stated, but what

Hyndman denied; and that, did he possess the candour of ordinary man, or the arithmetic of an ordinary schoolboy, materials on which he avowedly bases his calculations ld have been in themselves enough to show him this. The ler shall judge if we have spoken with too great severity.

s to his own view of the matter, Mr. Hyndman shall explain r himself, and we are able to point to a place where he does ith the utmost plainness. During the course of last January ddressed to the 'St. James's Gazette' a series of letters, er the heading of 'Scientific Socialism.'* In them the alistic doctrine, that the gulf between classes is widening, that rich are getting richer and the poor poorer, is stated with t purports to be scientific precision, and Mr. Hyndman mits himself to certain figures in illustration of it, and gives hese figures certain well-known authorities. There is no n, therefore, here for any vague or doubtful generalities; ed the whole question, so far as Mr. Hyndman is concerned, be settled as peremptorily, and very nearly as quickly, as hoolmaster judges the correctness of a child's addition sum. to these letters, therefore, that we propose first to refer.

Mr. Hyndman states his position broadly thus. Speaking of ety as at present organized, we have 'as a result,' he says, the one side a class working far too hard for health, and g in miserable social conditions; on the other side, a class h works not at all with its hands, and enjoys luxury in ss of what is reasonable; and,' he adds—this is a most ortant part of the statement—'the gradations between the are being gradually crushed out.' The working classes, he on to say, subsist, with very few exceptions, on 'starvation es:' and out of every 5s. which their work is worth, from 4d. to 3s. 9d. is pocketed by their employers, and from d. to 1s. 8d. is left for themselves.

correspondent of the same paper, signing himself 'M.,' took sion to question all these statements, to cite in opposition em Professor Leone Levi, and to ask Mr. Hyndman on

The first of these letters appeared in the 'St. James's Gazette' of Jan. 18, at on Feb. 5, 1883.

what authority he made them. He observed in particular that, so far is it from being true, that all gradations between the rich and poor are being gradually crushed out, the rise of the middle class is the main social feature of this century. Here then, urged 'M.,' we have a distinct question before us. Does Mr. Hyndman assert that the class of men with incomes of from two hundred to five hundred a year is now in process of being gradually crushed out? Does the number of such men either absolutely or relatively decrease in this country, from one census to another? The moment the question was put in this definite shape, Mr. Hyndman did not venture to utter another word with regard to it; but, wholly ignoring the main point at issue, which was the direction in which the distribution of wealth was changing, he covered his retreat by citing a large number of figures as to the proportions in which it is distributed now. Now it is hardly necessary to point out that statistics of this kind throw as little light on the movement or on the tendency of society, as the mere statement, that at a given instant three sticks are floating under London Bridge, throws on the question of which way the tide is flowing. Mr. Hyndman's figures, however, throw considerable light upon one thing; not, indeed, upon his main theory and conclusion, but on the private history of his own arithmetic, and the various other processes, mental or moral, by which that conclusion has been arrived at.

To begin with a point to which we shall recur presently, Mr. Hyndman supports his assertion as to the wretchedness of the working-classes by informing us that 'the average age of the well-to-do has now reached fifty-five; the average age of the workers is twenty-nine;' and amongst the workers, as the most ill-paid and wretched of all, he especially makes mention of the agricultural labourers. Now we shall not urge, as we well might, that an arbitrary division of society into the workers and the well-to-do is too vague to convey any definite meaning, is so vague as to cover almost any conclusion, and suggests the language of a gossiping girl rather than that of a serious and scientific man; but, attaching to the figures such meaning as they will bear, we will confront them with a few others, which are really definite and intelligible. We will take the average ages, as they are to be gathered from the latest Census-returns, of eight different and distinctive classes of men—colliers, bricklayers, navvies and plate-layers, rag-gatherers, agricultural labourers, farmers, bankers, and peers. The first five of these are certainly classes of 'workers,' the two last are certainly classes of the well-to-do; whilst the farmers, as a body must be given an intermediate place. Now what are the average

average ages of the different classes of workers? Those of the two first, and of the two first alone, reach to a figure as low as that given by Mr. Hyndman. The average age of the navvies and plate-layers is thirty; that of the rag-gatherers is thirty-two; and that of the agricultural labourers thirty-four. Let us next turn to the average age of the well-to-do, which Mr. Hyndman assures us is fifty-five. Now it is of course possible that, animated by the same spirit that would call nobody happy till he was dead, Mr. Hyndman may call nobody well-to-do till he is past middle-age. In that case, of course, we cannot quarrel with his average; nor, indeed, could we do so, had he chosen to raise it to ninety. Since, however, it is only fair to suppose that he uses the word in something of its ordinary sense, we are justified in saying that of the well-to-do classes there could be no better examples than peers and bankers. Both, as classes, are exceptionally rich; and their average ages, if Mr. Hyndman were correct, should exceed fifty-five, rather than fall short of it. But what is the truth of the matter, as we gather it from the Census-returns? The average age of the peers is only forty-two;* the average age of the bankers is only thirty-six. And now let us pass to the intermediate class, the farmers. They, though compared with the bankers they are poor and live hardly, yet on the average live four years longer. Their average age is forty. We appeal to the reader if we have not here an excellent specimen of that inaccuracy, either dishonest or imbecile, which we have thought it our duty to lay to Mr. Hyndman's charge? His error as to the age of the working-classes, his virtual inversion of the position of the agricultural labourer—this in itself may be a comparatively small matter. But it is not a small matter that, in comparing the workers and the well-to-do, he distorts the situation by an error of eight hundred per cent.; † and that whereas, according to

* It is to be observed that this average is really too high; the average ages of the peers, as it is to be gathered from the Census-returns, being raised artificially from the fact that a larger number of peers only succeed to their titles late in life, and very few of them become peers till manhood.

† According to Mr. Hyndman, a banker would on the average live 55 years; the agricultural labourer, 29. That is, the former would live sixteen years longer than the latter. As a matter of fact, he does on the average live two years longer. It is impossible, however, even could Mr. Hyndman defend his own statements, that any instruction could be got out of a classification that sets the workers on one side, and the well-to-do on the other, as mutually exclusive classes. Dr. Farr, in a letter to the Registrar-General, which is prefixed to the 'Supplement to the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Registrar-General,' states that 'The mean lifetime in the healthiest districts of England, and in the healthiest ranks, is 49 years; and there is no evidence that under the most favourable conditions it exceeds 50 years' (p. iv). He adds: 'The mean age at death of people in different businesses often furnishes very erroneous indications, as it is affected as much by the ages

to him, the life of an agricultural labourer is blighted and cut down to about half the length of a banker's, it in reality falls short of the banker's by only two years.

Let us next see how Mr. Hyndman deals with the English land question; and here we turn for a moment from the letters on which we are now commenting, to his treatise 'England for All,' which was our text in our former article. It will be enough at this moment to quote a single sentence. 'The whole of the agricultural land in the kingdom,' says Mr. Hyndman, 'is practically owned by less than thirty thousand persons; and not all the systematic fudging resorted to in the Landlords' Returns, known as the New Domesday Book, has been able to shake that fact out of the minds of the people of England.*' With regard to this, we have only to observe, at present, that Mr. Hyndman must have either written about the New Domesday Book without having ever seen it, or else he must have wilfully suppressed the following facts, which the New Domesday Book forces on the eyes of its readers. So far are thirty thousand people from owning all the agricultural land in England, that, in addition to the thirty thousand whose estates are most extensive, there are more than seventy-two thousand with estates of about twenty acres, more than twelve thousand with estates of about two hundred acres, and more than twenty-five thousand with estates of about seventy acres; and the rental of these men, whom Mr. Hyndman declares to be non-existent, is as great as the rental of the entire English squirearchy.† As we shall deal with the land question at greater length presently, we will pass on to some other of Mr. Hyndman's statistics; and these, we think the reader will agree with us, are more remarkable still.

In order to show (we are returning to Mr. Hyndman's letters) how iniquitous is the present division of the good things of life, he triumphantly cites the following figures from Mr. Mulhall, which are really figures dealing with the distribution of invested capital. 'According,' he says, 'to Mr. Mulhall's estimates, 2,046,900 families of the upper and middle classes possess together property to the value of 7,562,000,000*l.*; 4,629,000

ages at which people enter and leave, as by the salubrity or insalubrity of any particular profession' (ibid. p. liii). It may interest the reader to note the mortality per cent. between the ages of 25 and 35 of the following four classes—agricultural labourers, solicitors, gamekeepers, and doctors. That of the doctors is 1·287; of the solicitors, ·890; of the agricultural labourers, ·892; and of the gamekeepers, ·510 ('Supplement to Thirty-fifth Annual Report, &c., Tables 63 and 64.')

* 'England for All,' p. 22.

† The exact statistics will be found later on.

assess only 398,000,000*l.* The first class have thus 3700*l.* per nily, in round figures; the second less than 90*l.* But 222,500 nilies actually own 5,728,000,000*l.*, or nearly 26,000*l.* per nily. "Mein Gott!" as old Blücher said, "vat a city for sack!" and what an array of physical force over against it! The venture to affirm that, considering the foregoing quotation with reference to the impression Mr. Hyndman desires to convey by it, it would be hard to parallel in the writings of any controversialist the unscrupulousness or the ignorance implied in Mr. Hyndman's use of it. Mr. Hyndman says, that the other classes 'have' nearly four thousand pounds per family, the poorer 'have' less than ninety; but what does he mean by 'have'? He does not mean that they have these sums buried, hidden away in a stocking. He means the sums to be taken being, in some obvious way, an index of the income on which their owners live. But, as thus stated by him, this is no index whatever. According to those very tables of Mr. Mulhall's from which Mr. Hyndman quotes, those who 'have' ninety pounds, enjoy annually a hundred pounds;* and those who 'have' twenty-six thousand pounds, enjoy annually only fifteen hundred; whilst as to the middle-class, who 'have' about thousand pounds, what they enjoy annually is two hundred and sixty. Thus the income of the rich is one-seventeenth of what they 'have'; the income of the middle-class something over a quarter of what they 'have'; and the income of the working-classes is ten per cent. more than what they 'have'; and whereas for every pound that Mr. Hyndman attributes to the poor man, the poor man gets annually one pound two shillings, for every pound that Mr. Hyndman attributes to the rich man, the rich man gets annually something short of one and sixpence. Hence, if we express the proportion of wealth that goes to the poor man as 1, that which goes to the middle-class man will be $2\frac{2}{3}$, and that which goes to the rich man 15. Now these results must have been before Mr. Hyndman's eyes. Nothing could have hidden them from him but an ignorance and a carelessness, which would not only unfit him to be a leader of thought in England, but would unfit him for even a place in the fourth form in a school; and yet in dealing with this simple set of proportions, 1, $2\frac{2}{3}$, and 15, he contrives to distort $2\frac{2}{3}$ into 11, and 15 into 300.

But the exact nature of the moral or the mental deficiency revealed in this method of dealing with statistics, will perhaps

* According to Mr. Mulhall's estimates, the average income of a working-class family in England is 100*l.* a year. The average amount of capital owned by each a family, 86*l.*

be better realized by considering the following fable. A choleric Indian officer, retired on half-pay, has, we will say, an exceedingly pretty daughter, who is treated with marked attention by two rival young men. The father, not unnaturally, begins to feel an anxiety as to the fortunes of these would-be sons-in-law, and, as the easiest means of arriving at some conclusion, consults Mr. Hyndman, who knows the position of both of them. Now the actual facts are these. One of the young men, Smith, has fifty pounds' worth of gas-shares; the other, Brown, has a thousand pounds in the Three per Cents. Smith, however, is an inspector of factories, and enjoys a salary of five hundred a year; whereas Brown is unable to get any employment at all, and, having only an annual thirty pounds of his own, is lodged and boarded by his maiden aunt at Clapham. Mr. Hyndman, however, for reasons best known to himself, is anxious to put Smith's case in the worst light possible; and replies accordingly, on being questioned by the father, that, whatever Smith's means may be, to his own certain knowledge, where Smith has fifty pounds, Brown has at least a thousand. Acting on this information, and attaching to it its obvious meaning, the father repels Smith's advances, and smiles upon those of Brown. Brown proposes and is accepted; the father ratifies the engagement, and all goes well till the question comes of the settlement, when the man, who was represented as being twenty times as rich as his rival, is obliged to confess that he is nothing but an idle pauper. What the choleric officer will think and say of Mr. Hyndman, our readers can well imagine. We can only add, referring to actual facts, that we ourselves, with regard to the matter before us, are compelled to think of him in an exactly similar way.

But a yet more curious criticism still remains to be made. Mr. Hyndman, in the letters we are referring to, as he has since done elsewhere, committed himself with an arrogant dogmatism to the monstrous statement that, the income of the United Kingdom being something like thirteen hundred millions, rent and the interest on capital amounted to a thousand millions, whilst the wage-earning classes, or, as he called them, 'the producers,' had for their share only three hundred millions. It was immediately rejoined by Mr. Hyndman's critic 'M.,' that if we consulted Professor Leone Levi, we should find that Mr. Hyndman had again distorted the situation by attributing to the rich several hundred millions more than they possessed, and attributing to the poor some hundred and fifty millions less. To this Mr. Hyndman answered, with an air of magnificent and contemptuous superiority—'My figures

figures as to the general production, and the earnings of the working-classes, were taken from Mr. Robert Giffen, the head of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, and President of the Statistical Society; and "M." may rest assured that, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, Professor Leone Levi is a very inferior authority.* Now whether Mr. Hyndman means that he has arrived at his figures, through his own bungling in arithmetic, from the published figures supplied to him in Mr. Giffen's 'Statistical Abstracts,' or that he has had them, as his words might suggest, from Mr. Giffen privately, we are unable to say. If he means the former, we can very easily believe him; if he means the latter, we prefer to keep our opinion of him to ourselves. We can only say that, as he has appealed to Mr. Giffen, to Mr. Giffen he shall go; and if he really takes the trouble to understand what that gentleman says, he will find his own conclusion far more hopelessly stultified by it, than by the figures cited by 'M.' from Professor Leone Levi. Professor Leone Levi, as reported by 'M.,' puts the income of the 'workers' at about four hundred and fifty millions, as against Mr. Hyndman's three hundred millions. Mr. Hyndman appeals from the Professor to Mr. Giffen, that very superior authority; and Mr. Giffen replies that the income of the 'workers' is not indeed four hundred and fifty millions, but six hundred and twenty.* If then Professor Leone Levi † be really an authority far inferior to Mr. Giffen, the extent of his inferiority is to be measured, not by the extent to which he differs from Mr. Hyndman, but by the extent to which he agrees with him, the comparison being made by the figures of Mr. Giffen.

Here at any rate, even from Mr. Hyndman's point of view, our case is plain. Mr. Hyndman cannot grumble; for we are testing his figures by the figures of one whom he acknowledges to be his own authority, and an authority further, as he expressly declares, unimpeachable 'in the opinion of those best qualified to judge.' We have seen the result. Accepting as we do Mr. Hyndman's opinion of Mr. Giffen, we have seen that Mr. Hyndman, in dealing with the income of the Kingdom, writes three hundred when he should write six hundred and twenty, and a thousand when he should write five

* Mr. Giffen indeed maintains that, using the word 'workers' in its proper sense, the working income of the kingdom is eight hundred millions. The six hundred and twenty millions, mentioned in the text, is the income of those 'workers' only who have less than 150*l.* a year per family.

† As a matter of fact, Professor Leone Levi's difference from Mr. Giffen, if any, is only apparent, and due to some unimportant difference in classification.

hundred and eighty.* The whole sum in question being thirteen hundred millions, to be divided into two portions, he is wrong as to one portion by four hundred and twenty millions, and as to the other by three hundred and twenty, making a total error of 74*l.* in every 130*l.* he deals with. To put the matter briefly, the real state of the case is, that the income of the wage-earners is forty millions more than that of the rest of the nation: according to Mr. Hyndman's calculations, it is seven hundred millions less. Mr. Hyndman, in fact, is about as near the truth in this matter as he would be if, supposing that Lord Hartington is six feet high, and Mr. Gladstone five feet nine, he were gravely to inform the members of the Democratic Federation, that Mr. Gladstone was ten feet high, and Lord Hartington only three.

The reader may perhaps be tempted to ask why, if Mr. Hyndman's statistics be such a tissue of falsehoods; why, if Mr. Hyndman himself be so absurd and so wretched a reasoner, it is worth while to consider and expose him at all—to expose a reasoner who has no logic, a statistician who has no arithmetic, a writer who has no style. When we were reviewing Mr. George's '*Progress and Poverty*,' we imagined a similar question put to us with regard to that work; and the answer we then made to it, we repeat in substance here. In dealing with theories and figures that are directly addressed to the people, no absurdity is too gross for instructed men to expose, which is not too glaring for ignorant men to entertain; and with regard to Mr. Hyndman, whatever his absurdities are, they are not absurdities that ignorant men would see. In the first place, his theory of production is not his own; he is merely the clumsy interpreter of it; and, even when seen through the medium of Mr. Hyndman's personal blunders, this theory, as we have said before, is specious to a high degree. It is as specious to those who think a little, as it is contemptible to those who think much. In the second place, his statistics as to the distribution of wealth, and the position of classes in England, are absurd only because they happen to be utterly false, and because they involve certain errors in arithmetic, which only here and there accidentally come to the surface, and which for the most part it requires much special knowledge to detect. We may add further that, low as is our opinion of Mr. Hyndman's intellectual faculties, extreme mediocrity of intellect is by no means inconsistent with a certain determination of character; and that

* According to Mr. Giffen, the incomes of the capitalist and landlord class, including all business and working incomes over 150*l.*, amount to 580,000,000*l.* Mr. Hyndman says they amount to 1,000,000,000*l.*

dangerous error may become doubly dangerous, when stupidity gives persistence to the zeal of its missionaries.

We have, however, dwelt thus long on Mr. Hyndman and his errors, for reasons wider than any that are connected merely with himself, or indeed with the school whose doctrines he is trying to propagate. The Socialists proper form at this moment in England a body insignificant in point of numbers; and, easy as it may be to excite amongst the wage-earning classes the idea that their wages can be and ought to be higher, and that one or other political party can make them so, yet these classes generally neither know nor believe anything of the Socialistic theory of capital; and, however strongly they may feel that the capitalist should not misbehave himself, they have no formal belief that the capitalist ought not to exist. But though Socialism as a scientific theory has made but little way amongst the masses in this country, the case is quite otherwise with the moral and statistical estimates which the Socialists take of the existing social situation. It would be difficult to find two people in England more bitterly opposed to each other, from the very nature of their respective situations, than Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Chamberlain. Just as the Tory landowner excites the envious hatred of the Radical capitalist, so does the Radical capitalist excite the contemptuous hatred of the Socialist; and yet, when the two come to depict, for the benefit of their respective constituents, the aspects and tendencies of contemporary society, Mr. Chamberlain can find nothing better to do than to echo Mr. Hyndman's language, and, with a certain change or rather suppression of detail, to emulate his main mis-statements.

'Never before in our history,' Mr. Chamberlain has written quite recently, 'was the misery of the very poor more intense, or the conditions of their daily life more hopeless and more degraded. . . . The vast wealth, which modern progress has created, has run into "pockets;" individuals and classes have grown rich beyond the dreams of avarice . . . but the great majority of the "toilers and spinners" have derived no proportionate advantage from the prosperity which they have helped to create.*'

Here we have, in slightly different and in less precise language, the same view of society, as at present constituted, on which the Socialists explicitly found all their practical hopes, and to prove which Mr. Hyndman has been invoking his singular

* 'Labourers' and Artisans' Dwellings.'—'Fortnightly Review,' Dec. 1883. We have already pointed out in a previous part of our present Number (see p. 147, f.) that this statement is not correct, even so far as the dwellings of the poor are concerned.

statistics. The Socialistic ideal, according to Karl Marx, lately deceased leader of the sect, will realize itself through process of necessary evolution, and through that only. It is a law inherent, he says, in the capitalist system of production, that capital year by year becomes centred in fewer hands; that a small number of great capitalists gradually swallow up a large number of small ones. It is a law also, he continues, which we may see it all round us in operation, that, just as the moneyed monopolists decrease in number and increase in wealth, the toilers and spinners do the exact opposite; they decrease in wealth, and they increase in numbers. Thus on the one side are the rich, growing weaker and more luxurious, and on the other side are the poor, growing stronger and more miserable. Hence, the time must before long arrive, when the present forces of production will necessarily burst through their present capitalistic chrysalis. 'Even now,' he exclaims, 'the final hour of the capitalistic system has struck. The expropriators are already on the point of being in their turn expropriated.'* Mr. Chamberlain, of course, does not draw this final conclusion; but none the less does he adopt the premises from which Marx draws it, only differing from Marx in the loose way in which he thinks them, and the vague and rhetorical way in which he states them. Mr. Hyndman follows Marx; Mr. Chamberlain emulates Mr. Hyndman; and just as Marx has been the instructor of Mr. Hyndman, so is Mr. Hyndman, in this point, the type of Mr. Chamberlain; and Mr. Chamberlain, in his turn, is the type of the Radical school in general. The rich are getting richer; the poor are getting poorer; those with small fortunes are being crushed out; those with large fortunes are being crushed down:—this is the constant cry to be heard through the whole country, not merely from a few avowed Socialists, but from every political sect, and from every individual politician, who endeavours to promote what he thinks to be reform, by agitation.

So persistent, indeed, is language of this purport—from many quarters, in so many forms, with such a voice of authority, is the same statement made—that not only have agitators more than half converted themselves, but they have apparently converted many soberer men also. Thus the growing impoverishment of the masses in this country has, during the course of the past few weeks, been assumed as a fact, and

* Marx says, 'The misery, the oppression, the slavery, the degradation of the working class, grows in proportion to the diminution in number of those capitalists, who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this period of social evolution.'—Karl Marx on 'Capital,' chap. xxxii.

the prominent theme, not only of Mr. Hyndman, of Chamberlain, and their respective imitators, but of the Catholic Bishop of Nottingham in a Pastoral, of an Canon in an address to the Church Union, and of the Tory in the pages of the 'National Review.'

being the case, the reader will now perceive that in g, as we have done, on the views of existing society, are held by the Socialists generally, and stated for them Hyndman in particular, we have been dwelling, not on the eccentricities of a limited sect of doctrinaires, a set of opinions of the utmost practical moment, are affecting the judgment, the temper, the hopes, prehensions, and the sympathies, of a minority, which soon become a majority, of the entire English people. e may think that our language on this last point must be rated. They may think it impossible that such errors as ndman's can really be common to any large number of men. n, for instance, in dealing with a sum of twelve hundred s, is wrong in his calculations, as Mr. Hyndman is, to an of eight hundred millions, they may think that an error bsurd a character cannot possibly be an example of any ty but his own. If any of our readers think thus, we ntly of facts in store for them which will disabuse them r opinion; and one such fact we shall submit to their now. Mr. Chamberlain, in the article from which we ready quoted, writing with all the authority of a President Board of Trade, and with all the *prestige* derived from imed special information, declares that 'in the course of t twenty years the annual income of the nation has ed by six hundred millions.*' Now let us turn from atement by the President of the Board of Trade, to the figures which that Board has issued, for the accuracy of the President is himself responsible, and with which ably he has at least some general acquaintance. From e find, as Mr. Giffen himself shows us, that so far is the d income from having increased by six hundred millions the last twenty years, that it has increased only by five d and seventy-four millions during the last thirty; and e increase, which Mr. Chamberlain attributes to twenty s short by but one-seventh of the actual increase during

exact words of the sentence are these: 'In the course of the last twenty is estimated that the annual income of the nation has increased by six millions.' But plainly, when the President of the Board of Trade uses e it is estimated, he is referring to estimates for the accuracy of which he vouches—those elaborate official estimates, in fact, which are prepared own special sanction, and by his own trusted subordinates.

forty. Thus an annual increase, which has been in reality nineteen millions, is in his estimate metamorphosed into millions; or, to put the matter in a yet simpler form, in million pounds that Mr. Chamberlain here deals with, he states his own case by nearly six hundred thousand.

After this example of the astonishing ignorance and inaccuracy of the modern agitator, even when in the highest positions, our readers, we believe, will at length be prepared to follow us in the searching enquiry we are now about to institute. We propose, first, to recur to that broad general proposition, as to the progressive enrichment of the few and progressive degradation of the many, on which we have been dwelling; and, by reference to those very authorities to which the agitators affect to be drawing upon, to show how grotesquely false this proposition is, as a whole. Then, having treated the proposition as a whole, we propose to submit it to a yet further analysis, and to show, with the added clearness that comes from minute detail, how grotesquely false it is in certain of its principal parts.

First then, let us state the general proposition once again, so as to put it in as clear and as definite a form as possible. When the rich are said to be getting richer, the poorer, and the intermediate classes to be suffering a gradual extinction, what is it that is, in most cases, meant? For the language, if examined seriously, will be found susceptible of various shades of meaning. And it will be seen that, alike on political and philanthropical grounds, the differences between these various meanings, which are at present confused together as though they were very nearly identical, are differences really of the most momentous kind conceivable, and they point to social tendencies wholly incompatible with each other. Thus it is surely of the very first importance whether the growing poverty imputed to the poor is absolute or relative; whether the poor are asserted to have less in proportion to the rich, or less and less in proportion to the necessities of existence. A man who has 70*l.* a-year poorer, as compared with a man who has 100,000*l.*, than a man who has 50*l.* is, as compared with a man who has 10,000*l.*; it would convey to most people a singularly perverted impression were it asserted, that the former was a poorer man than the latter. So, again, it is a question of importance also, whether the growing riches imputed to the rich are corporate riches or individual; whether a few large incomes are asserted to be swelling into monster incomes, or whether a number of moderate incomes are asserted to be swelling

ge ones ; and, finally, whether those persons who are asserted to be lost to the middle-class, are asserted to be lost to it because their incomes increase, or because they diminish. It depends entirely on the way in which these questions are answered, whether we are to consider ourselves informed by the apostles of agitation and their disciples, that riches are getting more diffused or less diffused, or, that the rich are getting stronger or less strong ; that the poor are becoming better fed or worse fed ; that they are sinking to the level of misery, or only failing to rise to the level of vulgarity ; that the tendency of things as they are is to turn England into a clique of millionaires and a nation of beggars, or into a nation of well-to-do workmen and a second nation of well-to-do capitalists. The Socialists, no doubt, are for their part intelligible enough. Karl Marx distinctly says, and Mr. Hyndman, though with less courage, repeats, that the rich are getting richer as individuals and fewer as a class ; and that the poor are getting absolutely poorer as individuals, and absolutely more numerous as a class. But the Radicals who copy the language of the Socialists, and the timid Conservatives who are converted by the language of the Radicals, neither show what they mean, nor apparently know what they mean ; and, whilst making certain statements with an air of the most profound conviction, they seem perfectly unconscious that their statements may mean wholly opposite things, or, at any rate, they never indicate which of these opposite meanings is their own.

We shall now introduce the reader to the real facts of the case, and shall show him by unimpeachable evidence that none of these meanings are true, neither the explicit meaning of the Socialists, nor any one of the possible meanings of the Radicals. We shall show him that the current language used about the question before us, put on it what construction we will, is false and misleading to so extraordinary a degree, that it actually inverts, it does not merely overstate, every one of those social tendencies that it affects to describe ; and that the picture of modern progress, which so many are now accepting as genuine, is no more than the fantastic dream of a madman.

To many people it may perhaps seem that the questions we propose to deal with, are questions which do not admit of being answered with precision or certainty. The progress in wealth of the richer and poorer classes, the amount of the national income, and the proportions in which it is distributed, they probably think, can be dealt with only by some shrewd process of personal observation, and that the conclusion arrived at will be based on certain sets of impressions—impressions derived

derived from the squalor of 'outcast London,' and the yearly increasing throng of carriages in Piccadilly or Bond Street. Such, however, is by no means the case. In dealing with vast sums and with vast numbers of people, no doubt we cannot hope for absolute numerical accuracy; and when a subject is susceptible of very many forms of analysis, many most instructive analyses may for many years be wanting. But our present knowledge is quite sufficiently detailed, and is more than sufficiently accurate, completely to revolutionize, were it only within the reach of the people, the view as to social tendencies which is unfortunately at present popular.

It is a common saying, that figures may be made to prove anything; but this, when true, can be true only for two reasons—either that the figures can be falsified without fear of detection, or that the matters to which the figures refer can be classified really on different principles, while they purport to be classified on the same. Thus the rich, the poor, the aristocracy, the working-classes, the middle-classes, the bourgeoisie, are all terms which, unless defined with accuracy by each disputant who makes use of them, will leave room for endless misunderstandings and endless contradictions. But if only we are definite in our use of terms, and if only we are honest and open as to our sources of information, the figures which relate to the question now before us are as absolute and unequivocal in their meaning as they are commanding in their authority. The whole case can be put with extreme simplicity.

To begin then: the gross annual income of this kingdom is a sum ascertainable with such ease and with such accuracy, that no one who has given the subject any careful attention has ever doubted the possibility of ascertaining it; whilst of those experts who have actually set themselves to do so, all have arrived at conclusions so nearly identical, that the greatest difference between their estimates amounts barely to one-twelfth of the total.*

Now, as every one knows, without being reminded of it, we can tell from year to year the total amount that is assessed to income-tax. That is to say, we can tell, with the most astonishing minuteness, how much of the gross national income is and has been distributed amongst the richer classes, from

* Professor Leone Levi observes that such an amount of difference, though sufficient to confuse us in comparing the economic state of the country at periods closely succeeding each other, is yet insufficient to obscure or distort the truth, the moment our estimates begin to extend its scope. Mr. Mulhall has published a table showing the various sources from which this gross income is derived, and the exact amount derived from each source, *e. g.* from agriculture, from railways, from mines, &c.

few who possess their annual tens of thousands, down to many who possess from a hundred pounds to a hundred and fifty. We can also tell the exact proportion of the population amongst which these incomes are divided. With regard then to the income of the poorer classes, what follows must be clear. If we do two simple subtraction sums—if we deduct the amount assessed to income-tax from the gross national income, and the number of those who pay income-tax from the total national population, we shall at once have before us two sets of figures, the one denoting the gross income, and the other the total number, of the poorer classes.

It is no doubt perfectly true that, when we attempt to go into details with regard to the earnings of this and that class of labourers, we at once become conscious of an insufficiency of data; but even supposing, what is not the case, that we could do nothing more than, treating the poor as a whole, to express their individual incomes by a rough general average, yet the figures before us are such and are so peculiar, as to give this average an exceptionally definite value. In the case of the rich, were our data equally scanty, it would be impossible to say that an increase in their collective income was any certain sign of an increase in their incomes generally, as individuals; for an unknown minority might be growing indefinitely richer, whilst the rest might be remaining stationary. But in the case of the poor this contingency is out of the question; for we know, from the terms in which their collective increase is stated to us, that no individual income is so much as a hundred and fifty pounds, and therefore a certain diffusion of the increased collective riches is a necessity. Thus supposing that ten men twenty years ago were living on starvation wages of 20*l.* each annually, their collective income being thus 200*l.*, and that now this collective income has to our knowledge increased to 1000*l.*, yet the wages of no one man is as much as 150*l.*, it is easy to see that this increase, even if divided as unfairly as possible, must necessarily be divided amongst at least seven men out of the ten; and it will be seen presently that, with regard to the exact figures in question, we have much to guide us beyond this deductive reasoning.

To actual figures, then, let us now turn; and, looking back over the last forty years, let us see what facts are definitely known and recorded, first as to the increase in the gross income of the country, and secondly as to the manner in which this increase has been distributed.

Let us begin then by taking the four following periods, as to which

which it so happens that we can speak with exceptional certainty—1843, 1851, 1864, and from 1880 to 1883, and let us note what at each period was the gross income of the nation.* In 1843 it was, in round numbers, 515,000,000*l.*; in 1851 it was 616,000,000*l.*; in 1864 it was 814,000,000*l.*; and since 1880 it has reached, or perhaps somewhat exceeded, 1,200,000,000*l.* These figures, directly or indirectly, are all of them guaranteed by those very authorities to which Mr. Hyndman refers as final. Let us now take, in each of the above-mentioned years, the amount that was assessed to income-tax. In 1843 this was about 280,000,000*l.*; strangely enough in 1851 we find it still to have been about the same figure; in 1864 it was about 370,000,000*l.*; and in 1880 it was about 577,000,000*l.*

Let us now subtract these amounts assessed to income-tax from the gross national income of the years that correspond to them, and see what light the result throws on the condition of the poorer classes. The figures our sum will yield us are as follows: for 1843, 235,000,000*l.*; for 1851, 336,000,000*l.*; for 1864, 444,000,000*l.*; and for the period subsequent to 1880, an amount certainly not less than 620,000,000*l.* Now here we have the gross income, at the different times specified, of all the persons or families in this country with annual incomes of less than 150*l.*; and we have only to set against each amount the corresponding numbers of the population, to arrive at once at certain very definite conclusions. In the case of the first two periods this operation is perfectly simple, for the population in 1851 was practically precisely the same as it was in 1843. It had not increased by so much as 140,000 persons,† and may in each case be stated in round numbers as 27,000,000. In 1864 it was verging on 30,000,000, and at the present moment it is approaching 36,000,000. We know, however, that of this increase in numbers the larger part proportionally is to be attributed to the richer classes. They have increased by more than 200 per cent., or from 1,500,000 to 4,700,000; whilst the poorer classes, on the contrary, have increased by but 20 per cent., or from 26,000,000, in 1843 and 1851, to something over

* The figures given in the text rest not on our own authority only, but on that of the four following eminent statisticians—Mr. Giffen, Mr. Mulhall, Mr. Dudley Baxter, and Professor Leone Levi. It will be found, on collating the results of their respective calculations, that they all corroborate each other in a very singular degree. As to the estimate for 1843, Mr. Mulhall's calculations and those of Mr. Giffen result in totals that differ by little more than 2 per cent.; and as to the estimates for the two last periods, Mr. Dudley Baxter's result and Mr. Mulhall's differ by but 1 per cent.

† The population in 1843 was 27,555,699, in 1846 it was 28,002,094, and in 1851 it was 27,393,337. Our figures include Ireland.

30,000,000 now. Hence the same number of them that in 1843 had 235,000,000*l.* annually, had in 1851, 336,000,000*l.*; and a number that is barely greater by one-fifth has annually, by this time, some 620,000,000*l.* Now, if we state this increase in terms of the average income per family, we find that each family, amongst the poorer classes in England, had in 1843 about 40*l.* a-year, that in 1851 it had 58*l.*, and that at the present time it has between 95*l.* and 100*l.* That is to say, the incomes of those who have less than 150*l.* a-year have increased during the last forty years by 130 per cent.

Of course, however, this is a general average only, and does not correspond exactly to the real facts of the case. Some sections of the poorer classes have bettered themselves faster than others, and there is nothing in the figures we have just cited to show that a certain proportion may not have actually retrograded. But let us put on the figures in this way the worst construction we can; let us suppose the increase to be as partial as possible, and that, instead of all the incomes having risen to 95*l.* or 100*l.*, a certain number have risen to 150*l.*, yet even in that case the increase would have diffused itself amongst nearly half of the population in question. It could not have done less than this, had the incomes of the remainder remained stationary; whilst if the incomes of any section had diminished, the increase must necessarily have diffused itself amongst a larger number still.

Or we may put the matter more forcibly, and with equal certainty, thus. We will make three suppositions, which pessimists as to the progress of the poor are pretty certain to accept as actual truth. We will suppose that of the families of the poorer classes in this country, a quarter, at least, have incomes below 50*l.*, that not more than a quarter have incomes touching on 150*l.*, and that the half left remaining have incomes below 86*l.* What will follow in this case? Something, we conceive, that will perhaps astonish the pessimist. It will follow necessarily that of this half just mentioned, whilst no family have more than 85*l.*, no family can possibly have less.*

Amongst the thoughtless or ill-instructed it is not perhaps unnatural that conclusions such as these should be received with suspicion; and we have observed with regret that, even by

* If the pessimist asks us by what process this result is arrived at, we answer that it is arrived at by the same process of arithmetic as that which shows us that if ten shillings be divided amongst ten men, in such proportion that no man has more than one shilling, no man can possibly have less.

those who should know better, they are sometimes set aside as 'theoretical statistics,' the falsehood of which can be proved by one walk through the streets of London. But in what we have just stated there is nothing theoretical whatever; and nothing that is invalidated, or even made paradoxical, by any recent revelations as to the want and the misery that is in the midst of us. To this appalling phenomenon we shall recur presently; and shall point out that the facts which we are now insisting on, though not lessening its horrors, yet set it in a new and, we trust, a more hopeful light. But at the present moment all that we are concerned with is the certainty, within the limits specified, of the above facts themselves. Let us state them once more, so that the reader shall be unable to mistake them. Those who minimize or disbelieve in the general progress of the poor, must certainly maintain that the poorest fourth part of the whole number of the poor is *not richer* now by five-and-twenty per cent. than the poorest fourth part was forty years ago. They will probably say that it is poorer; but to that statement we do not ask them to commit themselves: we will merely ask them to reflect that they are certainly committed to the statement, that it is at all events not five-and-twenty per cent. richer. If then this be the case with regard to one-fourth of the poor, we may know with absolute certainty that, of the other three-fourths, there is not one family whose income is not double the average of forty years ago; and that, if the incomes of one-half are not more than double that average, the incomes of the remaining quarter must be more than three times as great. Thus let us make the advance of the poorer classes as partial as possible, and want and misery as wide-spread and persistent as possible, yet on any calculation and on any supposition, at least three-fourths of them during the past forty years, or twenty-two-and-a-half millions out of thirty, have grown all of them demonstrably richer by at least a hundred per cent.; and, unless amongst fifteen millions the increase has been even greater, at least seven millions must be richer by nearly three hundred per cent.

Such being the facts with regard to the poorer classes—the families whose incomes are less than 150*l.*—let us turn to those whose incomes are above that figure—from the families whose home is the ordinary suburban house or the semi-detached villa, up to those whose home is the Park or the Belgravian mansion, the ancient manor or castle, or the modern stucco palace. And here our task will be found to be far simpler. We do not mean that our conclusions will be more trust-
worthy;

orthy; we certainly do not mean that they will be more instructive; but they will have the advantage of greater precision, and they are arrived at more easily. We need not content ourselves, as we have just done, with saying, if such a class has less than such a sum, then such and such a class must have more; but taking the various incomes with which we shall have to deal, we can actually tell, in a large number of cases, the exact number of families that are in receipt of such at this moment, and compare this with the number that were in receipt of the same income at a given date previously.

We are, as the reader is aware, extending our survey over the whole of the last forty years. During, however, the first eight years of this period, there was, as we have observed already, no continuous increase, either in the population of the country, or in the amount assessed to income-tax. Nothing increased except the income of the poorer classes; and the position of the richer in 1851 was practically the same as it had been in 1843. It will be sufficient therefore if, in our comparison of the present with the past, we take as our point of departure the more recent of these two dates, which will practically carry us back to the earlier.

And first let us recal to the reader the exact point we are to enquire into. We have already seen that the poorer classes are growing poorer. We are now to enquire in what sense the rich are growing richer; and whether in any sense it can be said of the middle-classes, that they are being gradually crushed out. Let us then begin by stating precisely what we mean by the rich, and by the middle-classes; and let us be careful to adjust our definitions to the most general meaning of the words. When an agitator is contrasting the rich with the poor, almost any one, in his sense, is rich who has more than a few hundreds a year; but when the rich are contrasted with the middle-class, it is plain that the line between them must be drawn higher than this. It is our own opinion that, when the rich are thus signalized, what is generally meant, and what is generally understood, are men or families with not less than a thousand a-year; and we conceive that, so far as money goes, all will be ranked in the middle-class who have less than a thousand a year, and more than a hundred and fifty. In case, however, our readers should not agree with us, we will subdivide this division, and they shall choose their definition for themselves. We will divide those who have less than a thousand a-year into three further classes: those whose incomes range from 150*l.* to 300*l.*; those whose incomes range from 300*l.* to 600*l.*;

600*l.*; and those whose incomes range from 600*l.* to 1000*l.* And we will divide the rich into the rich and the very rich; calling those the rich who have less than 10,000*l.* a-year, and those the very rich who have more.

Thus much being settled, let us turn to that section of the community in which the extinction of the middle-class is declared to be most certain and most noticeable; we mean the section which is engaged in trade, in manufacture, and in the various professional callings. Here we are able to speak with an unusual degree of exactness, because we have not only records of the gross income of this section, and of the total number of its members, but we have records in which the incomes of the individuals are classified according to a graduated scale, and the actual number of persons is specified, enjoying at various periods each class of income. We are thus enabled to see, with regard to this section of the community, the exact changes that, during the period under review, have taken place in the economic position and the numbers of those who are called the rich and the very rich, on the one side, and of those who are included under the term of the middle-classes, on the other. Let us treat these classes with reference first to their number. We find that, between 1851 and the present time, they have one and all—not the rich alone, but each grade of the middle-class—increased enormously, not only in absolute numbers, but also in proportion to the increase of the whole population; and that it is utterly false to say of any one of them, that it is in process of diminution even, much less of extinction. We find, however, that if to any class such language could be applied with the least show of propriety, that class would be the rich; since, though all have increased, the rich have increased the least. The following are the exact figures. In proportion to the increase of the population as a whole, the class with incomes between 150*l.* and 300*l.* has increased during the past thirty years by 148 per cent.; the class with incomes between 300*l.* and 600*l.*, by 130 per cent.; the class with incomes between 600*l.* and 1000*l.*, by 77 per cent.; and the class with incomes above 1000*l.*, by 76 per cent. But this is not all. We find further, if we except the handful of men—not more than 987 in all—whose incomes are above 10,000*l.*, and who have grown richer individually as well as more numerous, that, whilst the middle-classes have been growing richer individually likewise, the bulk of the rich have been growing individually poorer. Thus the average income in the lowest grade of the middle-class was 164*l.* in 1851, and is

171*l.*

171*l.* now ; whilst the average income amongst all the rich, except the very rich, was in 1881, 2193*l.* ; and it is now not more than 2069*l.**

These figures, it is true, apply only to incomes derived from industry ; but, as Professor Leone Levi remarks, 'there is reason to believe that they represent the condition of all descriptions of interests.' 'In a note,' he continues, 'to the appendix to Mr. Dudley Baxter's paper on national incomes, by Mr. Gripper, of the Inland Revenue, it is stated that the number of income-tax payers under Schedule A may be taken to be divided in the same proportion as under Schedule D ; and the same may be said as to Schedules B, C, and E.' We need not, however, rest content with this piece of general information ; we can, to a great extent, test its accuracy for ourselves. We cannot, indeed, with regard to the other classes of incomes, make the same exact comparison between the present and the past ; but we can see that the distribution of them at present, in two cases at least, is practically the same as that which exists in the class just mentioned. The one is the case of the employés of the Government and of corporate bodies, the immense increase in whose gross annual income is almost wholly the gain of an increased middle-class. The other is the case, more important still, of the distribution of incomes derived from land. We touched upon this matter when we were dealing with Mr. Hyndman, and showed the absolute fallacy of the current belief concerning it ; but it is now necessary that we should examine it more minutely.

The current belief, as we all know—the belief which the Radical party are doing everything that they can to foster—is the belief that the whole ground-rental of this country is the portion of the national income that is growing most rapidly, and that nearly the whole of it 'runs,' in Mr. Chamberlain's elegant phraseology, 'into the pockets' of the landed aristocracy. But what are the real facts ? The moment we approach these, the moment we look them full in the face, this ridiculous and extravagant fiction dissolves into the air like a dream. In a country like ours, where high social position depends on so many things, either taken together or singly—on wealth, on lineage or connections, on various personal qualities—it is of course impossible, in arranging landowners by their

* Professor Leone Levi, in his paper on 'Recent Changes in the Distribution of Wealth,' classifies the population thus—Income-tax-payers, lower middle classes, labouring classes—the lower middle classes being composed of persons with an average income of 110*l.* We think, however, that the classification made in the text is more in accordance with popular usage, and brings out more clearly the contrast between the real facts of the case and the current fallacies.

acreage, to be quite accurate socially in our definition of the aristocracy. We think ourselves, however, to be substantially correct in saying, that the ownership of less than a thousand acres does not, apart from other claims to distinction, entitle a man to rank as a country gentleman; and it is evident that the 'landlord,' when denounced in Radical oratory, is conceived of as a person of larger estate than this. We will therefore define the landed aristocracy as those landowners who own more than a thousand acres; and we will divide those who own less than this amount into small rural owners, and into small urban and suburban owners. And now let us take the case of England, and compare facts with rhetoric.

The gross rental of England is about ninety-nine millions of pounds.* Of this amount, what goes to the aristocracy is, in round numbers, only thirty millions; what goes to the class of smaller rural owners, whose estates average from 700 to 20 acres, is thirty-three millions; and what goes to the suburban owners, who, on the average, have four acres, and the urban owners, who, on the average, have the fourth of an acre, is thirty-six millions. It will thus be seen that the landed aristocracy of England, the large proprietors, the 'land-grabbers'—that rapacious and profligate class who are represented as appropriating almost the whole rental of the country—take of that rental really not so much as one-third, and that their gross receipts from their rural, their suburban, and their urban properties together, is less by six millions than the receipts which the smallest class of proprietors derive from their suburban and urban properties alone.

Let us next consider these classes in point of numbers. The landed aristocracy, all told, number about 5000. Just below them come 4800 owners, with estates that average 700

* A most instructive instance of that inevitable perversity, which Radicals always exhibit when dealing with the land question, is to be found on page 47 of 'The Financial Reform Almanac' for 1884—a publication, the almost avowed object of which is, by means of garbled (we do not say falsified) statistics, to exhibit the aristocratic landlords in a light as invidious as possible. With reference to the holders of less than one acre, the compiler of the Almanac, though he cannot deny them to be numerous, declares that their rental, as stated in the Doomsday book, is rental not for the land only, but for all 'factories, buildings, workshops, and houses,' which stand on it. This, he declares, is evident from the amount of rent recorded. A statement more stupidly or more wantonly false it is hardly possible to imagine. The average rental per acre of the small urban properties in question is about 190*l*. Now on an acre of land there would be room for fourteen large houses, each with a frontage of 30 feet and a depth of 105 feet. Does the compiler of 'The Financial Reform Almanac' suppose that the rental of these fourteen houses would be only 190*l*? There are few localities in which the rental of each one of these would not be a larger sum. The value of the small suburban properties, of three and four acres, is on the average about 13*l*, an acre.

come 32,000, with estates that average 200 acres ; with estates that average 70 acres ; and then estates that average 20 acres : the total number of rural proprietors being thus not less than 133,000. Come the urban and suburban proprietors—their four acres, the former with their fourth of an acre—number of these is 820,000. To these facts we add, which is notorious, that, whilst the value of land during the last five or six years been decreasing, urban and suburban land has been constantly increasing. It will thus be seen that the classes of landowners, not only in point of numbers are not far from equal, and enjoy a gross rental more than double that of the aristocracy, but that, whilst the aristocracy have become as individuals poorer, the bulk of the smaller landowners have been growing as individuals richer. These facts, it is true, apply to England and Wales only ; but we thought perhaps that in Ireland, or at all events in Scotland, we shall come across a different story. Such, however, is not the case. We think, indeed, that in Scotland the number of proprietors from land is an even more striking fact than it is in England. Whereas in England the landowners own little more than half the surface of the soil, in Scotland they own something like nine-tenths of it ; and yet, the whole country being eighteen millions, those nine-tenths of the soil take of the rental only seven-eighths, whilst the owners of the remaining tenth actually receive one million. Four-fifths of the ground-rental of Scotland is taken by owners of less than one acre, the rental of such owners being on the average 99%. Three-fourths of the ground-rental of Glasgow is taken by owners of similar size of land ; only there the rental of such owners is on the average 99%. In the municipal borough of Kilmarnock, landowners of less than an acre lets per acre at 320*l.* ; the few men who own larger plots lets at no more than one of the 11,000 men, who own collectively four-fifths of the land in Kilmarnock, has in point of money as much stake in the borough, though he were the owner of nearly 2000 acres in the county, and each one of the 10,000 men, who own collectively one-fifth of Glasgow, has in point of money as much stake in the soil as though he were the owner in Sutherland of 100 acres. It is thus evident that, though there are a few urban properties which yield great and increasing rents to a few aristocratic proprietors, yet the aggregate wealth of the mass is as nothing when compared to that of the multitude.

tude of small proprietors, who are really the recipients of nearly the whole urban rental of the kingdom. When we consider, then, that the gross rental of the country has been continually increasing, whilst the agricultural rental has for a considerable period been falling, we can see at once, without going further into details, that this increase is the increase of the urban rental exclusively; or, in other words, that, with very unimportant deductions, it is an increase in the income, not of the aristocracy, but of the middle and poorer classes. We say that we can see this without going further into details; but if the reader is anxious to have figures, he will probably find it quite sufficient to learn that the rental of those owners, in England and Scotland, who own estates of less than 50 acres, is now greater by some four millions than the whole agricultural rental of both countries thirty years ago.*

And now we conceive that, with regard to the general question of how, under existing conditions, wealth tends to distribute itself, we have said enough to convince even the most incredulous reader of the absolute falsehood of the view that is at present popular. As the most careful exponent of that view we have cited the late Karl Marx. He, so far as we know, was the first person to state it in a scientific form, and the first person who had the courage or the presumption to declare that its truth was demonstrable by exact scientific methods. Marx's work on 'Capital' was published in 1869—in the very middle of the period whose economic history we have been examining; and we are now able to test the theories of the best-informed and most logical of all modern agitators by those actual facts to which he appealed with such arrogant confidence. A more crushing and contemptuous rebuke it is impossible to conceive, than that which these facts administer to one who, in the opinion of his disciples, is the profoundest social philosopher of this or of any century. So far as his estimate goes of existing economic tendencies, whenever he has written a plus sign, history has written a minus sign; whenever he has written a minus sign, history has written a plus sign. His assertion was, that the rich are growing richer and fewer; the middle-class poorer and fewer; and the poorer class poorer and more numerous. History, on the contrary, shows us that the rich are growing poorer and more numerous; that the middle-classes are growing richer and much more numerous; and that the poor, in proportion to these other two classes, are growing at once less numerous

* The gross income of the United Kingdom assessed under Schedule A, for land, in 1851 was 47,800,000*l.* The gross income of the owners in England and Scotland, of under fifty acres, is at the present moment more than 51,000,000*l.* and

very much richer. Finally, we may place before the reader the following astonishing fact. Socialists and Communists of the extremest and most sanguine type imagine that they should secure a kind of economic millennium, could we only distribute amongst the many the heaped-up riches of the few. A socialistic poet has described this operation as 'a strange wonderful justice;' and he declares that 'wonderful days' would be ushered in by it, when 'all should be better than now.'

But even the extremest Socialists hardly venture to maintain that it will be practically possible to despoil the few of everything; and even the most sanguine Socialists have not ventured to hope that the process, when once started, would be completed in less than half a century. But let such persons and all who are inclined to listen to them, merely consult the simplest records of history, and they will find that this 'wonderful new wonderful' piece of justice has actually accomplished itself during the past thirty years. If we look back to the income of the country in 1851, and make every allowance for the subsequent growth of the population, we shall find that the entire wealth at that time belonging to the rich has since that time been virtually divided amongst the poor.* We shall find that the total income of the poorer classes to-day is equal to the total income of all classes in 1851, and exceeds by a hundred per cent. the total income of all classes in 1843. In other words the poorer classes to-day are, as a body, in precisely the same position as they would have been in if, at the time of the first division, the income of every rich man then in the country had been made over to them in perpetuity.

It is much, then, for the general proposition of the agitator, which we have shown conclusively to be either an ignorant or imprudent falsehood. It remains for us to examine certain particular applications of it, which are even more practically ridiculous than the general proposition itself. Of these applications, the most important are those that deal with monarchy and our existing land system. The case with regard to the monarchy can be disposed of with extreme brevity; we will therefore touch upon that first. The few facts brought to light are singularly full of instruction.

Most persons who have taken the trouble to follow the received

* In 1851 the gross income of the country was 614,000,000*l.* The gross amount of incomes under 100*l.* is at the present time over 620,000,000*l.* The amount of incomes over 150*l.* was in 1843 about 280,000,000*l.*; of incomes 150*l.* 235,000,000*l.* Thus the income of these classes has increased during the last forty years by 385,000,000*l.*—i. e. by 185,000,000*l.* more than the total income of the richer classes in 1843. The number of the poor meanwhile has increased from 26,000,000 to 30,000,000.

vagaries of Radical agitation are familiar with the statement, which rarely fails to meet with applause, that the monarchical institutions of this country are a growing burden on the people, and ought to be abolished on the grounds of their intolerable expense. Thus, to take one instance out of many, during the May of last year, the following remarks were addressed to a crowded meeting at Plymouth. The speaker, having prophesied the downfall of the territorial aristocracy, went on to say that—

‘the doubt would also arise whether we shall much longer be able to afford an almost equally expensive luxury, called monarchical institutions. (Loud and long cheers, and a voice “don’t divorce them, let them go together.”) Listen please carefully [the speaker proceeded] to what follows on ROYAL EXPENSES.* “If any one fault has been, in a thousand shapes, charged upon Tories, it has been a disposition to uphold the dignity and magnificence of the Crown. But notwithstanding the ardent economy of the Whigs out of office, their declared hostility to squandering the resources of the nation on royal personages, they no sooner breathe the air and eat the dinners of a palace, than a change comes o’er the spirit of their dream, and the immolation of the sinews and muscles of all Britain as a holocaust to the Queen, is neither inconsistent with their former professions, nor a severe tax on national industry. We know not how it is that royalty in all ages seems an insatiable absorbent of money. . . . We humbly submit the necessity of severe economy, rather than unmerciful lavishness. In times of depression and dissatisfaction, of poverty and reckless crime, nothing is so much to be deprecated as needless waste of national resources.” (Hear, hear, and cheers.) These words are from a Tory magazine, “*Fraser’s*,” of October 1840. If 1840 was a time of depression, poverty, and crime, surely we are, if anything, at a disadvantage with the men of 1840. Surely the country is beginning to make up its mind not to pay much longer this severe tax upon its industry.’

Now the foregoing extract is taken from the speech, not of an uneducated man, not of an illiterate man, but of a man whose knowledge is in many respects exceptional, and who had exceptional opportunities, had he only cared to use them, of knowing exactly what he was here talking of. That is to say, half an hour’s intelligent enquiry would have been enough to show him these easily ascertainable facts—that the gross income of the kingdom being, as we have already seen, something over twelve hundred millions, the utmost cost of our monarchical institutions is something under twelve hundred

* This extract is taken from a speech delivered by Mr. Walter Wren at Plymouth, May 22nd, 1883. The capitals in the text are Mr. Wren’s own, and occur in an edition of his speech, which was re-published by him at the request of his friends.

thousand; having realized which, he could have hardly failed to have reflected that the institution, which he denounced as such an insatiable absorbent of money, and one to which 'the muscles and sinews of all Britain were immolated,' takes really from the nation no more than one pound out of each ten hundred; and that the most splendid and revered monarchy of which the world can boast, is but half the expense, in proportion, to the great empire which it ornaments, that to a man with a thousand a year is the right to paint his crest upon a bicycle.

Such, then, when reduced to facts and figures, is the Radical attack upon the Monarchy. To numbers, even amongst the Radicals themselves, its absurdity must be apparent already; but we much doubt whether, even amongst Conservatives, it is commonly realized how great the absurdity is. The reader, as argued, sees it now; and we beg to commend it to his very earnest attention, not so much for the sake of its own importance, as because it is a type of the absurdity, often far better concealed, which underlies the onslaught of the agitator on existing institutions generally, and on the existing land-system in particular.

First, however, let us say thus much. We are not contending now that our existing land-system is perfect. We are not denying that as time goes on many changes may be needed. We are not denying this, and we are not admitting it. We are simply now dealing with the question: all that we are concerned to show is this, that, whatever may be the true view of the matter, the views popularized by our contemporary agitators are demonstrably and ridiculously false.

To begin, then: the falsehood most industriously spread and most widely believed in, is precisely similar to the falsehood with regard to the Monarchy. It is a statement, or insinuation, that the wealth of the landed aristocracy bears so large a proportion to the gross wealth of the nation, that not only are their extortions the chief burden of the poor, but their wanton splendour and their colossal incomes dwarf into insignificance all other classes of the rich. Thus Mr. Walter Wren informed an admiring audience that, whilst the working-men of England were the creators of national wealth, 'the hereditary aristocracy were the squanderers and wasters of it.' Similarly, Mr. Chamberlain has described them as the men *par excellence* 'who neither toil nor spin;' and Mr. George and his many rivals and followers have declared explicitly that every increase in the income of the country goes of necessity into the pockets of this one class. We have already said enough, in

our foregoing remarks, to show the reader something of the value of views like these. We have shown him, that is to say that, whatever may be the gains of the landlords, the landlords who take most from the nation are the small landlords, not the aristocracy: but we have not yet exhibited the income of the aristocracy, in the exact proportion which it bears to the income of the rest of the community. Let us take, then, once again the twelve hundred millions which constitute the gross income of the nation, and ask how many millions of this are paid annually in ground-rents. If Mr. George and Mr. Wallace were even approximately right in their theories, the ground rents of the United Kingdom—the income of the iniquitous landlord—could not possibly be less than eight hundred millions. This is accurately demonstrable from the explicit and reiterated doctrines that form the gist of Mr. George's 'Progress and Poverty.' We have merely to apply these doctrines to the income of the country at the beginning of the present century and compare that income with the income of the country now to arrive at the above result. But if we turn from Mr. George's theories of what must be, and condescend to look at what is, we find that the income which Mr. George would estimate at eight hundred millions is in reality only a hundred and fifty and that instead of amounting, as according to him it would, to two-thirds of the gross income of the nation, it is in reality barely one-eighth. When further we recollect that Mr. George and his fellow theorists invariably conceive that a landlord is synonymous with a large landlord, and that nearly the whole of this country is owned by squires and lords and dukes, their error becomes practically far greater still. For this particular class, this territorial aristocracy, to whom such writers impute nearly the whole of their eight hundred millions, take in reality not more than fifty millions. Thus the class that is represented as appropriating by far the larger part of the national income appropriates in reality not more than one twenty-fourth of it and for every six hundred pounds with which Mr. George would credit it, the utmost which it really possesses is fifty pounds. In other words, Mr. George's entire theory is founded on an assumption, and recommends itself by an explicit statement, which is about as true with regard to the economic position of the landlords as a description would be of their personal appearance, in which it was stated that they weighed nearly a ton and a half each, or that they were, on the average seventy-two feet high.

Let us now turn from the school of Mr. George to the school of Mr. Chamberlain. The error we here encounter, if not so great

great, is, considering those who are guilty of it, even more inexcusable. We do not suppose that the President of the Board of Trade imagines, as Mr. George does, that the commercial classes have been stationary during this century of trade and manufacture, and that all the increasing gains of the merchant or the mill-owner have been wrung from them in rack-rents by those ogres, the lords of the soil. But Mr. Chamberlain certainly does insinuate, and his followers certainly say, that the incomes of the landlords, in the course of our recent progress, have increased proportionately far faster than the incomes of business men and of share-holders, and that the latter, as time goes on, are becoming more and more dwarfed by the former.* Now to all this, as Professor Leone Levi has shown, there is an exceedingly simple answer, and that answer is a reference to certain exceedingly simple statistics. Seventy years ago, of the income of the richer classes, the landlords took considerably more than half. Thirty-six years later they took little more than a third; and at the present moment they take something less than a quarter. In 1864, for every pound that was taken by the landlord, the rest of the richer classes took only thirteen shillings. Now, for every thirteen shillings that is taken by the landlord, the rest of the richer classes take actually two guineas. If, therefore, the wealth of the nation tends, as Mr. Chamberlain says it does, 'to run into pockets,' it is sufficiently evident into whose pockets it runs.

The following figures will be of some interest to the reader, and will serve to bring yet more nearly home to him the wild and reckless nature of such fallacies as Mr. Chamberlain's. We will put out of the question all incomes like Mr. Chamberlain's own—incomes derived by share-holders, or sleeping-partners, from the commerce or the manufactures of the Kingdom: of the wealthier classes who are not land-owners, we will take that section only which is actively engaged in business, and we will compare the various incomes enjoyed by that single section with the various incomes enjoyed by the entire body of land-owners. To begin then, there are 66 incomes derived from land, of over 50,000*l.*; in this one section of the business world alone, there are 77. Of incomes between 10,000*l.* and 50,000*l.* there are from land only 800: in this one section of the business world alone there are 910. Whilst of incomes between 3000*l.* and

* This is the only meaning that Mr. Chamberlain's words can possibly bear when he denounces, in his article on *Labourers' Dwellings in Towns*, the way in which wealth has 'run into pockets,' and urges that those into whose pockets it has run should be made responsible for the carrying out of certain measures he advocates.

10,000*l.* there are from land only 1634; and in this section of the business world alone there are no less than 4065. Or, to put the matter in a slightly different form, there are about 5000 men whom we have classed as the landed aristocracy, who have estates of more than 1000 acres; and there are about 1900 men actively engaged in business who have incomes of more than 5000*l.* a year. The gross income of these 1900 business men is greater by 3,000,000*l.* than the entire rental of the 5000 aristocratic land-owners. These statistics are easily accessible to any honest enquirer, and would be enough at once, if the public were only aware of them, to cover with confusion the whole of this Birmingham faction, which is endeavouring to manufacture a false public opinion by supplying the public with a false series of facts. Words fail us to describe our amazement at that quality—whether it be ignorance or dishonesty—which enables the faction we speak of to lend themselves to such a proceeding. Dishonesty, indeed, we hardly like to impute to them; and yet the ignorance, which is the only alternative, is a fault almost as gross and even more astonishing. For is there not something almost as gross as dishonesty in reckless ignorance which refuses to be enlightened, and presumes to give itself the dictatorial airs of knowledge? And is it not astonishing that a set of eager politicians, who are for the most part presumably men of education, should, in dealing with what they consider to be the most burning of social questions, have wholly neglected any system of study which would have fitted them to take a clear and comprehensive view of it?

And yet it is ignorance of this kind that we are obliged to lay at their doors. If they spoke absolutely in the dark, their position would be more intelligible; but they do not do this. They do not think it enough to trust to their own impressions. They are perpetually giving the public chapter and verse for their statements; they affect to be speaking from historical and statistical knowledge; and their quotations and references, though in many cases wholly erroneous, do betray a certain amount of study. The astonishing thing is, the method on which their study is conducted. All that they bring away from the domains of history and statistics is a smattering of isolated facts, wholly divorced from the facts most nearly connected with them—facts which thus would have no significance whatever, unless cited in support of a theory that has been conceived independently of them, and which, so used, has but one connection with truth, that these theorists always pervert, and very frequently contradict it. Thus, as an illustration of the special rapacity of landlords, it is a favourite common-place with every
Radical

Radical agitator, to say that the appropriators of so many millions of rent could stand in a room of such and such dimensions ; but they wholly forget to set by the side of this fact another, that if we take those whose income is derived from other sources than land, we could put in a yet smaller room the receivers of a yet larger revenue.

On statistics proper, however, we have dwelt long enough. We will now show the reader how the agitator deals with history. Ancient history, as we know, he does not deal with at all ; and all allusion to that he regards as irrelevant trifling : but modern history he conceives to be very full of instruction, and he delights to point his moral with various startling extracts from it. Whereas, however, when it is appealed to by a Conservative, he calls everything ancient history that is more than six months old, modern history, when used for his own purposes, often extends as far back as the Norman Conquest, and generally as far back as the close of the fifteenth century. We do not mention this last period at random. We mention it because constant and pointed reference is made to it, by Socialists and Radicals alike, in their agitation for land reform. To it the people of to-day are told to look back in order to realize what their rights in the soil are, and how prosperous their condition would be if only these rights were vindicated. For this special application of history to the purposes of social agitation, Karl Marx is mainly responsible ; and many a Radical, who has never even heard his name, is to-day parroting theories which he first brought into prominence. We will therefore refer the reader to the language of Marx himself ; or, since the original passages in question are too long for quotation, to the abstract—in reality a translation—which Mr. Hyndman gives of them :—

‘The fifteenth century was the golden age of agricultural England. Villenage had disappeared. The country, far more populous at that time than is commonly supposed, was occupied and cultivated by free men who tilled their own land, subject only to light dues, payable to feudal superiors. Such day-labourers as there were, lived in perfect freedom, owned plots of land themselves, and shared in the enormous common land which then lay free and open to all. Landless, houseless families were almost unknown, permanent pauperism was undreamt of. The feudal lords who maintained around them crowds of retainers were at this time merely the heads of a free prosperous society, which recognized them as their natural leaders alike in war and peace. Notwithstanding, or rather by reason of, the great subdivision of the land, the wealth of the bulk of the people was extraordinary. . . . Men so different as Cobbett and Fawcett, Thornton and Rogers, are all agreed on these points. They are of
one

one mind that the working agriculturist of the fifteenth century was a well-to-do free man. How do our present agricultural labourers figure in comparison? We can all of us judge of that, even if the reports of agricultural commissions were not at hand to tell us. . . . What is the reason of all this increasing penury, accompanied in rural districts by an astounding decrease of population? Unquestionably the entire removal of the people from the land is the chief cause of the mischief. . . . Between the fifteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century the whole face of England had been changed. The mere wage-earner took the place of the labouring petty farmer. Yet, even so late as the end of the seventeenth century, eighty per cent. of the population of England were still purely agricultural. By the middle of the eighteenth century there was scarcely a yeoman of the old type left in a county.* [The words of Marx are "Towards the year 1750 the yeomanry had disappeared."]

We have said that the agitator in his dealings with history is a smatterer; and in proving the justice of this charge, the example of Marx has an exceptional force and value. For, in the ordinary sense of the word—in the sense in which it applies to Mr. Hyndman—it would be wholly inaccurate to call Marx a smatterer at all. He was, on the contrary, a man of great reading and research, and his work on 'Capital,' in spite of its errors, is a storehouse of curious facts. But, if we give the word *smatterer* its true, not its superficial, intention, then Marx was a smatterer of the most inveterate and mischievous kind. We mean that, however diligent he may have been in accumulating facts, he is not only often inaccurate with regard to the facts which he accumulates, but these facts are of one order only, and others which would change the whole meaning of them are altogether ignored. Thus, it is no doubt true that, towards the end of the fifteenth century, the people were enjoying a period of exceptional plenty. But, in the first place, this plenty is in itself exaggerated. Though there seems to have been a universal abundance of meat, there was a corresponding dearth of all vegetable food. Many of the peasants in the North had never even seen bread, and a diet of meat exclusively was a general source of disease; and, in the second place, the plenty, such as it was, was due to an extraordinary cause, of which Marx makes no mention whatever. The population of England, until a comparatively recent date, increased very slowly. At the time of the Conquest, it is supposed to have been about two millions; by 1348 it had risen to about three millions; but in 1349 the most dreadful pestilence recorded in

* 'England for All,' chap. i. The above extract is an abridgement from Marx's work on 'Capital,' chaps. xxvii. and xxviii.

ern history swept off more than a quarter of the English
e; and, long before this loss had been made good again,
of a similar kind, though not of the same magnitude, was
ted on the country by the wars of Henry V. with France.
as happened that, at the period to which Marx alludes,
was a scarcity of labour in England which is wholly
ut a parallel; and it was to this scarcity, more than to
ther cause, that the rise in the wages of the labouring
was due. But, even had this not been the case, and had
been no such scarcity, the comparison of that time with
ould be almost equally idle. The population of England
whether suffering from any temporary diminution or not,
ardly more than one-seventh of what it is at the present
and instead of saying, as Marx does, that since then 'the
e have been removed from the land,' it would be truer to
at since then six new peoples have been allowed to live
e land. Marx tells how minutely the land was then
ed, and he urges on us the necessity of a like subdivision
but he wholly forgets to enquire what minute subdivision
t. An equal division then could have given every family
acres; now an equal division would give every family
his entire aspect of the question escapes Marx altogether,
and his followers declaim aloud the 'astounding decrease'
rural population, forgetful of the fact that our rural popula-
ow is double the population of the whole of England then,
at what they are pleased to call an astounding decrease is
an increase of more than a hundred per cent.

will direct the reader's attention to two other points,
will put Marx as a student of history in a yet plainer

The assertion, that towards 1750 the yeomanry had dis-
red, is not, like the assertions we have just been con-
g, one-sided; it is absolutely false. Large estates have
nlarging themselves ever since that date, and yet there
me hundred thousand yeoman proprietors still. Again,
y false, and even more misleading, is the assertion that
period, whose praise he celebrates, 'landless families
almost unknown, and permanent pauperism undreamt
He declares that landless paupers began first to make
appearance when the golden age was drawing to a close,
at they were not numerous enough to attract the notice
law till the reign of Henry VII., when, he says, 'they
reated like voluntary criminals; as though it depended
eir own free will, as it once did, whether they would
or no; and as though no change had come over their
ion.' So far, however, is this from being true, that
legislation

legislation of the very kind he speaks of had been already begun some hundred and thirty years before. It was again and again renewed during the time when, he says, it never existed; and one of the most remarkable evidences that this was really the case, is to be found in a Statute from which he himself quotes.* The point, which Marx is using every effort to prove, is that pauperism first began with the growth of an oppressive bourgeoisie, and the spread of a bourgeois spirit amongst the aristocracy. What is proved by the historical facts, which he overlooks or suppresses, is that pauperism began with that abolition of villeinage which it suits his purpose to treat of as an unmixed social gain. We are not denying the importance of many of the facts he dwells upon. We are only concerned to show how profoundly their significance is altered by those which he virtually denies; and how little the most diligent study entitles a man to be trusted, who goes to history, not that he may be taught by it, but that it, under his management, may, like a brow-beaten witness, be compelled to give evidence in favour of some teaching of his own.

The question of the historical origin of pauperism is beside our immediate point, but we have touched on the subject for the sake of the illustration which its treatment by Marx affords us. Our main reason, however, for thus referring to the fifteenth century, is the astounding way in which the question of population is wholly lost sight of in Marx's estimate of the period, and the fact that this oversight on the part of Marx is emulated to this day by every Radical agitator in England. The instinct of the Radical the moment he hears this accusation will be, we are

* In the Statute of Labourers of 1349, to certain provisions of which Marx himself alludes, it is commanded, because 'many valiant beggars, so long as they may live of begging, do refuse to labour, giving themselves to idleness and vice, and sometimes to other abominations, none shall under colour of pity or alms, give anything to such which may labour.' In 1376 the Rolls of Parliament contain a strong complaint by the Commons against beggars, stating that, despite high wages, they would run away from their masters and lead an idle life in towns. In 1383 it was ordained and assented that 'to refrain the malice of divers people, wandering from place to place, running in the country more abundantly then they were wont in times past,' the justices and the sheriffs should compel them to find surety for their good behaviour, or in default commit them to the nearest gaol, and then do to them 'that, that thereof best shall seem to them by the law.' Again, a statute in 1388 says: 'Beggars impotent to serve, shall abide in the cities and towns where they may be dwelling at the time of the proclamation of the statute: and if the people of the said cities or towns will or may not suffice to maintain them, then the said beggars shall draw them to other towns within the hundred, rape, or wapentake, or to the towns where they were born, within forty days after the said proclamation made, and there shall continually abide during their lives.' It is not contended that in the picture drawn by Marx of England in the fifteenth century there is no truth; but that a large part of the facts with regard to that period have been suppressed, and all the most important amongst its antecedent conditions

ll aware, to deny it; and he will remind us that, with regard to the rural districts at least, population, or rather depopulation, is his constant theme. We reply that no doubt he is busy enough with the words, but that, so far as we can judge by the statements in which he indulges, he has no comprehensive acquaintance of any kind with the thing. Let us take for instance the language of Mr. Jesse Collings. He, and the school of which he is so prominent an ornament, are never weary of bewailing the decay of the English peasantry; it is their stock phrase, that the inhabitants of the country are being driven into the towns; and it is their stock lamentation that the country, once so populous, is, in comparison with what it used to be, fast becoming a desert. Now we are by no means saying that this language shows no acquaintance with fact, but we do say that it shows a singularly partial acquaintance. Who could imagine, to hear Mr. Collings speak, that those country districts of England, whose appalling desolation he deplures, though they were somewhat more populous twenty years ago, have yet at this moment nearly as many inhabitants as at the beginning of this century were in country and towns together? *

This method, however, of dealing with the rural population, comparatively honest and accurate, when compared with that which the Radicals generally, when discussing the land-question, follow with reference to the population of the kingdom as a whole. That the population of the towns has increased enormously, it is true, they do not deny; on the contrary, they insist that it has done so. But they invariably represent this increase as due to a disastrous immigration from the country;† and, were their public and popular utterances our only source of information, we should infallibly conclude that the population of the kingdom as a whole had increased but little during the last two centuries, and had hardly increased at all during the last eighty years. They never pause to consider that the increase in London alone has been far greater, during the last fifteen years, than the immigration from the

The number of persons directly engaged in agriculture was, in 1861, 1,045,454; in 1881, the number was 1,383,184; but almost exactly half of this increase is due to the withdrawal, not of men from agriculture, but of women. In 1801 the total population of England and Wales was 9,060,393. In 1881 the total population alone was 8,337,275.

Thus Mr. Wallace, in his book on 'Land Nationalization,' p. 215, says: 'The only true and effectual cure for all these horrors and iniquities is to draw the population of the towns to the country.' We are glad of this opportunity of alluding to Mr. Wallace, in order to mark our sense of the admirable temper and fairness pervading his whole book. In this respect he stands alone in the school with which he has associated himself. We sincerely regret that his judgment and his keenness are not equal to his temper and his fairness.

country

country into all the towns of the kingdom during the last twenty; and that, whilst the country population is still, in spite of recent changes, almost as great as the entire population in 1801, the new population, that has been added to the towns alone, has increased that entire population by nearly a hundred and fifty per cent. The increase in the towns has been some sixteen millions. The immigration from the country has not been so much as a million.

All this, we say, the Radical apostles of land-reform never pause to consider. They are either too ignorant to know it, too disingenuous to admit it, or too much pre-occupied to remember it. The last explanation is, we incline to believe, the true one; but, whatever be the cause, the result is still the same. These men, who conceive themselves to be the most enlightened of statesmen, and who boast that they will, by an appeal to history, teach the people to realize their true rights in the soil, habitually appeal to periods which, in the most vital point concerned, are not parallels, but violent contrasts, to our own. They are never weary of talking of the vast common lands which the people once possessed, which the rapacity of the landlords has stolen from them, and which by some means or other ought to be given back to them. But they quite forget that, if the land were distributed amongst even one-half of our existing population, not only would no common land be restored, but every acre would have to be taken of such common land as is left. They quite forget that, were even one-half of the population allotted land in plots of not more than ten acres to a family, all the land in England would be occupied, and half the population would be utterly landless still.

We again beg leave to say that, whatever may be our own convictions, we are not now writing as apologists of the existing land system: we are only concerned to show the astounding ignorance that underlies the present attacks made upon it. And we must again take occasion to impress upon the reader, that this ignorance is by no means confined to what are commonly called ignorant men. We have before us, for instance, a pamphlet on 'Land Nationalization,' by Dr. Clark, a physician, and member of several learned societies;* and the following sentences are a specimen of his wisdom. 'At present,' he says, 'about one-half of our food supply is imported; three out of every four loaves eaten in this country are grown abroad; if we were to drift into war, and even one of our thousand food ships were captured by the enemy, the advance in price would be great. *It is time our*

* 'A Plea for the Nationalization of the Land,' by G. B. Clark, M.D.

and system was abolished, and the country again become fertile.' We beg that the reader will notice these last words of Dr. Clark evidently considers them to be the soundest sense; but can anything, we ask, be more like raving? He forgets precisely what we have said all do forget—he forgets the growth of our population; fails to see that, if his words have any meaning at all, it mean, either that one-half of our population must be, or that—stranger still—the country must produce twice as much food as it ever produced before. We cited Dr. Clark, not because he is a man of any influence, but because he must necessarily be a man of some education; and, as such, he is a very excellent specimen of the kind of madness, which, so far as the land question is concerned, the Radical school indicate to all who come under their influence. These men conceive themselves to be the pioneers of progress, and are accustomed to taunt their opponents with their superstitious reverence for the past, become themselves, the moment their eyes are moved, the ministers of a worship more superstitious; and, whilst deriding the nation's reverence for a past which has really existed, they work themselves into a state of devotion for an imaginary past that has never existed.

We could willingly have dwelt on this subject longer; but we must leave us, for the present, to bring our enquiry to a close. We have, however, that enough has already been said to bring before our readers the main fact we have been most desirous to press upon them. We mean the fact that the party of the Radicals, generally, in commending its measures and canvassing its interests, is doing far less by any overt propagandism than by an elaborate system of historical falsification, by which the past, with all its tendencies inverted, is interpreted by a past of its facts suppressed—a past which, in virtue of this, is as much like reality as a cherub is like a man. We have the fact which we urge upon the attention of our readers; and our efforts in the present article have been directed to bring before them its extreme magnitude and importance. We have endeavoured to open their eyes to the kind of nefarious system to which the public opinion of the country is at this time being subjected, and to the dexterous way in which its passions are being played upon; to the admiration excited for a past that has never existed; the alarm at the rise of a middle class which is really fast increasing; the horror and indignation at the increase of a poverty which

which is in reality fast rising into competence. We ask our readers to consider all this, and to reflect that, to arrive at a true estimate of the situation, we have not to assent to, but categorically to deny, nearly every one of the beliefs that are at the present moment popular. We must recollect especially, that the English labouring classes, instead of being, as Mr. Wallace says, the paupers of Europe, are in reality the richest labouring class in the world, and that their proportionate share in the progress of the past forty years has been greater than that of any other class in the community.

The importance of our realizing the actual state of the case, of escaping from the dream-world of the agitator, where all that is, is inverted, is incalculable. Such an escape on the part of public opinion would be in itself a revolution. We have, however, something more to add, or our own estimate of the truth would be gravely mistaken. When we declare that the poorer classes as a body have advanced, and are advancing, enormously, we do not for a moment close our eyes to the squalor and the misery that still remains among us; and if any Radical thinks he is refuting our position by pointing to the horrors of squalid and outcast London, we reply that of these we are as fully aware as he, and that our concern for them is as fully as great as his. We differ from him, not in not seeing them, but in seeing them in their true proportions. If we were to find in the road some unhappy man covered with blood from a terribly mangled leg, we should not be showing any want of compassion if we stoutly maintained that the wound was in the leg only, and that in spite of his agony not another member was injured. Not only is compassion for misery not best shown by exaggerating it, but one of the chief conditions of its use is that it should not be exaggerated. With diseases in the body politic this is the case especially; and no more foolish or disastrous course can be taken, than to bewail the pain without considering the extent of the evil, and to treat a nation as though it were in a dangerous fever, when in reality it is suffering from nothing but an acute local inflammation. It is our duty, if we would not lose our heads, to keep our eyes on what is going well with us, just as steadily as on what is going ill with us; and we trust that the reflections contained in the present article may assist the reader in forming some sound opinions on the matter.

It will be recollected that in dealing with the progress of the poorer classes we showed it to be impossible that more than a quarter of their number should have failed to better their position by at least a hundred per cent. during the last forty years; and that even of this quarter a very considerable proportion must have

ered their position by at least twenty-five per cent. we speak of a quarter of the poorer classes of this population of seven and a half millions; and there is room in even half this number for misery, not only to shock a philanthropist, but to be a serious social danger to the community. Were there one family in eight below the condition of comfort, the number of the wretched that would belong to London alone would be something like five hundred thousand persons. That is a reflection sufficiently distressing and serious. It can be regarded in two ways. We may either regard it as a disgrace to our civilization, is it not a horrible thing that one family out of every eight should be on the verge of misery? Or we may say, on the other hand, Is it not a sign of our civilization, is it not a most hopeful sign, that, instead of the pauperism of forty years ago, seven families out of eight are in a condition of progressive competence? The agitator dwells only on the first consideration: the optimist dwells on the second. Both agitator and optimist are wrong. The right proceeding is to give equal weight to each; and this is the characteristic of true Conservatism. The Conservative differs from the Radical and the agitator, not because he is less, but because he sees more. And the result of this dispassionate looking on both sides of the question is not to make us think that there is no misery to be relieved, but to encourage us in our efforts for alleviating it, to show us the direction and the spirit in which those efforts must be made.

A dispassionate review of the history of the past forty years, which relates to the economic condition of the people, will show us that the Constitution is not superannuated, nor incapable of doing its work; that it is not dividing the country, as Mr. Chamberlain says it is, into two nations of millionaires and paupers, and will, if not altered, produce a fierce social revolution; but that, on the contrary, under this very Constitution wealth has been increasing itself in a way unparalleled in any other country; that both rich and poor have been gaining, the poor more than the rich; and that England, with her monarchical and democratic institutions, allows to the people a measure of freedom that is not tolerated for an instant in the lands of despotic rule.

- ART. X.—1. *Speech of C. S. Parnell, Esq., M.P., at Dublin, December 11, 1883.*
 2. *Letter to the Right Hon. Sir John Hay, Bart., M.P.* By the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., G.C.B., M.P. December 3, 1883.
 3. *The Liberal Party and Mr. Chamberlain.* By W. T. Marriott, Q.C., M.P. London, 1883.

ADMITTING the wisdom of the witty American's apothegm, 'Don't prophesy unless you know,' and recognizing the fact, that to no field of human speculation is it more applicable than to politics, we are nevertheless of opinion that the portents which precede the opening of Parliament next month are so numerous and so startling, as to justify on our part some anticipation of the probable course of political events, and some consideration of the policy it may behove the Constitutional Party to follow. On all sides, and from all quarters, is the political horizon dark with threatening storms, and all the courage, skill, and resources of our leaders, will be taxed to the utmost to steer our bark safely through the seething waves of external complications, and internal strife.

As to the latter cause of anxiety, the loudest note of warning has been sounded, oddly enough, from the Ministerial camp, by Mr. Childers, who, belying for once the epithet of 'cheerful' affixed to him by the quick-witted Irish on the occasion of his visit to Ireland in the height of the Land-League atrocities, did not hesitate to inform his constituents, and, through them, the country, that in his judgment the changes contemplated by his colleagues and himself were the most momentous which had been proposed in our representative and administrative system since 1689.* If Lord Salisbury or Sir Stafford Northcote had ventured on such a statement, it would no doubt have been indignantly denied or mercilessly ridiculed by the Ministerial press. We should have been bidden to recollect the Act of Union with Ireland, the subsequent Emancipation of the Roman Catholics, the Reform Act of 1832, the Abolition of Slavery, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and even the Reform Act of 1867, and have been reminded that all the legislation now contemplated proposes to do, is to supplement and complete the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1867, and the Municipal Reform Act of 1834. But Mr. Childers, who ought to know, is of a different opinion; and while he faces the possible results of these momentous measures with outward equanimity, inwardly he pro-

* See 'Times,' December 7th, 1883.

shares Lord Sherbrooke's dismal apprehensions. At any rate we know his estimate of their magnitude and far-reaching character.

Before, however, proceeding to discuss the topics of domestic interest which the coming Session has in store for us, it is necessary to enter a caveat against a manifest design of Ministers to plead the urgency of legislative changes in bar of full and searching criticism of their Foreign, Indian, and Colonial failures. Even last Session every device was used to prevent the House of Commons expressing an opinion on the shameful abandonment of the miserable Pretoria Convention, and it has been ostentatiously proclaimed by Caucus and Conference, that the Session of 1884 is to be devoted to internal matters, to the exclusion of external affairs.

In a memorable passage in his address to the electors of Buckinghamshire in 1859, Mr. Disraeli charged Lord Palmerston with endeavouring 'to divert the attention of the people from consideration of their own affairs to the distraction of foreign politics.' With at least equal truth it may be affirmed of Mr. Gladstone, that he is endeavouring to divert public attention from his mismanagement of Foreign, Indian, and Colonial affairs, by the proposal of extravagant political changes at home. We sincerely hope that this design will be frustrated by the courage and determination of our leaders in both Houses. In former days, the Debate on the Address would have been a fitting opportunity for criticizing the impolicy and lack of success which have marked Mr. Gladstone's management of India, South Africa, and Egypt; and it is a proof of the decadence in public opinion, that Ministers and Ministerial apologists have actually described the couple of nights occupied by the discussion on Anglo-Egyptian affairs at the opening of the Session as obstruction and waste of time. To any but the stupidest and most parochially-minded of Radicals it must now be evident that, with an English army encamped in an indefinite period in Egypt, with the triumphant hordes of the Mahdi marching upon Egypt proper, and the Khedive reduced by Mr. Gladstone to contract his frontier to the Red Cataract, while all the nascent institutions, wherewith the genial genius of Lord Dufferin has enriched the land of Pharaoh, are dependent on our unrelaxed supremacy, the affairs of Egypt do concern us in England at least as much as proposals for pillaging the City Companies, or for reducing the Local Government of the Metropolis to the condition of a magnified Birmingham or Glasgow Town Council. Apart from the complications arising out of the improvident

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negotiations with M. de Lesseps, and the still more improvident acknowledgment by Mr. Gladstone of his preposterous claim to a monopoly of waterway communication between the Mediterranean and Red Seas, our relations to that country, always of first, have recently become of paramount importance, and demand the most prompt and searching attention of Parliament.

So again with respect to India. The same desire and design of concealment, which prompted Lord Hartington's chuckle of delight at Sheffield, that Parliament was not in Session, and that inconvenient questions on Foreign Affairs could no longer be put, have avowedly regulated the conduct of the Ilbert Bill by the Home Government, and will, doubtless, be defended by the delusive plea, that the best interests of India would suffer if such measures were to be discussed on the floor of the House of Commons.

Granting the alleged inconvenience, we ask, how and why has it become expedient, nay, even necessary? Simply because in the inception and conduct of that insensate measure the views and opinions of Indian statesmen, whether in India or in England, have been persistently overruled or set aside in favour of the conceited optimism of Lord Ripon and Lord Kimberley. Each of these vain and self-sufficient politicians has, of late, been endeavouring to throw the blame off his own shoulders; but Lord Ripon's speech to his Council makes it plain, that the resolve to deprive Parliament of all voice in the matter until the Indian Legislative Council has disposed of it, is Lord Kimberley's, and not his. Theoretically, indeed, even if that Council accepts the measure, the formal sanction of the Crown is necessary before it takes effect, and, should the Government be willing, a discussion in Parliament might precede, and, possibly, prevent that sanction; but the persistent efforts of the Government to evade discussion on all the debateable points of their recent administrative policy render such conduct on their part highly improbable.* Even now, when we are told that a Compromise, or Concordat, has been arrived at, it is not between the Government and the constituted Indian authorities, but between it and the Anglo-Indian Defence Association, a purely self-constituted body, which is thus invested with new and abnormal powers by the Governor-General, and which will

* Another instance of this game of battledore and shuttlecock is afforded by the recent *communiqué* from the India Office to the newspapers, in which the world is informed that Lord Kimberley and his Council knew nothing of Lord Ripon's Concordat, and were prepared to defend the illusory compromise announced by Lord Northbrook at Bristol.

not be content to lay them down when its immediate interest is at stake. Under these circumstances an appeal to Parliament is not only permissible, but necessary, in order to prevent the arbitrary judgment of those powerful and experienced Ministers who were established in 1858 for the purpose of advising the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, being nullified, and the country plunged into confusion and disorder.

Lord Kimberley is lacking in the discrimination and the requisite in the virtual ruler of subject races, was demonstrated by his disastrous management of South African affairs during his short incumbency of the Colonial Office, and the measure of the folly of placing him at the head of the Transvaal Administration is to be found in the present condition of Zululand, the Transvaal, and Bechuanaland, and of our relations with those unfortunate countries. Between the Conference of Pretoria and the restoration of Cetewayo it is difficult to see the leaden crown of imbecility. Both speedily followed by disgrace, bloodshed, and disaster; and both demanding the intentions of the Government with respect to the races and people affected by them should be subjected to a vigorous Parliamentary criticism. The highly important advice of the Australasian delegates, and the conclusions to which they arrived as to the future of New Guinea and the Borneo question, will compel Lord Derby to abandon his attitude of reserve, if not contemptuous reserve, and to adopt a decided attitude, friendly or hostile to the wise and legitimate aspirations (as they appear to us) of those magnificent Dependencies. These are questions of far greater present or future importance than any re-arrangement of our electoral system, and they are questions which, unlike the latter, will not brook delay. It is the coming Session that they must be debated, and it is the Constitutional party that the country looks for the discharge of that great and solemn duty.

Even supposing fair opportunities are afforded by the coming Session for the discussion of these important and pressing questions, it is clear that early in the Session the Opposition will be brought face to face with projects of domestic legislation which cannot be relegated to Committees, whether Standing or Select; and while our leaders are probably justified in declining to pronounce upon questions which are still in embryo, it is within our legitimate right to anticipate their character, and, on the assumption that the forecast is correct, to indicate the course by which, in our opinion, they should be met by the Tory party in the House of Commons.

In the present critical position of affairs in Ireland, India, and South Africa, it is probable that the Government are still undecided to which class of domestic Bills they give the preference. No wizard is required to foretell that which awaits them if they follow the happy-go-lucky policy of tendering them in the Press and on the Platform, and then upon the table of the House a batch of Bills for reforming the revolutionizing, our Representative system, Metropolitan administration, and County government. Though no admirer of Mr. Gladstone's management of the House of Commons, I give him credit for a sufficient knowledge of it to enable him to avoid so gross a blunder, and we shall assume that he will invite the attention of Parliament, either to Parliamentary or Local Government Reform.

In the event then of his choice falling upon the first measure, what will be its leading principles, and what will be its reception by our friends?

Though both Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville have maintained during the Recess a discreet silence on this question, and much difference of opinion on important details has been exhibited to a perplexed public by less reticent members of the Government, we may with tolerable confidence assume that the Bill or Bills will embrace the three Kingdoms, and will assign their franchises on the basis of Household Suffrage for Counties as well as Boroughs. Probably, though not so certainly, some form or other a scheme of redistribution of seats will be communicated to the House, before its judgment is asked at the second reading of the principal Bill. How the existing County and Borough Freeholders (once regarded by Whig statesmen as the salt of our electoral system) are to be dealt with, whether female ratepayers are to be enfranchised, how agricultural labourers in thinly inhabited districts in the three Kingdoms are to be enabled to vote under the new Corrupt Practice Act, whether the representation of minorities is to be continued, and these and many other questions of practical moment are, however, less still unsettled, and need not here be considered. The point to engage our attention is, how should a Bill establishing Household Suffrage in the three Kingdoms for Counties as well as for Boroughs be encountered on its second reading? We should without hesitation, by opposition. The form that opposition should take can only be decided at the time; but, should it then be thought wise to proceed by an argumentative instead of a direct negative, we sincerely hope the amendment will not carry its supporters to the principle of identity of franchise either now or at any future time. We hope this on many grounds.

In the first place, variety of franchise has always existed in the electoral system of this country, has been always defended by statesmen of all parties, and has always been recognized and insisted upon in all Reform Bills proposed by responsible politicians. In this statement we include the Reform Bill of 1859, which proposed many new franchises, by the operation of which its authors hoped to counteract and enliven the dull uniformity, which would otherwise have resulted from the assimilation of the County to the Borough 10*l.* occupation franchise. In spite, however, of those provisions, that measure failed to commend itself to general approval; and when Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli again seriously addressed themselves to the task of Parliamentary Reform, they deliberately rejected identity of suffrage, and were supported in that rejection by the example and counsels of those Liberal leaders who are now clamouring for uniformity.

Secondly, we maintain that this difference in kind between the County and Borough franchise is justified, not only by immemorial prescription, but by its beneficial results, and that the country, in its varied interests, would be less well represented after its abolition than it is now. Most thoughtful politicians of the Whig school would admit this, and the only argument even Radicals allege against it is, that the risk must be run in order to give to every householder his right to vote. But that right has never been admitted by Constitutional statesmen to exist, and, if admitted, it cannot, as Mr. Chamberlain has been good enough recently to warn us, be restricted to householders, or 10*l.* lodgers. In 1874 the present Attorney-General was alarmed at the prospect of 1,100,000 voters being added to the register by what he called universal household suffrage; how does he view the prospect Mr. Chamberlain holds out to him of 6,000,000 new electors sweeping all before them at the polling booths? Admit the franchise to be, not a trust, but a right, and Mr. Chamberlain's conclusion is logical and irresistible.

Thirdly. Whether the number of new voters be 1,100,000 according to the Attorney-General, or 6,000,000 according to the President of the Board of Trade, in either case a complete redistribution of electoral power will be rendered necessary; leading, unless recourse be had to absolutely equal electoral divisions, to the creation of new anomalies at least as glaring as any now existing, and far more vexatious, because new. Take, for example, the exclusion of female householders; whatever may be the number of them now excluded from the County franchise of 12*l.* rating, it is clear that, when all householders are admitted to that franchise, that number will be largely increased:

increased: and a new anomaly and injustice will arise in the case of all such dwelling in houses rated under 12*l*.

Fourthly. Unless equal electoral districts be adopted, or a system closely resembling them, the representative inequalities now so fiercely denounced will be aggravated rather than diminished; and if that change be effected, then, according to all the rules of political arithmetic, the Metropolis must be conceded more members than will fall to the share of the whole Kingdom of Scotland, and Mr. Forster in his speech at Bradford boldly faced and accepted that conclusion. But is it pretended that so great a displacement of electoral power has been considered by the country, even ever so slightly, or that Parliament would be justified in passing a Franchise Bill of which, in the opinion of so fair and generally moderate a statesman as Mr. Forster, this is the logical and proper consequence?

Fifthly. We contend, with Sir Richard Cross, that most of the anomalies, of which so much is said, may be removed without any alteration of the franchise, by a simple alteration of boundaries in some cases, and by the creation of new constituencies in others. For the latter, sufficient provision exists in the disfranchised Boroughs—six in number—and in those awaiting disfranchisement, which may probably amount to as many more. If it be true, which we doubt, that the householders on one side of the street in an anonymous Borough are voters, and their opposite neighbours are not, the obvious and proper remedy is to include the latter in the Borough, and with respect to new urban populations which have risen to the magnitude of large towns since 1867—such as Barrow, St. Helens, Keighley with its Airedale satellites, and Croydon—a separate and distinct representation may well be granted to them; it is, indeed, much to be regretted that the ill-advised Dissolution of 1880 prevented Lord Beaconsfield's Government from dealing with the six English and two Irish seats then vacant.

Sixthly and lastly. Ireland! Well might Lord Hartington warn his constituents, that many sound Liberals looked askance at the proposal to endow Ireland with universal Household suffrage. That warning was uttered before Mr. Parnell put forth his Dublin allocution, and the doubts and hesitations to which the Whig leader then gave expression have been intensified and enlarged by that most unmistakable declaration of war. The great organ of Liberal opinion in Scotland, the '*Scotsman*,' has steadily opposed the inclusion of Ireland in the next Reform Bill, and we have no doubt but that Lord Hartington had good reason to know he was speaking the mind of many English, Scotch, and Irish Liberal members, who have not had the

the courage to take their constituents into their confidence in the matter. Of the folly and wickedness of such a proposal the Conservative party are, to a man, fully convinced. Indeed, had it not been for Mr. Forster's speech at Bradford, we should have thought that, at any rate after Mr. Parnell's declaration, all reflecting politicians would be of one mind on the subject. Mr. Forster, however, with the amiable optimism which distinguishes him, and which in this naughty world makes him so unsafe a guide, would encounter all the obvious dangers of what he calls Hearthstone franchise in Ireland, in the hope and belief, either that Mr. Parnell does not mean what he says, or that he will lack the power to turn to bad account the new weapons placed in his hands by the contemplated Parliamentary and Local Government Reform Bills. Considering the vantage ground of experience from which Mr. Forster addresses us on Irish matters, it may not be impertinent to ask for the grounds on which he claims public confidence for his rose-coloured hopes and beliefs. When he took office in 1880 he was equally confident, in spite of the solemn warning of Lord Beaconsfield and of all the permanent officials of Ireland, that he could govern that country without any exceptional legislation at all; and when, after a year of unexampled bloodshed, outrage, and lawlessness, he was compelled to appeal to Parliament for a Coercion Act, he entertained no doubt that, by the temporary incarceration of a few hundreds of village-ruffians, as he called them, the power of the agrarian conspiracy would be broken. But his hopeful anticipations were realized in neither case, and he was hustled out of office by his colleagues (just as weak and culpable as himself) with failure stamped on his acts, alike of omission and commission. Take, again, his hopes and beliefs on the Transvaal capitulation. He assented to the disgraceful treaty of Pretoria, in the hope and belief that his colleagues intended to uphold it, and he had to confess publicly that he has been disappointed in that expectation. After three such signal failures in three short years, the English public may be excused if they attach more credence and importance to Mr. Parnell's threats than to Mr. Forster's hopes. How different was the view of all doubtful experiments and policies taken by that real statesman, Lord Lyndhurst! 'When the interests of millions are at stake, where the rise or fall of empires may depend upon the issue, away with confidence! Confidence generally ends in credulity. This is true of statesmen as of individuals. Their duty in such a position is to exercise caution, vigilance, jealousy.*' And surely

* See the 'Life of Lord Lyndhurst,' by Sir Theodore Martin, p. 456.

if on any subject caution, vigilance, and jealousy, are requisite, it is in respect of further empirical legislation for Ireland. Since Emancipation, what a dreary record of legislative failures, each pompously announced as the certain harbinger of loyalty and contentment! The increased and permanent endowment of Maynooth, the creation of the Godless Colleges, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, the Encumbered Estates Court, the assimilation of the Irish land laws to those of England, the destruction of the Irish Church Establishment, the substitution of a mildly socialistic Land Code for that of England, and its subsequent socialistic development, and then—at the end of all—the Crimes Prevention Act, Mr. Parnell's speech, and Mr. Forster's hopes!

We have placed Mr. Parnell's speech at the head of this paper; containing, as it does, in our opinion, matter of far greater importance than all the utterances of all the Cabinet Ministers who have spoken during the Recess. There is not a sentence in it which may not be profitably studied by our public men; but our present concern is with that part of it which deals with the two most urgent Irish questions of the day: the Franchise and the renewal of the Crimes Act. We reproduce the entire passage as reported in the 'Times':

'Gentlemen, we are told about the franchise, that the Liberal party is going to be great and generous, and going to extend the franchise to Ireland. I am very much inclined to think that, were it not for the fact that there exists in the House of Commons a solid band of forty men who would vote steadily against any extension of the suffrage in England if Ireland were left out, we should see very little of the inclusion of Ireland in the Bill. We can survey these questions and contests of English parties with perfect equanimity. Our position is a strong and a winning one in any case. Whether they extend the franchise or whether they do not, we shall return between seventy and eighty members in the next election. Our cause is undoubtedly a winning cause, and though the progress we may be making at present, and in the face of coercion, must be slow, yet still we are making progress. We are making up the force and adding to the impetus which was given to the Irish national cause in the days of the great Land League movement; and although it is hard—although our blood often boils in witnessing the indignities, the sufferings, and the persecutions, which many of the people of this country are obliged to submit to by day and by night—we must be patient. We have every reason to be patient. We shall win if we are patient. The miserable character of the shifts and evasions, which the Irish Executive has daily resorted to, shows that we are winning; coercion cannot last for ever. This Coercion Act is running out, and we are living it down. There is one thing that it is very well for us to remember and to remind English people of—that,

that, if there be one fact more certain than another it is that if we are to be coerced again, if the present Coercion Act or any part of it is to be renewed, if the Constitution is not to be restored to us, these things shall be done by a Tory Government, and not by a Liberal Government, and shall carry with them, in the shape of increased taxes and foreign wars, penalties in excess of those inflicted upon us. Beyond a shadow of doubt it will be for the Irish people in England—separated, isolated, as they are—and for your independent Irish members, to determine at the next General Election whether a Tory or a Liberal Ministry shall rule England. This is a great force and a great power. If we cannot rule ourselves, we can at least cause them to be ruled as we choose. This force has already gained for Ireland inclusion in the coming Franchise Bill. We have reason to be proud, hopeful, and energetic—determined that this generation shall not pass away until it has bequeathed to those who come after us the great birthright of national independence and prosperity.'

If, after this clear and unmistakable warning, the Parliament of the United Kingdom listens to the counsels of humanitarian politicians and philosophical doctrinaires, like Mr. Forster and Mr. Trevelyan, rather than the teachings of history and the explicit declarations of the exponent of the views of the majority of the Irish people, it, much more than Mr. Parnell, will merit the indignant condemnation of posterity. Next year the Act, under whose stringent provisions alone Life and Property are moderately safe in Ireland, expires. Mr. Parnell points to its expiry with unconcealed delight, as facilitating the movement towards what he calls national independence; but the Government encounter his projects, not with a renewal of the Crimes Act, but with an extension of the franchise! The condition of Ireland, then, alone condemns the proposal of identity of household suffrage for Counties and Boroughs in the three Kingdoms. But we fully recognize the inconvenience and impolicy of affecting that change, so great in itself, and so vast in its consequences, in England and Scotland, and withholding it from Ireland. To do so would be to open a source of never-ceasing complaint and agitation, of which Mr. Parnell and his fellow-demagogues would unsparingly avail themselves, and in the use of which, whenever a Conservative Government succeeded to office, the whole Liberal party would join them. Fatal, therefore, as we hold the admitted state of Ireland to be against the reduction of the present franchise, it is an irresistible argument against dealing with the County franchise in England and Scotland. At present Ireland has no legitimate complaint on the score of its franchise, which, if not absolutely so, is nearly identical with that of England, and can easily be vindicated, for the slight differences which exist, on historical and practical grounds; nor can it be pretended that the

the predominant feelings and wishes of the majority of the Irish people are not fully represented under the existing suffrage. To us, then, it appears that the Constitutional party would commit a grave blunder, were it to offer any encouragement to a further reduction of the County franchise, for which it is obvious there is no demand or desire in the Counties themselves; and we conclude our remarks on this momentous question in the significant words at the close of Sir Stafford Northcote's letter to Sir John Hay: 'If the country be brought to agree to an identical franchise, based on household suffrage, we shall give Mr. Chamberlain all he wants, and shall repent our folly, as the trees in the fable repented of having given the woodman a handle for his axe.'

We now proceed to consider, very shortly, the alternative programme, by virtue of which the attention of Parliament would be devoted to the so-called reform of Metropolitan and County government, with the subsidiary measures affecting the City Companies, London Water-supply, Local Taxation, and other minor questions. In spite of the evidently inspired revelation of the main lines on which London Corporation Reform would be based, in the columns of the '*Times*' a year ago, it may be that the cold reception accorded to the scheme so shadowed forth by the great mass of the respectable inhabitants of the Metropolis has not been disregarded by Sir William Harcourt, and that the Bill, when produced, will not establish that Mammoth Corporation for which pant the souls of Mr. Bottomley Firth and Sir John Bennett. On the assumption, however, that those lines will be maintained, and that City Corporation, Metropolitan Board of Works, and Vestries, are all to be cast into the reforming crucible, and a brand new amalgam of one central Metropolitan Town Council to be fused out of them, we trust the Conservative party, in the interest of economy, purity of local administration, efficiency, and political peace, will resolutely oppose so crude and dangerous an experiment. On the last ground especially, any such violent change is greatly to be deprecated. Neither in the Corporation, nor in the Metropolitan Board of Works, has the slightest tinge of political partizanship ever in our time been detected, and this absence of the political element in those great bodies affords a most pleasing and significant contrast to the partizan strife and political turmoil, which constantly characterize, we will not say disgrace, the elections to, and the transaction of business by, the Municipal Councils of many of our great towns and cities. Sir Charles Dilke, in one of his many speeches, announced that Lord Derby would introduce a Suspensory Bill in restraint of the City Companies

Companies dealing with their property until the judgment of Parliament had been pronounced upon their future status. We can hardly believe that so cautious, not to say timid a Minister as Lord Derby would have authorized such a statement to be made on his behalf; but if such a Bill is introduced into the House of Lords, we hope that high Court of Justice will have sufficient respect for the rights of property to reject so arbitrary and insulting a proposal. With respect to County Government, there can be no reason why Sir Charles Dilke should not try his 'prentice hand on its reform, as well as his predecessors. If, however, he approaches that most complicated and thorny question in the light and jaunty spirit which animated his recent speech, he will fare no better than they. The fact is, County boundaries, arbitrary in their inception, have, owing to the numberless changes incident to the varying occupations of the population, become yearly less adapted for the governing control of the various bodies working partially or wholly within their ambit. Of this no more significant proof can be given, than is afforded by the mapping out of the Poor Law Unions by the Commissioners half a century ago. They were unsentimental, hard-headed, men of business, and in forming the Unions they had exclusive regard to the practical wants and convenience of those who were to manage and be affected by the operation of the new law. Had Counties been the most suitable areas to take as their basis, no doubt they would have gladly taken them. Since then, the Union Areas have been accepted for many fresh legislative experiments, and to assume that the practical work of a County can now be most conveniently carried on in the County town, according to the analogy of a Borough Corporation, is to imagine a rural Utopia. In the Counties themselves there is not the slightest wish for any change of the kind indicated by these Metropolitan reformers, and the farmers especially dread the substitution of popularly elected dispensers of County finance for the unpaid, practical, and economical justices, assembled in Quarter Sessions. Still, if legislation on this subject is not intended or used as a pretext for delay in dealing with the far more urgent question of Local Taxation (amounting now to the enormous sum of 35,000,000*l.* a year), the Conservative party are not called upon to oppose it on principle, though the details of any such measure would have to be most minutely and jealously scrutinized.

So far we have endeavoured to anticipate the probable legislative proposals of the Government, and to trace the course which we venture to hope the Conservative party will adopt with respect to them; but there are one or two questions of pressing importance,

importance, in which we think our leaders should themselves take the initiative.

Of far greater interest to the agriculturists of the three Kingdoms, and to the consumers of meat and milk, than extension of the franchise or reform of County government, is the exclusion of foreign diseases, and the abrogation of the present intolerable restrictions on the movement of their sheep and cattle. The resolution which Mr. Chaplin carried in a full House last Session still remains a dead letter, and all the information vouchsafed to the various bodies representing all sections of the farming community, by the Prime Minister, or by the new-fangled department which is supposed to be seized with the management of agricultural affairs, is that, in the opinion of the Government, they do not possess the legal power to carry into effect the wishes of the House of Commons, though they did not hesitate to act upon a similar resolution of the House in reference to the Contagious Diseases Act. We need not stop to enquire whether the law is as it is so stated to be; time is precious, and it becomes the duty of the leaders of the country party to remove that technical obstacle out of the way of the dilatory new department, and this, as it seems to us, can best be effected by a short Bill introduced into the House of Lords, and sent down to the House of Commons without any unnecessary delay. As head of the Royal Commission, whose recommendation in this matter was embodied in Mr. Chaplin's resolution, and as the author of the present well-meant but unsuccessful system, the Duke of Richmond would appear to be the most fitting mouth-piece of the agricultural world at this juncture. But be this as it may, we trust the House of Lords will at once grapple with this vital question, and take the lead in its satisfactory settlement.

In another matter of urgent and serious importance the House of Lords may fitly and beneficially take the lead, and that is in addressing the Crown for a Royal Commission to enquire into the causes of the alarming depression in the Cotton Trade. In spite of the efforts which have been made to counteract foreign competition and home over-production by abolishing, without any regard to the wants or wishes of India, the slight import duties imposed in that country upon English manufactured goods, and by selling at a merely nominal profit, it has been known for the last two years to all interested in the great Cotton industry of this country, that its condition was rapidly deteriorating, and that in a reduction of the cost of production, that is, of wages, lay the last hope of the manufacturers in their desperate attempt to fight hostile tariffs by free imports. That such a reduction
should

should be resisted by the men educated for the last forty years to believe that with the free import of corn their manufacturing supremacy was firmly established, was to be expected, and it is, we think, much to their credit, that many of the leading spirits among them have so far emancipated themselves from the stale doctrines of the Cobden Club, as to suggest a full and impartial enquiry into the circumstances which have obliged the masters to make the reduction. The admirable manner in which the operatives of the Cotton districts bore the privations inflicted on them by the American Civil War is still fresh in the recollection of the public, and we are confident that a request from the House of Lords for a Commission of enquiry, such as is now suggested, would be attended to even by the present Government.

Similarly in the question which has of late so deeply agitated the public mind, the condition of the Dwellings of the lowest class of the community, we trust the House of Lords will at once ask for that enquiry which those who are practically acquainted with the facts of the case are agreed should precede any fresh legislation.

These are all subjects which require immediate treatment, and which are abstracted from all direct party considerations. In the encumbered and confused condition of business in the House of Commons, it is hopeless to expect they could receive prompt, even if they could secure impartial, attention; it is therefore to the hereditary Chamber that the suffering interests and classes are now looking for redress and amelioration.

Let a bold and manly initiative in these and similar affairs be the answer of the House of Lords to Mr. Chamberlain's silly and insulting exhortation to them to stand out of the way.

That illustrious Assembly may be sure of this—that if, for the sake of averting for a little time the hostility of such politicians as Mr. Chamberlain, they are content to stand out of the way, and abstain from initiating such measures as they conceive to be requisite for the public good, or yield a cowardly assent to those of which they honestly disapprove—they will do more to endanger their time-honoured privileges and position as an independent branch of the Legislature, than all the diatribes of all the demagogues from the days of Orator Hunt and Daniel O'Connell, to these of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Bradlaugh. It may be, probably will be, that before the close of the coming Session their mettle will be severely tried: Bills of one or other of the two classes to which we have been referring, will be sent up to them, of a character, and directed to ends, of which they cannot approve. To assent to their principle in the hope of rendering them innocuous in Committee is shown by recent experience

rience to be a vain as well as an ignoble course. 'Thorough' is the true statesman's watchword, when clear and definite issues are at stake. No delusion can be greater than to suppose that, because the policy which on some particular question finds favour with the House of Lords is condemned by the majority of the House of Commons, it is therefore condemned by the electorate or the people. In proportion as the House of Commons becomes more and more a reflex of the changing moods and opinions of the democracy, so has it less claim to arrogate to itself the right and power to speak for its successor. The House of 1874 repudiated the policy of the House of 1868; the House of 1880 repudiated that of its predecessor. Signs are everywhere visible, that the next House of Commons will be composed of very different elements, and will favour a very different policy, from the present House. It is the plain and obvious duty of the House of Lords to take these facts into consideration, and, in dealing with the measures of organic reform which may be sent up to them by the existing House of Commons, to remember that it has passed its grand climacteric, and that numerous bye-elections have shown conclusively the change which has taken place in the electoral mind since 1880. Of this change the outspoken pamphlet by Mr. Marriott, which we have placed at the head of this article, is an indication. In it Mr. Marriott has the boldness to utter what many Liberals, in and out of Parliament, are rapidly coming to think. His final warning to the leaders of his party, that unless they disavow Mr. Chamberlain, his words and works, 'at the next election, many of those who voted with the majority will be found giving their votes in favour of the Conservative leaders, in the hope that they may play better the part Lord Hartington assigns to the Whigs, and so direct, guide, and moderate' future popular movements that 'beneficial changes may be brought about' by the calm 'and peaceful process of Constitutional acts,'*—may be profitably studied by the noble leader of the once proud and powerful Whig party, who appears to think that its present chief privilege and sole duty is to act jackal to the Radical lion. To the feeble counsels of Lord Hartington, and the insolent command of Mr. Chamberlain 'to stand out of the way,' we trust the House of Lords will turn an equally deaf ear; if in the coming Session they find themselves confronted with measures of organic change of which they disapprove, and which have never been fairly submitted to the judgment of the country, let them recal the noble language in which Lord Lynd-

* 'The Liberal Party and Mr. Chamberlain,' p. 30.

addressed their predecessors in the far more perilous crisis of 1801, and act as those predecessors then acted.

We are placed here, my Lords, not to pass Vestry Acts or Road Bills, but for the purpose of guarding against any rash result from the wishes of the Crown, and against the wishes of the people, which might lead to destruction. I say, my Lords, I fear not the result with which we are menaced. The people of England are generous. If they think we have not done our duty, but have deserted it from base, personal, or selfish motives, they would not censure the contemplation of our conduct with disgust. On the other hand, whatever may be their inclinations, and however vehement their desires, if they see that we honestly perform our duty, be our result what it may, they will receive it with approbation and respect. I believe that in what has been said respecting the public mind there is much exaggeration. I do not speak of the mere multitude, but of the enlightened portion of the community. And I am convinced that, if they were satisfied that from any base motives we neglected to do what in our conscience we considered to be our duty, they would turn from us with contempt and indignation. My Lords, I am satisfied too, that whatever may be the consequences to which we come, if we perform our duty according to our conscience, though that should be contrary to their inclination, they will abstain from all violence. If, on the contrary, we should vote this night give the people reason to suppose that, contrary to the dictates of our consciences, and what we believe to be our duty, we are urged by unworthy motives, should decide in favour of the curtailment of our titles, our possessions, and the liberties of the people, would be forfeited, and we should be for ever debased. Perilous as is our situation in which we are placed, it is at the same time a proud position, in which the eyes of the country are anxiously turned upon us; and, if we do our duty as becomes us, we shall merit the eternal gratitude of every loyal subject of the Constitution, and of the British Empire.*

It may be said that these noble words were spoken by an uneducated lawyer, who did not rightly apprehend the functions and duties of the House to which his transcendent abilities had been assigned; but the spirit which animated them, and the course which he recommended, found their counterpart in the deliberate opinion of the calm and cautious Sir Robert Peel. In the following year, when the Ministers had extracted from the reluctant decision of that House, the leader of the Waverers, Lord Harrowby, applied for advice to Sir Robert Peel. That advice was given in a State paper, published in 1863 by the Earl of Stanhope,† and is well worthy of perusal by all who

Life of Lord Lyndhurst, by Sir Theodore Martin, p. 295.*

Miscellanies Collected and Edited by Earl Stanhope. London, 1863.

care to know what was Sir Robert Peel's deliberate opinion on the course it behoved the House of Lords to pursue in a crisis infinitely more grave than any with which even Mr. Herbert Gladstone will now venture to threaten them. The letter is too long for insertion here; but its purport was to advise Lord Harrowby and his friends to reject the Bill, even at the cost of the threatened creation of Peers. For the firm maintenance, therefore, of their constitutional right to reject any measure which may be sent up to them in the coming Session, they have the concurrent judgment of Lord Lyndhurst and Sir Robert Peel.

The predominant desire of the country is for a firm and consistent policy abroad, a policy which shall not concern itself with fantastic schemes for realizing the aspirations of interesting nationalities, but be content with the more important if more modest task of safe-guarding and welding, so far as may be, into one imperial whole, the outlying parts, east, west, and south, of the Queen's dominions, and for the abandonment at home of those ceaseless projects of organic change, with which the discordant organs of a disunited Cabinet are now vexing and confusing the public ear.

It is simply intolerable, for instance, that when Ireland is bleeding at every pore from recent empirical legislation, and her only hope of recovery lies in the absence of agitation, and the restoration of peace, and quiet, a Law Officer of the Crown should be purchasing his way into Parliament by fanning the smouldering embers of political and agrarian disaffection, and conceding to the resuscitated Land-League all the means by which it is now endeavouring to further and accomplish its ultimate separatist ends. Yet such is the picture presented by the Irish Solicitor-General's candidature and election in the County of Londonderry, for which constituency he will take his seat on the Treasury Bench, an effective though unacknowledged and unenrolled member of Mr. Parnell's new Association.

It is for the Minority in the House of Commons, and the Majority in the House of Lords, faithfully and courageously to represent that predominant feeling, and force, if needs be, as Lord Hartington has confessed they have the power to force, a discredited and failing Government to appeal for a fresh lease of power to the people whose hopes they have betrayed, whose confidence they have forfeited, and whose patience they have exhausted.

The best wish we can form for the coming Session is that it may be the last of the Parliament of 1880.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *Œuvres complètes de Bossuet, publiées d'après les imprimés et les manuscrits originaux purgées des interpolations et rendues à leur intégrité.* Par F. Lachat. 31 vols. Paris, 1862–6.
2. *Histoire de Bossuet et de ses œuvres.* Par M. Réaume, Chanoine de l'église de Meaux. 3 vols. Paris, 1869.
3. *Mémoires et Journal sur la vie et les ouvrages de Bossuet, de l'Abbé Le Dieu, publiés pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits autographes, et accompagnés d'une introduction et de notes.* Par l'Abbé Guettée. 4 vols. Paris, 1856.
4. *Lettres sur Bossuet à un Homme d'Etat.* Par J. J. F. Poujoulat. Paris, 1854.
5. *Etudes sur la Vie de Bossuet.* Par P. A. Floquet. 4 vols. Paris, 1855–1864.
6. *La Politique de Bossuet.* Par J. F. Nourrisson. Paris, 1867.
7. *Bossuet, Orateur.* Par E. Gandar. Paris, 1867.
8. *Controverse entre Bossuet et Fénelon au sujet du Quiétisme de Madame Guyon.* Par l'Abbé Libouroux. Paris, 1876.
9. *Etudes sur la condamnation des Maximes des Saints.* Par A. Griveau. 2 vols. Paris, 1878.
10. *Madame Guyon, sa vie, sa doctrine, et son influence.* Par L. Guerrier. Orleans, 1881.

OF the recent French literature upon Bossuet, the famous Bishop of Meaux, a portion of which is named above, but little we believe is known to English readers. It originated in the impulse given about forty years ago, by M. Victor Cousin, to a critical examination of the texts in which were current the works of the best French writers of the seventeenth century, by whom chiefly the language had been developed and fixed; and it was stimulated by the discovery shortly afterwards of the long lost biographical work of the Abbé Le Dieu,

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who had been Bossuet's secretary during the last twenty years of that great prelate's life. Unlike, however, the literature upon Pascal, which had the same origin, the modern critical works upon Bossuet are exclusively French, and appear to have attracted little notice outside the country of their birth; a fact, we conceive, highly significant of the interval which separated his genius from that of the author of the 'Provincial Letters' and the 'Thoughts.' Under these circumstances, now that no further discoveries are to be expected, and Time has at last irrevocably stamped out the whole policy, both in Church and State, to the support of which Bossuet devoted his splendid abilities, a fitting occasion seems to have arrived to introduce to our readers the results of recent investigation and analysis, and to do for the 'Eagle of Meaux' what a few years ago we endeavoured to do for the Recluse of Port Royal.*

To criticize in detail the works named at the head of this article would be beside our purpose; enough to say that they are for the most part highly eulogistic, and show that it has been a labour of love with their authors to throw light on the nature of Bossuet's genius, and to display the force of his character and the achievements of his intellect. Indeed, in some the admiration is so indiscriminate and excessive as to confound the functions of the advocate and of the judge, notably in the case of M. Poujoulat, who professes to inaugurate a cult of Bossuet, and devotes his book to the purpose of unveiling the 'unknown god' before the gaze of the worshippers, who have hitherto adored in faith rather than with knowledge. So serious a specimen as this, however, of what Macaulay styled 'the lues Boswelliana, or disease of admiration,' peculiarly incident to biographers and editors, is strictly exceptional, so far as our acquaintance with this voluminous literature has extended: the warmth of M. Poujoulat's fellow eulogists, even in its excesses, does not make them overstep the bounds of decency; and their admiration, though occasionally irritating in the loudness of its tones, may plead a great deal in its excuse. For Bossuet is unquestionably one of the glories of France, and to a patriotic Frenchman it would naturally seem as sacrilegious to lay a hostile hand on the pedestal of his fame, as it would to a patriotic Englishman to impugn the right of our nearly contemporary Milton to his seat in the Pantheon of our country's worthies. There are many much less pardonable literary errors than the exaggerations into which the biographical student is betrayed when, in lovingly tracing

* See the 'Quarterly Review' for October 1879.

the lineaments he has learnt to idolize, his passionate attachment makes him forgetful of every fault. Besides, it must be allowed that Bossuet is large enough to bear an appreciable degree of detraction on this side and on that, without suffering serious diminution of his bulk. To some, like the Abbé Guettée, his defence of the Gallican liberties against Papal encroachment renders his memory too dear for impartial criticism; though what the imperious prelate would have thought of the Abbé's secession to the Greek communion because the Congregation of the Holy Office placed his *History of the French Church* on the prohibited list, cannot for a moment be doubted. Others, again, like the Abbé Reaume, though vehement Ultramontanes, yet for the sake of Bossuet's vigorous onslaughts on Protestantism, are willing to condone his heterodoxy about the Pope, and to excuse it as being less the fault of the man than of his times. If each side finds something to palliate or to condemn, as the varied scenes of Bossuet's activity pass under review, each discerns in the whole man so commanding a personality, such an intellectual force and practical energy of character, that the blemishes remain scarcely visible, and the whispered censure becomes almost inaudible amidst the chorus of praise.

In the literature of which we are speaking, one thing stands out with supreme clearness: this, namely, that, notwithstanding the untiring activity of Bossuet's pen, both in Latin and French, during his whole life, the least appropriate aspect in which he can be viewed is that of a man of letters. He was heard a hundred times to say, records *Le Dieu*, that he could not conceive how any man of intelligence should have patience to make a book for the mere pleasure of writing; and late in life, when giving to Cardinal de Bouillon some hints respecting the formation of a preacher's style, he frankly confesses, 'I have read but few French books.' Whatever he wrote was composed for some immediate practical purpose, such as the instruction of his royal pupil, or in defence of religion and the Church. He wrote, not as an author, but as a bishop and a doctor of the Church, wielding his pen simply as the instrument of his work, just as the knightly warrior, vowed to combat for the right, employed his lance or his sword. As one goes through the thirty-one volumes of M. Lachat's edition of his works, it is surprising to discover that half of the immense collection was never sent to press by Bossuet at all, and only saw the light at various periods after his death, as circumstances induced those into whose hands the manuscripts fell, to give them to the world. Of two hundred sermons, extant in whole or in part,

he himself never published more than seven, and even those reluctantly, at the urgency of friends. His great Latin work, in defence of the declaration of the liberties of the Gallican Church adopted by the Assembly of the Clergy in 1682, by some esteemed the noblest fruit of his pen, was suppressed by him for political reasons, and only crept into print forty years after his death, under circumstances which gave Count J. de Maistre plausible ground for questioning its authenticity, or at least its conformity with Bossuet's real sentiments. Of the half-dozen treatises—most of them elaborate works—composed by him for the instruction of the Dauphin, only one, the celebrated 'Discourse on Universal History,' was given by the author himself to the public. Even his own favourite work, the 'Politics drawn from the very Words of Holy Scripture,' retouched and completed by him in the last years of his life, was left for his nephew to publish for the first time five years after his uncle's death. Of another, 'Concerning the Knowledge of God and of Oneself,' the fate was more curious. After it had served its immediate purpose, it was lent to Fénelon to aid in the education of his pupil, the young Duke of Burgundy, for whom the 'Télémaque' was written; and, being found among that prelate's papers after his death, was first published as a posthumous work of his, and passed as such for the next twenty years. In a word, the printing-press was only resorted to by Bossuet when some immediate purpose was to be served by it; in other cases his habit was to lay the manuscripts by, and leave them to take their chance when they fell into the hands of his heirs.

Having made these remarks on the works before us, we now turn to our main object, which is to examine Bossuet's achievement as a whole, and to form an estimate of his title to the great reputation which crowns his memory. To do this with justice, it will be indispensable first to sketch in outline his personal history, and take into account the circumstances amidst which he grew up and wrought out his destiny; for, of men of equal force and fame, few probably were ever more fashioned and controlled by their social environment. Of him it may be said with more than usual truth, that his age made him what he became; next after Louis XIV., the monarch whom he regarded with a veneration bordering upon worship, he may be described as the fullest incarnation of its ideas and beliefs.

Jacques Bénigne Bossuet was born at Dijon in 1627, and on both sides of his parentage came of families connected with the provincial parliaments; bodies, as it is well known, not legislative but magisterial, and entrusted with the administration of the

the law. At the time of his birth, not less than six of his near relatives were councillors of the parliament of his native town; and his father, finding no opening there, moved to Metz to take up a similar appointment in the parliament of that place, leaving our Bossuet, then six years old, in charge of an uncle at Dijon. It is important to remember that France was then but slowly recovering from the disastrous effects of the civil war of the League, the object of which had been to extirpate the Huguenot party, and force both the Crown and the Church into unqualified submission to the Papal See. Nor must we overlook that in his own youth, through the senseless wars of the Fronde, Bossuet himself saw his country once more convulsed and the Crown humiliated; while across the water he watched the English rebellion running its turbulent and fatal course, and shaking the thrones of Europe with amazement and terror. Both his hereditary prepossessions, then, and the experiences of his youth, combined to foster in his mind the sentiment of absolute submission to the Crown as the only secure centre of national unity, and to root in him two invincible and life-long aversions; on one side, to the reformed doctrines, which seemed in every nation where they found a footing to be a standing source of discord and weakness; on the other, to the encroaching policy of the Popes, which menaced the royal prerogative, and thrust upon the Gallican Church a foreign and unconstitutional jurisdiction. Of the influence upon his conduct of this early training of his mind the whole of his public life is an illustration.

From the age of eight, when he was tonsured, to fifteen, when he was removed to Paris, he received his education in the Jesuits' school at Dijon, becoming at thirteen, through his father's influence, a non-resident canon in the Cathedral of Metz, in accordance with the shameful prostitution of ecclesiastical patronage common at the time. Of his early diligence in study a memorial survives in the application to him of the punning nickname 'Bos suetus aratro,' a bullock accustomed to the plough (cf. Jerem. xxxi. 18); and it was, we are told, when he was in what we should now call the fifth form (*en seconde*), that he first, by chance, made acquaintance with the Bible, of course in the Latin Vulgate, and received from the Hebrew prophets an impression which left a lasting mark on his style. All accounts represent him both in youth and manhood as irreproachable in morals, in an age when unhappily even the highest ecclesiastical station and the most sacred functions were very far from being guarantees for private correctness of conduct. Late in his life, indeed, some dissolute priest whom he had ejected spread a

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story of his having, when young, contracted a clandestine marriage with a Mademoiselle de Mauléon, a lady to whom he rendered many services, and who eventually outlived him; but the statement is so evidently baseless that it would not be worth mentioning, except to explain a bon-mot to which it gave occasion, that M. de Meaux was more Mauléoniste than Moliniste. From the first the priestly vocation seems to have satisfied and absorbed him; his marvellous faculties as they ripened found all the outlet they needed in the exercises and duties of the ecclesiastic and theologian. He was born with a sacerdotal soul; without a single inward struggle or wandering desire he yielded himself to his chosen calling, and for it alone he lived to the end. As Lamartine says, 'Imagination cannot conceive of him as a layman.'

At fifteen he entered the College of Navarre at Paris, bringing with him the reputation of being a prodigy of learning and oratorical ability. To the following year belongs the curious story of his introduction to the Hôtel de Rambouillet, the fashionable lounge of the wits and scholars of the period. A wager was laid that the lad, with a short time for reflection, could extemporize a sermon on any given topic; the result being that one evening he was sent for, and a subject having been selected and a few minutes allowed for meditation upon it, shortly before midnight he declaimed a discourse with such fluency and eloquence as to fill the gay saloon with applause, and draw from Voiture the saying that he had never heard any one preach at once so early and so late.

Ordained deacon at twenty-two, and priest three years later, when he also took his degree as doctor of theology and publicly dedicated himself, soul and body, to the defence of the truth, he made Metz his head-quarters for the next twenty years, pursuing his studies in patristic lore, preaching assiduously in the town and neighbourhood, and fulfilling his duties in the Cathedral, of which, in 1664, he became dean. In the earlier part of this period he began his career as a writer and controversialist by publishing a refutation of a catechism put out by Paul Ferry, a leading Huguenot minister settled at Metz; later on, spending a large part of his time at Paris, he gradually acquired the reputation of being the first preacher of the day, and became so much in vogue for his fervid eloquence and sympathetic treatment of the frailties of the great, that it seemed as if the splendid sinners who surrounded Louis XIV. could not pass comfortably to their account without the support of his death-bed ministrations. 'In his presence and at his voice,' it was said, 'death seemed to lose a part of its terrors.' His position

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at this epoch is so vividly portrayed in the tragic story of the death of the young Duchess of Orleans, Henrietta of England, daughter of our Charles I., that we may be excused for briefly repeating it here.

In 1669 Bossuet had delivered his celebrated funeral oration for her mother, the widowed queen, at whose death nothing but its suddenness prevented him from being present. In the following year, the daughter being suddenly struck, when at Versailles, by a mortal sickness, supposed to have been the effect of poison administered by the creatures of her reprobate husband, cried out in her agonies that Bossuet should be instantly sent for, and brought to her bedside. While couriers were despatched in hot haste to fetch him from Paris, she made her confession and received the last sacraments, much distressed, it is said, by the 'inflexible severity' of the priest in attendance, and anxiously watching the door for Bossuet's arrival. It was past midnight when he came, and she immediately exacted from him a promise that he would not leave her as long as she breathed. With the crucifix in his clasped hands on which the Queen-mother, Anne of Austria, not long before had breathed her dying kiss, he threw himself on his knees by the bedside; and as the life of the ill-fated princess rapidly ebbed away, he wept and prayed with her, with words so full of consolation and faith that the people of the Court, who as usual crowded the chamber, were melted into passionate tears by the scene. Within an hour of her death, whispering in English, that Bossuet might not understand, she desired that a superb emerald and diamond ring she wore should be given to him as a memorial, when all was over. She expired at 3 A.M., only nine hours after the seizure, and the ring with the message was immediately conveyed by Madame La Fayette to the King, who sent for Bossuet, placed the jewel on his finger, and charged him to wear it always, and to preach the Princess's funeral discourse. As soon as the incident got wind, Bossuet was congratulated by the courtiers, who at the same time expressed a regret that the proprieties of the pulpit would scarcely admit of his mentioning a circumstance so honourable both to the departed Princess and to himself. 'Why not?' was his reply; which, flying from lip to lip, excited an eager curiosity to see how the great orator would carry out his implied intention. It was not till near the end of the discourse that their curiosity was gratified, and it was in a way that took them by surprise. Among the virtues of the departed, Bossuet found occasion to commemorate not only her liberality, but the pleasing grace with which she enhanced the value of her gifts. 'This art of giving gracefully,' he added, 'which she so well practised

practised in life, accompanied her—*I know it*—into the very arms of death.' Those three words, '*Je le sais*,' pronounced with a sudden emphasis and a gesture of the hand sparkling with the well-known jewel, electrified the brilliant audience, which was as much moved by admiration of the orator's address in dealing with so delicate a matter, as it had been previously thrilled by his pathos in depicting the consternation of that night of horror, when the precincts of the Court rang with the terrible cry, '*Madame is dying—Madame is dead!*'

Nearly a year before, Bossuet had been nominated by the King to the see of Condom; but owing to the illness and death of the Pope, Clement XI., and the long vacancy that ensued, twelve months elapsed before the Bulls necessary to his consecration arrived from Rome. Just a week before the day fixed for the ceremony, he was unexpectedly appointed tutor to the Dauphin, then nine years old, the only legitimate son of Louis who survived infancy. For this responsible office his learning and ability, joined to the solidity and spotless purity of his character, designated him as the most proper person to be found in all France; and his well-known leaning to absolutism was a further strong recommendation. But at first the two offices of bishop and tutor seemed to him incompatible; it would be impossible, he felt, while residing at the Court, to do his duty by a diocese in the extreme south of the kingdom. For a time he was sorely perplexed. Every preparation having been made for his immediate consecration, he could scarcely recede at the last moment without ecclesiastical scandal; yet his friends assured him that the Church would suffer more by his burying himself in a remote province. Besides, the King pooh-poohed his scruples, said he was determined to have a bishop for his son's tutor, and ordered him to go forward at once with his consecration. In the end Bossuet yielded to the royal wish; but after nominally holding the bishopric for thirteen months, just long enough to defray the costs of institution, he very honourably resigned it, and gave his undivided attention to the education of the young prince. For ten years he laboured at this difficult and delicate task with unwearied diligence, and to the entire satisfaction of his royal master, cheerfully resuming the classical studies which he had long laid aside, and exhausting all the resources of his great intellect to train up worthily the heir of the first throne in Christendom. Unfortunately the soil which he tilled was too thin and poor to repay such high cultivation, and the pupil's constitutional incapacity of attention rendered his lessons as bitter to himself as they were irksome to his teacher. '*Madame*,' said the prince abruptly one day to a lady

y who happened to speak in his presence of some intense sorrow of her life, 'Madame, had you ever to compose themes?' 'O, your highness,' she answered in surprise at so odd a question. 'Then,' rejoined the lad, 'don't talk any more of misery, you can't half know what it really is.'

During his tenure of this office we find Bossuet growing in influence with the King, corresponding with the Pope about the Dauphin's education, and laying more broadly the foundations of his fame as the champion of established institutions, and the scourge of heresy and novelty. Nor was it only by his intellectual force and resolute bearing in controversy that he won respect and esteem; he is described as simple in habits, courteous and candid, full of sweetness and kindliness, a man to draw real friends around him and keep them attached by personal affection. Indeed, in a secret report, which has been recently unearthed among the papers of Colbert, he is described as 'an adroit and insinuating spirit, endeavouring to please all with whom he associates, and professing the opinions which he wishes them to hold.' It is a truer, as well as more pleasing picture, which one of his biographers gives, when he sketches him taking his afternoon walks in the Philosopher's Alley at Versailles, attended by the most cultivated of his clerical colleagues, like a Father surrounded by his Council, Bible in hand, interpreting a text, explaining a Hebraism, or solving a difficulty, while they freely added their several contributions of science or philosophy, exegesis or historical anecdote, and almost forgot his superiority in the charm of his deference and modesty.

A few remarks may here be devoted to the two most important of the works composed by Bossuet as text-books for his royal pupil, the 'Politics' and the 'Universal History.' The former was intended to be a manual for kings of their rights and their duties. In order and method it has a geometrical character, being drawn out in a series of formal propositions; in substance it is the defence of a despotism, qualified by nothing but the royal conscience. Starting from the assumption that the monarchical polity of the Jews was a divine ideal, Bossuet undertakes to exhibit in the very words of Scripture a perfect system of government. With the doctrine of legitimacy he does not trouble himself; the King *de facto*, as soon as his power is consolidated, is represented as the vicerent of heaven, responsible to God alone, and absolute master of the liberties, goods, and lives of his subjects, who are his slaves, his cattle, living no right even to exist but at his pleasure. The book may be succinctly characterized as an apotheosis of the absolutism

tism of Louis XIV.; and it is chiefly valuable as a monument of the terrible misuse of the Bible into which even genius and piety combined may be betrayed. The other work, once extremely popular though now almost forgotten, is a rapid sketch of the world's course from Adam to Charlemagne; being intended, as Bossuet himself says, to be to particular histories what a general index map is to the maps of particular countries. Philosophical it is not, for it subordinates history to a preconceived theory; neither is it critical, for it simply accepts the current ideas and narratives, without subjecting them to examination. Its charm, which is considerable, lies in its comprehensive glance, its lucidity, its oratorical fervour and impressiveness; in describing the character of the Romans, and tracing the rise and fall of their dominion, Bossuet is especially happy. The great fault of the work is the point of view from which it is written. When an historian sets out with the design of showing that from the beginning of the world empires have been caused to spring up, flourish, and waste away, for the sole purpose of producing the Roman Catholic Church, his interpretation of history necessarily becomes somewhat narrow and artificial. And such is Bossuet's enterprise. Had he been content to trace a providential preparation for Christianity in the story of those great nations which move across the scenery of the Bible, none but sceptics could have demurred; but to contract Christianity into Roman Catholicism, and regard the divine government of the world as solely occupied with the development of the communion which owns the sway of the Vatican, is to force history to speak with a voice which is certainly not its own. One can scarcely wonder that Mr. Buckle, with his violent antipathy to theology, and his addiction to strong language, should have styled the book 'an audacious attempt to degrade history to a mere handmaid of theology,' and should have seen in it 'a painful exhibition of a great genius cramped by a superstitious age.'

The education of the Dauphin being terminated by his marriage early in 1680, Bossuet was nominated by the King to the bishopric of Meaux, being then in his 55th year; and till his death in 1704 he occupied that see, which is indelibly associated with his fame. It was the highest dignity in the Church to which he attained. Had promotion gone by merit, nothing could have stood between him and the archiepiscopal throne of Paris with a Cardinal's hat; but with Louis no merit, however commanding, could compensate for the absence of the aristocratic *de* before the name when the chief places in the hierarchy were to be filled, and Madame de Maintenon was too much in the hands of the Jesuits, who were no friends of Bossuet's, to
allow

just claim to the purple to be backed at Rome. Yet he lived, by the weight of his learning and characterally wielded an unofficial primacy over the French as the ablest exponent of its views and director of its policy. In such a sketch as this it is impossible to enter into the account of the twenty-three years of his laborious life: all that we can attempt is, to show the part borne by the three principal ecclesiastical affairs that emerged at that period:—the quarrel with Rome about the 'Régale,' the rights of the Protestants; and the controversy about

the last of these was at its height when Bossuet received his appointment to the see of Meaux. It originated in the claim of the king as feudal lord, to extend over the whole of the kingdom the right of the Crown to enjoy the revenues and exercise the regalian rights of sees and abbeys during vacancy, that right hitherto restricted to certain provinces. The result was a sturdy resistance by two of the most powerful of the suffragan bishops, and an appeal on their part to Rome, a step to which the Crown replied by a sentence of excommunication. Innocent XI., the reigning pontiff, being desirous of so good an occasion for asserting his authority to interfere with the internal administration of the Gallican Church, issued brief after brief against the French King, demanding the withdrawal of the royal claims, and cancelling the dispensations which had been done under their sanction, even to the annulment of the absolutions conferred, and the marriages celebrated, by priests thus intruded by the Crown contrary to the discipline of the Church. By such high-handed proceedings at once was goaded into exasperation. Riots followed: the king's edicts, compared by a contemporary satirist to the words of the dumb, which gave tongue or were mute according as the king blew his horn, passed edicts denouncing the Papal decrees as acts of unmeasured violence; the Pope responded by a bull commanding the edicts to be publicly burnt; and the Parliaments refused to register the bull. In fine, the quarrel became so serious, that the king found it expedient to convoke a General Assembly of the Clergy, to consider the situation and recommend a solution. At this assembly Bossuet, who was still waiting for the bull of appointment to the see of Meaux to arrive from Rome, was elected representative for the province of Paris; and, as the most eminent orator among the prelates, he was, in spite of his advanced age, entrusted with the honourable but perplexing task of preaching the inaugural sermon. This was his celebrated sermon on the 'Unity of the Church,' allowed even by the

Ultramontanes

Ultramontanes to have been a masterpiece of oratory, flowing along like a mighty stream, and abounding in striking and beautiful imagery. Nor was it less adroit than eloquent. One feels that the preacher was throughout trimming and balancing, and threading his way amidst dangerous pitfalls, where a single false step might be fatal. Bossuet had looked forward with considerable anxiety to what might possibly be the issue of the Assembly. It was not beyond the limits of probability that, in the heat of the national irritation against Rome, the bishops of the Court party, with the scandalous Harlay, archbishop of Paris, at their head, might coalesce with the more respectable prelates who held extreme Gallican views, to push matters to a final rupture with the Holy See, and, following the Anglican precedent, declare the National Church independent. Such a result would have been intolerable to Bossuet, as a fatal breach of Catholicity. On the other hand, the home traditions in which he had been nurtured, and his personal devotion to his royal patron, precluded him from assenting to the surrender of any part of the prerogative claimed by Louis, or to the exchange of the constitutional government of the Gallican Church for the autocracy of the Pope. The position was one of the most delicate. A policy of conciliation without yielding, of compromise without abatement of claims, was all that Bossuet could venture to suggest; and any real settlement on such lines was manifestly impracticable. So he discovered, after he had exhausted all the resources of his eloquence to keep well with both the monarch and the Pope. The Assembly, by a decree, surrendered the 'Régale' to the King, on condition only that his nominees to benefices having cure of souls should, as usual, apply to the Ordinary for canonical institution before taking possession; and then, under the instigation of the Court, it went on to define and declare the Gallican position, as against the claims of Rome. Bossuet foresaw the danger of this course, and would gladly have escaped being implicated in an act of open rebellion against the Papacy; but the Fates were too strong for him, and, to make matters as bad as possible, his was the pen to which it fell to reduce to form the famous Four Articles, which were like a blow delivered full in the Pope's face. By these it was solemnly affirmed, that the Pope had no jurisdiction whatever in things temporal and civil; was himself subject to the decisions of Œcumenical Councils; was limited in the exercise of his spiritual jurisdiction by the ancient canons; and needed confirmation of his decrees by the assent and acceptance of the Church, before they were entitled to be considered irreversible. These Articles, having been unani-

mously

scribed by the Assembly, were registered by the
 , and ordered by a royal edict to be taught in all
 , and signed by every professor of theology.

was of course furious at this defiance, declared
 acts of the Assembly invalid, and transmitted
 to his successors; through whose persistent refusal
 ills of institution to the prelates nominated by
 to French bishoprics as they fell vacant, thirty-
 nearly a third of the whole number, were left
 f spiritually qualified chief pastors. Political cir-
 at last brought the antagonists to a compromise,
 a manner in which there was a considerable loss of
 both sides. Negotiations were opened with Inno-
 the next successor but one to the Pope with whom
 ad originated; and it was agreed that such of the
 signate as had sat in the Assembly and subscribed
 should sign, and the Pope should accept as a satis-
 of submission, a letter humbly disavowing all that
 nacted and declared by the Assembly. The equivocal
 of the expedient was evident on the face of it; for
 committed none but those who actually subscribed
 s to it, and left the case between France and Rome
 where it had been. Bossuet, with three other
 as commissioned to draft the letter of submission,
 nage that its language should combine the greatest
 satisfaction to the Pope with the smallest amount
 accession; and, with all his devotion to Louis, the
 st have been a bitter one to his heart. Certainly,
 ing as much as possible for the pressure of circum-
 still seems strange that the hand which drew up the
 nd afterwards composed the elaborate 'Defence' of
 ld have endorsed with approval a letter to the Pope
 the following abject terms:—

e at the feet of your Blessedness, we profess and declare
 foundly, inexpressibly, and from the bottom of our hearts,
 things done in the Assembly, which have been so extremely
 to your Holiness and your predecessors. Whatsoever
 sembly may be supposed to have decreed contrary to the
 d power and the pontifical authority we hold as not
 d declare that it ought not to be held as decreed. More-
 old as not determined whatsoever may appear to have
 nined to the prejudice of the rights of churches. It was
 ntention to form any decisions which could in any way
 e said churches. In sum, as a pledge of our profound
 and the perfect reverence with which we regard your
 e undertake to do our utmost henceforth so to shape our
 conduct

conduct that, until our latest breath, we shall joyfully render due obedience to your Holiness, and zealously defend the rights of the churches as much as can possibly be desired. On receipt of this letter, we hope and very humbly pray that your Holiness, of your great kindness, will receive us into favour, and condescend to place us at the head of the churches to which our very Christian King has been so good as to nominate us.'

It is curious that the bitterer grew the quarrel between France and Rome, the more fiercely burnt the zeal of the Court, the clergy, and the parliaments, to extirpate Protestantism from the kingdom. 'If we refuse to put our necks under the Pope's foot,' they seemed to say with one voice, 'at least the whole world shall see that we are the best of Catholics.' Three methods of conversion were sedulously employed; argument, bribery, and violence. Where the first failed, the second came to its aid with considerable success. A regular 'conversion fund' was formed out of the spoils of the 'Régale,' and placed under the administration of an eminent convert, Pélisson Fontanier, who undertook to organize the traffic in souls. 'M. Pélisson,' wrote Madame de Maintenon, 'works wonders; he may not be so learned as M. Bossuet, but he is more persuasive.' Behind these measures, Louis had in reserve his own booted and spurred missionaries, who were quartered on recusant districts, and exhausted all the resources of rapine, outrage, and torture, to drive the wandering sheep into the true fold of salvation. In 1685, the final stroke was dealt by the formal revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which for eighty-seven years had been the charter of civil and religious liberty for the Huguenot population of France.

In the more respectable labours of this deplorable crusade Bossuet had an important share. To stamp out the Protestant schism, and reunite the sects to the Catholic Church, had been the dream of his life, ever since his early days at Metz, then one of the chief centres in France of the reformed doctrine. To promote the realization of this dream he laboured incessantly, by controversial publications and conferences, by correspondence with eminent sectaries, and sometimes by more questionable expedients; such, for instance, as invoking the royal prerogative to force Catholic professors on the Protestant seminaries, and to banish Protestant places of worship to the outskirts of the large towns. His short treatise, 'An Exposition of the Catholic Faith upon Controversial Points,' first published in 1671, had been composed several years before for the benefit of Marshal Turenne, whose conversion it achieved; and in manuscript form it had enjoyed a considerable circulation, and
recovered

many to the obedience of Rome. Of this Exposition as singularly moderate and persuasive. Its object was that 'many of the Protestant objections disappear as soon as the Catholic doctrines are really understood—that even such as seem to Protestants to be not proved sink into insignificance, and cannot affect the faith.' So anxious was Bossuet in this to smooth the path of conversion, that the Protestants found little ground for charging him with having unduly softened the Catholic tenets, to render them the more easily followed by the ignorant; an accusation to which he replied by saying, 'that the least thing which could be said of a bishop was that he knew his own religion, and would not disguise in a matter in which dissimulation was a crime.' The little work was translated into many languages, among others into English; and there is an interesting anecdote in the anecdote that it was much valued by our king, and was the book for the loss of which, in his flight from the Boyne, he hastened to express his lively regret. Bossuet was first introduced to him at St. Germain's. It was the spirit of Bossuet's greatest controversial work, celebrated 'Variations of the Protestant Churches,' the publication of which followed by a couple of years the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Of this the professed object was to place in the strongest light 'the internal disputes and contradictions of the new Reform, that amidst them Catholic truth might shine forth like a bright sun piercing the clouds.' The effect was, to use Mr. Hallam's phrase, 'the eagle of the new Reform, fierce of eye, and terrible in his beak,' bent not on conciliating, but on crushing his opponents. The effect was immense, and for several years it was deeply engaged in replying to the attacks made on it. M. Réaume's account of the storm that arose is so full and so good to be worth quoting:—

'his mirror,' he writes, 'was put before the eyes of the Protestants instead of hiding their faces, daubed with a hundred slanders, uttered a long howl of anger, and cried out for vengeance. Jurieu, Basnage, and Burnet, threw themselves on this David of the sacred tribe, armed, not with slings and stones, but with those weapons of which heresy is much too fond, of calumny, dissimulation, falsehood, and invective. . . . Bossuet, tranquilly amidst the glittering lights of truth, remained perfect master of his ground, and went straight to his mark, without troubling himself to be abused. Abuse showered upon him, which, in his own words, is the lot of a Christian and a bishop.'

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The exact degree in which Bossuet was responsible for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes has been disputed among biographers. Whether or not he officially advised it, we learn from his own lips that it received his enthusiastic approval. If it be asked, how a measure so utterly unchristian, inflicting such infamous cruelty, and so fatal in its consequences to the welfare of France, could have been rejoiced in by such a man who certainly was no hard-hearted bigot, the only answer is the one suggested by his biographer, Cardinal de Beaumont: 'If Louis XIV.,' he writes, 'was mistaken in his policy, the mistake was shared by all his ministers, by all the great men of his age, and by all the public bodies of his kingdom. The error was the error of the whole of France.' To us, indeed, the intense bitterness felt by the French Catholics towards their Protestant fellow-subjects, not merely in seasons of special excitement, but habitually, seems almost incomprehensible; but to look upon its existence is impossible. The story of it, as Sir John Elliott writes, pervades every era of the French annals, and assumes every conceivable form of cruelty and injustice. A little even a hundred years' experience of the sad results of Louis' policy did to discredit it, was evinced by a remarkable incident in the Parliament of Paris, just before the convocation of the States-General which inaugurated the Revolution. When it was proposed to register a decree, so far modifying the rigour of that policy as to allow the Protestants a civil registration of their births, deaths, and marriages, D'Estréménil, one of the leaders of the Catholic party, stretching out his hands towards the Crucifix at the end of the chamber, exclaimed with passionate indignation, 'What! would you crucify Him a second time?'* Yet even with this extenuating plea in our recollection, it is difficult to repress a feeling of disgust at Bossuet's extravagant jubilation over a measure, which was nothing more than an enormous crime committed against a million of the upright and industrious of his fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians. The aged Chancellor, Le Tellier, was on his deathbed when he affixed the great seal to the fatal edict, and a few days afterwards he expired, with his *Nunc Dimittis* on his lips, in thankfulness for having been spared to see the accomplishment of his dearest wish. Bossuet preached the funeral oration, and was not ashamed to deliver himself of the following strange rhapsody, in servile adulation of a monarch whose brazen adulteries had scarcely ceased to be the scandal of Christendom:—

* Droz, 'Histoire du règne de Louis XVI.,' liv. vi.

'Our fathers never saw, as we have, an inveterate heresy fall at a stroke: the deluded flocks returning in crowds, and our churches too small to receive them; their false pastors abandoning them, without even waiting to be ordered off, glad to pretend that they were banished; perfect calmness maintained in the midst of so vast a movement; the world amazed at perceiving in so novel an event the most decisive as well as the noblest exercise of authority, and the merits of the sovereign more recognized and revered than even his authority. Touched by so many marvels, let our hearts overflow to the piety of Louis. Let us raise our acclamations to the skies; to this new Constantine, this new Theodosius, this new Marcian, this new Charlemagne, let us say what the six hundred and thirty Fathers said of old in the Council of Chalcedon,—You have confirmed the faith, you have exterminated the heretics; this is the worthy achievement of your reign, this its peculiar character. Through you heresy exists no more; God alone could have wrought this wonder. King of Heaven, preserve this King of the Earth! this is the prayer of the Churches, this is the prayer of the bishops.'

No sooner had Bossuet disentangled himself from the controversies with the Protestants, provoked by his 'Variations,' than he found himself involved in the affair of Quietism, which soon resolved itself into a duel à outrance between himself and Fénelon. It was a spectacle, writes M. Réaume, which for three years engrossed the attention of the whole of Europe. Two geniuses of the highest order met in the lists; the spectators were all the noblest intelligences that adorned the close of the seventeenth century. From the banks of the Seine to the famous shores of the Tiber the strife resounded; the wisest heads in the Eternal City pleaded, some on one side, some on the other, and from the height of St. Peter's Chair the supreme Pontiff, the infallible judge of truth, closed these long debates by a solemn and irreversible judgment. At this way of describing the Pope's action the historic Muse, hardened though she is by long experience, must surely have blushed. In pronouncing the condemnation of Fénelon, Innocent XII. was scarcely a freer agent than his successor was, a few years later, in issuing the famous bull, *Unigenitus*, which denounced as heretical one hundred and one propositions extracted from Quesnel's New Testament. 'Why such a queer lot?' enquired the French envoy afterwards, in a confidential conversation. 'O, M. Amelot, M. Amelot,' cried the unhappy Pope, seizing his arm, and bursting into tears, 'what would you have had me do? I strove hard to curtail the list, but Father le Tellier had pledged himself to the King that the book contained more than a hundred errors, and, with his foot on my throat, he compelled me to prove him right. I have condemned only one

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more.* It was a pressure of the same illegitimate kind that extorted from the reluctant Innocent the condemnation of Fénelon's little book, 'The Maxims of the Saints.' From the first Louis, instigated by Madame de Maintenon and Bossuet, determined to crush Fénelon: while the Jesuits took the opposite part at Rome, and exerted all their underhand influence to hinder the Papal Court from taking definite action in the matter. On both sides intrigues thickened: from complaints and remonstrances Louis went on to menaces, and at last the Pope yielded so far as to condemn twenty-three propositions of the book, in the milder form of such decisions, omitting to declare them heretical, or to sentence the book to the flames.

Thus Bossuet came out of the contest triumphant, but in the opinion of impartial judges, even at that time, not without some loss of character. He had shown himself not only bitter, but unscrupulous; and it was difficult to avoid seeing in his conduct traces of mortification that the younger man, who had once sat at his feet, should have been promoted over his head to an archbishopric, and of alarm lest his own ecclesiastical dictatorship should be imperilled. A still less favourable verdict is forced upon us now by the details, since brought to light, of those deplorable transactions. The worst side of Bossuet's character, of which we might otherwise have been ignorant, was drawn out by the strife. With greedy credulity he swallowed the ridiculous charge trumped up against the morals of Madame Guyon, whose mystical writings had been the origin of the whole debate, and who, with all her flighty pietism, was a person of rare devoutness and spirituality. It was at Bossuet's urgency that this well-born and delicate woman was seized and incarcerated at Vincennes; and no sooner had information of her arrest been sent to him by Madame de Maintenon, than he wrote back to say how overjoyed he was at the news. Afterwards, when the ill-used lady was piteously complaining from her cell in the Bastille, 'Je n'ai ni chemises, ni mouchoirs, ni jupe, ni corset,' Bossuet was writing to his friends, 'What is best of all is that she is still kept fast in prison.' About Fénelon his language, both public and private, was in the highest degree unseemly. To the King's private ear he denounced him as a fanatic. In his publications he compared him to the notoriously unorthodox Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais in the fourth century; called him a second Molinos, the mystic whose writings had been already condemned by Rome; and sneered at him with the still darker insinuation, that in him a new Priscilla had found a

* 'Mémoires de Saint-Simon,' vol. xiii. p. 191.

new Montanus to take her part. In his letters he accused him of extreme impudence, gross artifice, hypocrisy, hardihood in lying, and described him as a 'méchant esprit,' harbouring wicked designs and disseminating falsities so grievous, that the whole of religion was in danger. Even Rome, with all its experience of theological hatreds, was scandalized by the lengths to which the French Court, under Bossuet's influence, carried its animosity against Fénelon. 'They have driven away his nephew, they have driven away his friends,' exclaimed the Pope: 'No wrath like a woman's,' added an Italian prelate, with reference to Madame Maintenon's unscrupulous partizanship. Throughout the appeal to the Pope, Bossuet's rascally nephew was his agent at Rome, and the letters which passed between them were better suited to the back stairs of diplomacy than to the sacred altars of the Church. Their character may be inferred from the fact, that to ensure secrecy in case of their falling into wrong hands, besides the use of cipher, a set of pseudonyms was adopted for the chief personages mentioned. Thus, the Pope was Homer, Louis was Caraffa, Fénelon was Joseph, Madame de Maintenon was 'Le Docte,' Madame Guyon Priscilla. On the whole, less cannot be said than that the picture of intrigue and passion which this voluminous correspondence presents is far from edifying.

Some excuse may perhaps be found for Bossuet's persistent animosity, in the circumstance that the logical and scholastic turn of his mind rendered him incapable of doing full justice to such delicate questions of the inner life as those on which the controversy turned. His treatment of religion was from the outside, theological and not experimental, and he found himself unable to reduce within his definitions and dialectics the emotions of souls 'inebriated with God.' What Voltaire ironically called 'the pious chimera of loving God for Himself' did not commend itself to Bossuet's robust common-sense. The Quietists complained that he was both ignorant of the mystical writers whom the Church had approved, and destitute of any personal experience of the sentiments of which they treated. They turned against him the smart repartee by which a Cardinal once silenced a forward young disputant: 'Go away and practise prayer for twenty years, and then come back and discuss it.' Yet on the whole we deem Bossuet to have been substantially in the right. The doctrine of 'pure love,' on which the controversy mainly hung, with its apparent consequences, such as the total extinction of desire, the abolition of acts of prayer, and a contented acquiescence even in one's own eternal perdition, should God please to decree it, was too

refined for common use. As Bossuet observed, it mistook earth for heaven, and exile for home. At any rate, he dryly added, it was a mystery unknown to Christ. To such a mind as Fénelon's there might be no danger in extolling that 'holy indifference' of which his book was the panegyric, and contemplating it as the goal of the spiritual life, the highest step in our pilgrimage heavenwards; but with the multitude the conception lent itself too readily to monstrous abuse. With sober people it provoked a repetition of Madame de Sévigné's witticism when the Jansenist controversy about Grace was at its height: 'Please thicken religion a little for me; it is growing so thin that it will soon evaporate altogether.' Among the profane wittlings it was the theme of a thousand squibs and parodies, not always of too decent a character. A single specimen may be given, which is taken from some verses entitled, 'The Paternoster as read backwards by the Quietists.' Instead of 'Thy kingdom come,' the devotee says, 'Thy kingdom has attractions for selfish souls, but ours are free from so base a motive; if it comes, we shall be pleased, but God forbid that we should wish for it.' In place of the petition for daily bread:—'Lord, our daily bread can only be Thy free gift: give it me, I accept it; withhold it, I do without it; with it or without it I am equally satisfied.' It is true that against such perversions Fénelon guarded his doctrine of 'holy indifference' by saying, that so long as desire and prayer are wholly in and for God, and have no taint of self-interest, they are not incompatible with 'pure love;' but the distinction is too subtle to be effectual. And therefore we are of opinion that, though Bossuet's weapons in this controversy were not always legitimate, he was from a theological point of view more in the right than his antagonist. Morally, however, we should invert their positions, and endorse the neat saying attributed, probably with justice, to the Pope: 'M. de Cambrai has erred through excess of love for God: M. de Meaux has sinned through defect of love to his neighbour.'

After the Papal brief had terminated the affair of Quietism, Bossuet had still five busy years to live. Amidst breaking health and growing infirmity he laboured on heroically in his self-imposed office of watchman of the Church, always on the alert to stamp out the first sparks of error, and crush the earliest movements towards freedom. The amount of work he got through is simply amazing. Every innovator fell under his lash. His own theological system was like a bed of Procrustes, on which he ruthlessly stretched every dissident. With his right hand he smote 'relaxed morality,' *i.e.* the Jesuits; with his left, more gently,

gently, their inveterate opponents the Jansenists. Against the ingenious and irrepressible Richard Simon, who deserves as much as any one to be styled the father of rationalistic criticism, he poured forth floods of patristic learning. Now it was the Ultramontanes, now the Protestants, against whom his bolts were launched. Repression was his universal nostrum for all disorders and irregularities; by screwing down the safety-valves he hoped to ward off explosions and keep the machine in sound working order. As his life drew to a close amidst these labours, it presents one painful feature which can scarcely be overlooked. His desire to obtain from the King the reversion of the See of Meaux for his unworthy nephew reduced him to the humiliation of hanging about the Court, when he could hardly drag himself along, and enduring cold rebuffs now that he was not likely to be of further use. He even went so far as to place his resignation in the King's hands, in the hope of the immediate appointment of the disreputable fellow as his successor. Of the weakness thus betrayed he was not himself unconscious. Once when taking leave of a convent he begged the prayers of the superior. 'What shall I pray for?' she asked. 'That I may have no complaisance for the world,' was the pathetic reply. A few hours before he expired, when his secretary was reminding him of the friends to whom his glory was precious, the dying bishop interrupted him with the rebuke, 'Cease this talk; let us beg pardon of God for our sins.' These were almost his last words, and they fitly closed a life of incessant activity and conflict.

Bossuet's fame rests chiefly on his eminence in the characters of orator, controversialist, and ecclesiastical statesman; and under these aspects we must now endeavour to take his measure.

Viewing him as an orator, our thoughts naturally fix at once on his celebrated funeral orations. Common as this kind of eloquence has been in all ages, in his hands it assumed a form which he may not only be said to have created, but in which he had neither rival nor successor. Yet he himself, we are assured, did not feel at ease in it; the necessary limitations hampered the flights of his genius. His really successful efforts in this line are but few; at the outside half-a-dozen, perhaps more accurately not above three. Nor ought this to surprise us. His inspiration was drawn from a single topic, which in the nature of things could not often occur, and which soon lost its impressiveness by repetition. It was the tragedy of human grandeur, suddenly dashed into annihilation by the stroke

of death, that inspired him: the overwhelming sense of the greatness, yet nothingness, of the glory of the world. In the presence of this spectacle his imagination was fired, his language grew sublime. There is truth as well as magniloquence in M. Poujoulat's description of the great orator in this function, as the minister of eternity, casting at the feet of God the dust of human grandeur—dust which he stirs with a terrible satisfaction, and compelling us to feel, as he leans on some illustrious tomb, how little is left when death has passed by, and power, glory, genius, and beauty, have fallen with sudden crash into the yawning gulf. Yet, reading these renowned orations in cold blood, one cannot escape a sense of disappointment. It is not merely that we miss the sonorous and flexible voice, the flashing eye and impassioned gesture, that once gave them life; that is a loss common to all recorded oratory. Nor is it only that to us they are stripped bare of the gorgeous setting to which they were skilfully adapted; the glittering audience of nobles and courtiers, and queens of wit and beauty, who rustled in their bravery round the pulpit, as they were wont to crowd before the stage, for the stimulus of a new sensation. There is a ring of unreality, a smell of the theatre, about them; we are too conscious of the rhetoric and the artifice. No doubt, the diction is always lofty; it rushes along with a sustained impetuosity, and never drags on the ground. It has the sounding roll of the Latin, which to Bossuet was as familiar as his mother-tongue. But the substance is often mean, the sentiment exaggerated or false. Perhaps the grandest passage that could be selected for illustration is the exordium of the oration on Queen Henrietta, from the startling text, 'Be wise now therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth.' Yet when one has been stirred to expect the tones of an Elijah enforcing righteousness on the haughty occupants of thrones, how flat falls the moral which Bossuet sets himself to draw out,—the deplorable consequences of separating from the Church of Rome! What a contrast to Cromwell's silent but terrible use of the same text, when he inscribed it round a flaming sword on the medal commemorating the execution of the ill-fated Charles! Even the pathos of the orations is often faulty, although in his own case Bossuet could strike the true note with an exquisite touch, as is shown by the conclusion of his oration on the great Condé, the last he delivered. Addressing the departed hero, he exclaimed—

'Accept this last effort of a voice which was familiar to you. You will bring all these discourses to a close. Instead of bewailing the death of others, henceforth, O great Prince, I wish to learn from you
how

how to make my own death holy. Happy if, warned by these white hairs of the account which I must soon render of my stewardship, I now reserve for the flock, which I am bound to feed with the word of life, the remnants of a voice which fails and of a warmth which is ebbing away.'

How different from this, how forced and unreal, is the celebrated apostrophe to the daughter of Queen Henrietta, actually present at the oration in her splendour as a princess of France, when the orator had occasion to remind the audience of her birth in the beleaguered city of Exeter, where her mother had taken refuge on parting from the King!—

'Princess,' he exclaimed, turning towards her, 'whose destiny is so great and glorious, was it necessary that you should have been born in the power of the enemies of your house? O eternal God, watch over her! Holy angels, marshal around her your invisible squadrons; keep guard about the cradle of a princess so lofty and so forlorn!'

To speak the honest truth, in spite of the grand style, the brilliant imagery, and the fervid declamation of these famous performances, one wearies of them, and is continually stumbling over passages which are so exaggerated and artificial as to suggest suspicions of the orator's entire sincerity. We are asked, for instance, to believe that the sole purpose of Heaven in the overthrow of the English monarchy was to extricate the infant princess from the bonds of schism and the laws which opposed her salvation; and again that, when the royal house was re-established, it was because God deemed the time had come to reward the prayers and patience of the exiled Queen. 'When the hour marked by God had arrived,' exclaimed the orator in a pious transport, 'He took the second Charles by the hand to lead him to his throne.' Of this sort of thing there is much more than we can quote; but something worse is to be found in the oration on the Prince of Condé, when, to show how greatly worldly glory is enhanced by its union with fidelity to Catholic Christianity, Bossuet goes out of his way to consign to eternal perdition all the great men of heathen antiquity, not denying their glory, but declaring that it was given to them by God for the express purpose of more effectually confounding them:—

'So many sages,' he exclaims, 'so many conquerors, so many grave legislators, so many excellent citizens, a Socrates, a Marcus Aurelius, a Scipio, a Cæsar, an Alexander, all bereft of the knowledge of God, and shut out of His eternal kingdom. To confound them, did God refuse the glory of this world to their vain desires? No. He con-
founds

founds them the better by giving it to them, even in a measure beyond their hopes. But, though He grudged them not the glory which they sought, He none the less punishes their pride in hell.'

After the glare of the orations it is a relief to turn to the sermons, where Bossuet is still the rhetorician, but with more of freedom and nature. The story of the vicissitudes through which these productions have passed is a curious one. His more common habit was not to write his discourses in full and preach them from memory, as Bourdaloue and Massillon did, but to make outlines and notes, to be filled up in the heat of delivery. Special parts would be fully composed; sometimes in a broad margin he would write alternative passages and phrases, leaving the choice to be made as he felt the pulse of the audience. These manuscripts, from the first far from smooth and orderly, were cut about, embroiled, and confused in all possible ways by subsequent use. Erasures, additions, modifications, were introduced; old discourses were manufactured into new ones by re-heading and re-tailing. The enormous mass of papers thus produced during half a century of uninterrupted predication would have severely tasked an editor's skill, even had it come into his hands complete; but a worse fate was in store for it. It fell into the possession of the same nephew of whom mention has already been made, called by De Maistre 'the little nephew of a great uncle,' and more savagely pilloried by Lamartine as 'a slender intellect, a vulgar soul, a malignant heart, a character depraved by servility;' and by him, who was an epicure by nature, and a bishop by a Court intrigue under the Regency, the precious papers used to be bartered away for dinner invitations. In this and other ways the treasure was scattered, mutilated, and wasted. It was not till seventy years after Bossuet's death, that an attempt was made to discover and collect for publication as much as survived, and sufficient was found to fill five volumes. But misfortune still awaited it. The editing was done by the Abbé Déforis at first, and after by the Abbé Maury, both Benedictines, who unhappily took a very erroneous view of their function. Esteeming it their duty to produce out of the confusion so many connected and complete discourses, in language conformed to the style of their day, with a free hand they hewed and slashed, combined and separated, amplified, curtailed, and corrected, till the result was certainly such as Bossuet never could have preached. It was reserved for M. Lachat to restore the true text nearly a century later, and at the head of his edition it is amusing to read the bitter accusation hurled at his predecessors:—

'After

'After Bossuet had been outraged in his doctrine as a bishop, in his faith as a Christian, and in his correspondence as a man, it only remained to degrade his reputation as an orator; and one is stupefied by the insipid commentaries, alterations, and additions, beneath which the true text of his sermons has been submerged.'

Probably in this edition we have as veracious a representation of the great preacher's manner as it will ever be possible to obtain: the only thing wanting is an arrangement of the sermons by dates instead of by subjects, to enable us to observe the progress and ripening of his thought and style. Taken as a whole, they assuredly produce a very favourable impression of his copiousness and force, and justify the appellation of the 'Corneille of the pulpit.' Whether expounding, exhorting, or warning, it is always in the grand manner, abounding in lively figures and sudden bursts, and flowing on with a torrent-like impetuosity. One sees what Madame de Sévigné meant when she said, 'Bossuet grapples in deadly earnest with his audience; all his sermons are mortal combats.' For the most part theology, rather than morality or conduct, furnished his topics; his discourses were instructions in faith oftener than in practice. To expound, embellish, and drive home by the weight of authority into his hearers' minds the accredited dogmas of the Church, was the end to which his pulpit exercises were mainly devoted. His range, broad as it was, embraced little of the heights and the depths; he was no thinker of aspiring thoughts, no interpreter of the inarticulate secrets of the soul. We are always conscious of the rhetorician; the form impresses us more than the substance; what vitality the sermons still possess breathes chiefly in the style. So far as a few brief extracts in a translation can show this, we offer the following for illustration.

Here is a lively exordium from a sermon addressed to a community of Franciscan Friars on their founder's fête. It is typical as exhibiting the preacher's skill in arousing curiosity:—

'What think you, reverend fathers, that I intend to do to-day in this sacred pulpit? You have assembled your friends and noble patrons to do honour to your sainted patriarch, and I purpose nothing else than to make him out a madman. I mean to recount only his follies; such is the eulogium I destine for him, the panegyric I prepare. Vouchsafe me, O Divine Spirit, not refined ideas nor connected reasoning, but holy flightiness and wise extravagance.'

Our next extract is from a panegyric on St. Paul, and treats of the Apostle's resolve to use no enticing words of human wisdom in his preaching of the Cross:—

'But how can he hope that his hearers will be persuaded? mighty Paul, if the doctrine which you declare is so strange and repulsive,

repulsive, seek at least polished expressions for it, cover with the flowers of rhetoric this hideous face of your gospel, and soften its austerity by the charms of your eloquence! God forbid! replies the great man, that I should mingle human wisdom with the wisdom of the Son of God. It is my Master's pleasure that my word should not be less rude than my doctrine appears to be incredible. But, my brethren, let us not blush for him. The speech of the Apostle is simple, but his thoughts are altogether divine. If he is ignorant of rhetoric and contemns philosophy, Jesus Christ is to him in the place of all; that name of His which is always on his lips, those mysteries of His which he handles so divinely, will render his simplicity all-powerful. He will go,—this man ignorant of oratory, with his rude discourse and foreign accent,—he will go into polished Greece, the mother of philosophers and orators; and, in spite of the world's opposition, he will establish there more churches than Plato gained disciples by the eloquence which was esteemed divine. He will preach Jesus at Athens, and the most learned of its senators will pass from the Areopagus to the school of this barbarian. He will push his conquests still further: he will abase at the Saviour's feet the majesty of the Roman fasces in the person of a Proconsul, and will cause the judges before whom he is arraigned to tremble on their judgment seats. Even Rome will hear his voice; and the day will come when that imperial city will esteem itself more honoured by a letter from the pen of Paul addressed to its citizens, than by all the famous harangues which it ever heard from its own Cicero.*

To the dramatic mode of presentation, found at the beginning of this fine piece of declamation, Bossuet was greatly addicted when he was making a climax. It appears in both of the extracts with which our illustrations will be concluded, and which, like the last quoted, have been picked out by his admirers as apt specimens of the grandeur of his style. The first occurs in a sermon on the final resurrection; and the reader, learned in Bossuet's great master, St. Augustine, will detect in it a reminiscence of that Father's curious use of the texts*—‘Not a hair of your head shall perish,’ and ‘The very hairs of your head are all numbered’—the one to prove that every atom of the mortal body must be re-incorporated in the risen body, even to all the clippings of the nails and the hair during the whole life; the other to justify the idea that of these re-collected particles not more than is compatible with comeliness need be restored in the original form, the remainder, through the mutability of matter, re-appearing as flesh:—

‘God having put His sovereign hand on our bodies, I am bold to declare, O Flesh! that in whatsoever part of the Universe corruption may have cast and concealed thee, thou wilt always remain under the

* ‘De Civ.’ lib. xxii. cap. 19.

hand of God. And thou, O Earth! mother and grave of all mortals, in whatsoever sombre retreat thou mayst have swallowed up, dispersed, and hidden away our bodies, thou shalt give them back complete. Sooner should heaven and earth sink into ruin than one of our hairs perish. Because God is the master of them, no force can hinder Him from perfecting in them His work.'

The rhetorician is no less apparent in our remaining extract, though here the touch is somewhat more delicate. It is taken from a sermon on the 'sadness of God's children':—

'Domains, possessions, splendid mansions and noble palaces, why should you detain me? Ere long you will crumble into atoms, or even if you continue, I shall be no more, to possess you. I pass on, I quit you, I depart, I have no leisure to stay. And you, pleasures, honours, dignities, to what purpose do you display your deceitful charms? In vain you demand of me a few moments more—this remnant of youth and vigour. No! No! I am in haste, I am setting out, I depart. You are nothing to me any longer. But whither are you going? I have told you: I am going to my Father!'

From the orator we pass to the controversialist; and as enough has already been said of the dispute with Fénelon, we shall now consider Bossuet only as the great life-long antagonist of Protestantism. His writings in this controversy are voluminous, and from beginning to end they exhibit all those qualities which make a disputant formidable—transparent lucidity of statement and masterly neatness of arrangement, quickness of eye for every weak point, dexterous use of each forced admission, remorseless logic in drawing out the consequences of a principle, bewildering rapidity of attack, scathing sarcasm and crushing disdain. Unfair, and guilty even of gross misrepresentation, he often was, and could not help being, but probably not with intention, perhaps not with consciousness: the necessity arose from his mental idiosyncrasy, which made him incapable of appreciating the case of his opponents, or doing justice to their motives. To stand in the old paths, to walk in the narrow groove of tradition, to bear the yoke of authority with unquestioning docility, was his law of duty, his ideal of perfection, to depart from which was to be a fool and a reprobate. Intellectual courage had no place in his list of virtues; there was not a particle of it in his own constitution, and when it encountered him in others, it wore the visage of revolting arrogance and rebellious selfwill. With the spectacle of an heroic soul, agonizing in long inward conflict till the secret of peace was mastered, and then in a white-heat of indignation rending asunder

asunder the enslaving bonds, and with indomitable manfulness, though with many a blunder and inconsistency, bearing aloft the banner of newly-won freedom, and leading on the nations towards emancipation and light—with such a spectacle Bossuet had no sympathy; to him it appeared simply monstrous, an incarnation of the temper of Lucifer, a rehearsal of the apostasy of the Antichrist. For such a mind to comprehend the leaders of the Reformation, and form a just appreciation of their work, was an intellectual impossibility.

Strong as Bossuet was as a controversialist, his attempt to carry the Protestant position by storm proved an entire failure. Individual conversions here and there rewarded his efforts, but on the reformed defences he left no real mark. Like the arrows of Lilliput, his weapons could tease and irritate, but the wounds inflicted by them were only skin-deep punctures. When we examine his polemic, we can be at no loss to account for its impotence. It is shallow, and never goes to the root of the matter. It reposes on undemonstrable assumptions, and it is shattered against the facts of history. It may be all summed up in these few sentences:—

From the beginning of Christianity there has always existed one continuous, immortal institution, with which Christ's presence is inseparably associated; and this is the Catholic Church, of which the See of Rome is the divinely appointed centre of unity and of supreme jurisdiction. This Church has never changed; what it teaches to-day it taught yesterday, and has always taught from the first, without alteration, diminution, or addition. To fall into error is impossible for it; Christ's promise to it of His presence is a perfect guarantee of its infallibility. When men arise within it teaching anything new, to judge them is the easiest and simplest thing possible; if what they teach differs from the current doctrine, they are at once self-condemned. Ask Luther how he said Mass before he pretended to be illuminated. He will tell you that he said it as others did, as the Church still says it, in the common faith of the whole Church. There is his condemnation pronounced by his own lips. If he thinks himself constrained to change what he found established, that is his crime and his outrage, which he pretends to call new light. Some visible speaking authority there always has been in the world, and always must be; and ever since the Ascension, such has been the Church, and the Church alone. What basis of faith is left to you, when you reject its absolute authority to prescribe your creed? If you reply that you must examine its decrees before you accept them, you fall into the intolerable absurdity of claiming for
each

private individual more reason, more grace, more light, of the Spirit, than all the rest of the Church possesses. To rely on the Bible, it is implicitly at the hands of the Church that you must receive it before you can be sure of its being the Word of God at all. And what is the creed for which you have renounced the Church? You possess none; you know what you believe; you do not know it yourself.

Your teachers differ from each other as much as from the Church, and are guilty of the grossest inconsistencies and contradictions; your confessions of faith change with every man; you split up into hostile sections, and denounce each other as vehemently as you denounce the Church. Will some of you, as in England, who retain the episcopate, urge that they, at least, have only purged out corruptions, and have preserved the continuity of succession inviolate? The pretext is that the Church can never fall into corruptions; in departing from the faith of their predecessors, and the faith in which they themselves were nurtured, their pretended bishops have broken off completely with the Church, and become aliens from the one Church of Christ.

All this dialectic, however superb its style, the retort is ready. Who made the See of Rome, it may be asked, the necessary centre of unity, and clothed it with an inalienable immunity? By what divine ordinance is the presence of the Pope restricted to the communion over which it presides? How can the complete immunity from change, error, and corruption, claimed for this particular community, be reconciled with the notorious facts of history? By what valid argument can the alleged convenience of an infallible tribunal be turned into a proof that such a tribunal has really been instituted for the guidance of the world? If private judgment is incompetent to ascertain the authority of Scripture, and to test thereby the doctrines of the Church, how can it be competent for the antecedent task, from which there is no escape, of deciding whether the Church, and if so which Church, is entitled to bind the conscience and impose a creed? What ground is there for requiring that precise uniformity of belief and dogma is so necessary to Christianity, as to make variations and inconsistencies the marks of fatal schism and heresy? Until such questions as these are satisfactorily answered, Bossuet's detestable polemic, with all its sweep and rush, must remain actual. That he was himself honestly convinced of its utility we do not doubt, although there is something suspicious in his studious silence about the dissensions with which he was surrounded in the bosom of his own Church, and also in his refusal

refusal to credit the Protestants with the agreement in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, which he well knew to underlie all their variations. Of the sincerity of his personal faith there is ample evidence in Le Dieu's records of his private life. His was not the sort of mind to feel doubts of the religion in which he had been brought up, and we have his own ripe assurance that he had never doubted. Only four years before his death, the conversation turning on the best method of dealing with free-thinkers, he told the following anecdote. 'An unbeliever on his deathbed sent for me. "Sir," he said, "I have always believed you to be a sincere man; here I am on the point of expiring; tell me frankly, what do you think of religion?" "That it is certain," I replied; "I have never had the slightest doubt of it."' And when the Protestant minister, Jurieu, after the too common fashion of controversialists, insinuated that his illustrious antagonist's zeal was but a comedy, and his faith ill-spoken of by members of his own Church, nothing could have had more of the genuine ring of truth than Bossuet's dignified reply:—

'Does he think that when two persons are not of the same religion, or are writing against each other on this subject, they are absolved from the obligation, I will not say, of decency and good manners, but even of truth? Who are these members of my communion? For twenty years that I have been a bishop, however unworthy, and for thirty or five-and-thirty years that I have preached the Gospel, my faith has never incurred any reproach. I am in the communion and charity of the Pope, of all the bishops, priests, religious orders, reverend doctors, of everybody without exception; and never has any one heard from my lips or observed in my writings one ambiguous word, or one remark inconsistent with reverence for the sacred mysteries. If the minister knows any one who has, let him bring the person forward. If he does not, what right has he to invent at his pleasure?'

We have finally to consider Bossuet as an ecclesiastical statesman; and what here will concern us is the attitude which throughout his life he maintained towards the King on the one hand, and the Pope on the other. In this he was especially the creature of his environment. With the air he breathed he drew in three guiding principles,—the absolute power of the monarch, the general right of the National Church to manage its own internal affairs, and the necessity of communion with the Chair of St. Peter as the centre of Catholic unity. To conciliate these was the problem of his political action. Let us see how he managed it.

If he was the bishop after the King's heart, as has been said,
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Louis XIV. was no less the monarch after his heart. The *effrayante majesté* of the haughtiest ruler in Christendom realized his idea of the monarch as God's consecrated representative on earth, whose brows were wreathed with a theocratic radiance. It made no difference that Louis was a selfish egotist, steeped to the lips in sensuality : 'in the royal character, even among heathens,' wrote Bossuet in his *'Politique,'* 'a holiness is inherent which cannot be effaced by any crime.' Nor did it matter that the government was arbitrary, wasteful, and tyrannical : 'the Prince,' he again wrote, 'is irresponsible to man ; whatever his violence, his subjects owe him unlimited obedience.' Louis's famous aphorism, 'The State? I am the State,' was a fixed article of his bishop's creed ; 'the entire State,' he declared, 'is in the Prince ; in him is contained the will of the whole people : ' just as afterwards Louis XV., following the tradition of his house, bluntly told the Parliament, 'The supreme power resides solely in my person ; to me alone belongs the right of legislation, independently and undividedly.' 'Pile up,' exclaims Bossuet, 'everything great and august ; behold a vast people concentrated in a single person ; recognize this sacred, paternal, and absolute power ; see the secret intelligence which governs the entire body of the State contained in a single head ; there you perceive the image of God, there you have the idea of the royal majesty. Yes, God Himself has said, Ye are gods.' Nor was the claim of absolute power for the monarch limited to secular affairs ; Bossuet equally acquiesced when it was exercised in the domain of religion. He saw no wrong when Louis posed as 'the bishop of the bishops,' with a high hand suppressed Jansenism, proscribed Protestantism, threw the Quietist confessors into prison, absorbed the patronage of the Church and laid his hand on its revenues, ordered the bishops about as if they were mere servants of the Crown, imposed his own will on the national synods, laid down the law for the Pope, and even seized the Papal territory to extort the bulls on which he had set his heart. To Bossuet's mind all these exercises of the prerogative were covered by the divinity that doth hedge a king. Perhaps it is even more remarkable that he did not himself scruple to invoke the most odious use of the royal power to enforce his own extra-canonical injunctions. He quarrelled with the dean and other dignitaries of his cathedral, because like their predecessors for centuries they wore purple cassocks in the services, instead of the black ones worn by the ordinary canons ; and finding himself unable by his episcopal authority to give effect to his own preference for black, he obtained from the Crown a '*lettre de cachet*,' and armed with this dreaded authority

authority to imprison or banish the recusants, he issued his prohibition, and brought the dignitaries to their knees! *

Such was his attitude towards the King; what was it towards the Pope? This is defined by the famous Four Articles, which he himself drew up and elaborately defended as expressing the tradition of the Gallican Church, and which, say the Ultramontanes, clung to him like Dejanira's poisoned shirt to the end of his days. By these Articles the Pope was reduced to the position of constitutional President of a Confederation of National Churches. His pretensions to interfere in temporal and civil matters, to depose kings for heresy, and release subjects from their allegiance, were explicitly rejected; he was pronounced subject to General Councils, and limited in his administrative functions by the ancient canons; his personal infallibility, even when speaking *ex cathedrâ*, was denied, and his bulls and briefs were not allowed to be of binding authority, until they had been examined and approved by the Church. Appeals to him in ecclesiastical suits were only permissible, after the provincial courts had passed sentence; and even then the jurisdiction conceded to him did not extend beyond the right to issue a commission to re-hear the suit on the spot, in the case of his being dissatisfied with the decision. Such, since the great quarrel between Philip the Fair and Pope Boniface VIII. at the end of the thirteenth century, had been the prevalent doctrine of the Church of France; not always indeed consistently enforced or even professed, but always ready to be revived, and used as a weapon of defence, in every collision between the Pope and the realm. At the Council of Trent the especial mission of the French representatives was to urge the recognition of these 'liberties,' as they were called, and to obtain enactments to restrain the prerogatives claimed by the Pope, whose counter-intrigues were the occasion of the well-known sarcasm, that the Holy Spirit was despatched from Rome to Trent in the courier's bag. A contemporary anecdote is worth repeating as an illustration of the antagonism between the two parties. While one of the French bishops was hotly urging a measure which would curtail a profitable branch of the Pope's prerogative, one of the Italian prelates sneeringly remarked, 'This cock [*gallus*] crows too loud:' whereon another of the French bishops retorted, 'Would that at the crowing of this cock Peter [the Pope] would repent and weep bitterly!' Such then was the floating Gallican tradition which the Four Articles formally defined and declared, and on this tradition

* 'Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux,' Toussaints Duplessis, vol. i. p. 545.

Bossuet took his stand. While prudently softening as much as he could the phraseology in which it was expressed, 'to avoid wounding the sensitive ears of the Romans,' as he himself acknowledged in a letter meant for the Pope's eye, he maintained it dogmatically with all the resources of his learning, and grounded upon it his official attitude towards the Papal See.

So far his position was a consistent one. When the authority of the Pope had been thus pared down, room was left for any amount of ecclesiastical absolutism in the King. If the National Church chose to put its neck under the monarch's foot, that, on this theory, was its own business, not the Pope's. Since, on the same theory, Papal bulls did not run in the realm, and had no binding force unless the National Church accepted them, the monarch with the assent of his bishops might, without breach of Catholicity, set them at defiance and throw them into the fire. The Pope, again, according to the theory, being destitute of any personal infallibility, Louis was not necessarily sacrilegious when he employed pressure, both moral and physical, to extort from Rome such decisions as suited his own policy; the Pope, of course, having an equal right to resist, if he judged it expedient to pursue a different course. So far, then, there was no intrinsic contradiction in Bossuet's position. He might be accused of sacrificing the Church to the State, but not of going counter to his own view of the obedience due to the See of Rome.

As soon, however, as his third principle is taken into account, his position assumes a very different aspect. To the marrow he was a Catholic, according to his understanding of Catholicism; and that understanding involved a view of the Papacy which is radically inconsistent with his other principles. From the tradition of the Church he dared not recede; and that tradition assigned to the occupant of St. Peter's Chair an impregnable foundation for the very autocracy against which Bossuet so rigorously protested. No Ultramontane theologian can affirm more strongly than he did the absolutely unique character of the Papal See as the divinely ordained centre of Catholic unity, endowed with the supernatural prerogatives of indefectibility and supreme jurisdiction. But from the moment this is conceded, to assert the maxims of constitutional government is futile. Constitutional monarchies are the creation of the national will, and by the national will they can be modified and even abolished. But the admission of the absolute necessity of the Papal See, and of its divine and inalienable right of supremacy, places it above the will of the Church. However Catholic Christendom may fret and fume under its despotism, the Pope,

like Marshal MacMahon, can say, 'Here I am, and I remain.' Even the deposing power of General Councils can be no effectual remedy: supposing that individual Popes can be removed, the Papacy itself cannot be dispensed with, and has only to persist in asserting its autocracy, to force the Church at last into submission. This, then, was the inherent weakness of Bossuet's position, that it was inconsistent with itself and illogical. It yielded to the Pope so much, that it was bound to yield him more. Ultramontanism is coherent with itself, so is Anglicanism; the one being the legitimate development of the great initial assumption, the other consistently denying that assumption altogether. But between Ultramontane intemperance and Anglican independence the Gallican liberties were an illogical halting-place; they admitted the assumption, but refused its consequences. The hybrid system, to the support of which Bossuet devoted his statesmanship, has accordingly perished off the face of the earth; the brand of heresy has been stamped upon it by the Vatican, and within the Church Obedience of Rome Ultramontanism has triumphed and is supreme.

In summing up now our examination of Bossuet's character and claims, we would for a moment place by his side his contemporary Pascal, whose birth preceded Bossuet's by four years. In popular repute the two names are justly associated together, as twin glories of the Gallican Church of the seventeenth century; yet no two men of first-rate intellect of the same age, country, and faith, ever offered a more marked contrast. It was not merely in external circumstances and professional vocation that the difference was rooted. It was not that to the one it was only given to live a short life of retirement and self-repression, weighed down by the duties which carried him off in his prime; while of the other his years were long and fruitful, spent in the glare of public life and crowded with affairs of more than national concern. It was that the orthodoxy of the one received but grudging recognition, while the other was borne to his grave in universal honour, as the bulwark and oracle of his country's Church. Deeper still lay the difference, in the texture of the intellect itself, in the capacity and bent of the spiritual faculty. The one, which tries all things, has attested the fundamental character of the difference by this token, that of Pascal's words and thoughts which still speak with undiminished force to the hearts of men; but of the voluminous works of Bossuet, mighty as they were in their day, no one now takes practical account, and

perhaps, to gather materials for history, or illustrations for a treatise on rhetoric.

To Bossuet's genius, then, we are unable to attribute that peculiar and highest quality which gives immortality to thought. But short of that, there can be no question of its eminent force and breadth within the limits of the affairs and contentions of his own generation. No scholar of his time possessed a profounder patristic learning, or was capable of wielding it in controversy with more crushing effect. No orator had at command a more superb and imposing rhetoric. No writer could sweep over and gather up a subject in a more lordly and trenchant style. Scarcely an exception need be taken to the splendid eulogium pronounced upon him, seven years after his death, by Massillon, when preaching the funeral sermon for the Dauphin, who had been Bossuet's pupil.

'A man of vast and felicitous genius, and of that candour which always belongs to great souls and to minds of the highest rank; the ornament of the episcopate, of whom the clergy of France will to the end of time be proud; a bishop in the midst of the royal court; the possessor of every talent, and the master of all knowledge; the oracle of all the Churches, and the terror of all the sectaries; the Father of the seventeenth century, who lacked nothing but to have been born in the primitive age, to have been the light of Councils and the soul of assembled Fathers; to have dictated canons, and presided at Nicæa and Ephesus.'

True, we admit, yet not the whole truth. A later fellow countryman, of keener critical insight than the French Chrysostom, has sketched Bossuet at a stroke, in a simile which supplies what is wanting to make the portrait completely faithful. 'Bossuet,' says Sainte-Beuve, 'is like a majestic ship, careering under a cloud of canvas over the surface of the waters, but which the fiercest storms, though they plunge it down into the abysses, or toss it aloft to the skies, can never drive into any unexplored ocean, or enable to discover any new land.' It was precisely this incapacity for seeing beyond the limits of familiar ideas and established beliefs, this invincible repugnance to novelty and development, this imperious and resolute immobility of thought, which has cost Bossuet the seat among the immortals fondly claimed for him by his admiring contemporaries. The horizon within which his intellect moved, with majestic step and eagle gaze, was but the narrow boundary circumscribing the doctrines and conceptions which authority had sanctioned and age had rendered venerable. Here was his entire world, and within it he ruled supreme. But beyond

that horizon the universe was a blank to him. The ardour of research, the enthusiasm of progress, the reaching out of the unsatisfied soul towards mysteries that are felt rather than discerned, had no place in his mental constitution. His intellect had none of the spring, the restlessness, the hope, of youth. Invention, discovery, conquest of new realms of knowledge, had no allurements for him. He was born old, with eyes turned back to the past. Amidst the rising ferment of new ideas, and the early struggles of aspiring spirits to push back the frontiers of human knowledge, and open new vistas into the secrets of the universe, his chosen part was to stand immovable, defying innovation, sceptical of advance, acknowledging no guide but authority and tradition, satisfied, as Sismondi says, with the principle, 'Yesterday such was the belief, hence to-day it must be the same.' But if he stood haughtily self-centred, in superb disdain of every onward movement, the world has gone on its way and left him behind. Human intelligence, in its progress, has outwitted him; and the penalty, severe but inevitable, has been rigorously exacted. His word, once the oracle of a nation, has ceased to be a living force among men.

ART. II.—1. *The Golden Chersonese*. By Isabella L. Bird (Mrs. Bishop). London, 1883.

2. *The Journal of a Lady's Travels round the World*. By F. D. Bridges. London, 1883.

THAT the whole vast expanse of the Southern Pacific Archipelago, with all its island worlds, from the tropical luxuriance of New Guinea and the Polynesian groups, down to the extremest glacier-capped peaks of New Zealand and the ice-belted volcanoes of Antarctic desolation, is portion and parcel of our own destined inheritance, as a field for British enterprise and a mart for British trade, is what must now no longer be regarded as a theory, a prophecy, an anticipation, but an actual fact, already half accomplished, soon to be entirely so. This truth, long since apprehended by navigators and colonists, at first vaguely, then with increasing distinctness of outline, has indeed hitherto found but imperfect acceptance in the home-staying English mind, by which it has been either neglectfully disregarded, or viewed with somewhat of suspicion, or even dislike. Now at last boldly formulated in Ministerial ears by the manifesto of the great Sydney Conference a few months since,

since, it has crystallized into an axiom, henceforth to be accepted, welcome or unwelcome, not by ourselves only, but by all the colonizers whatever of the civilized world, Old or New. We may, if we choose, regret it; we may, in company with the pseudo-philanthropists, decry it, protest against it; we cannot disclaim nor abolish its reality, fast growing into complete accomplishment.

Such considerations as these create a new interest in the vast and fair archipelago, which links south-eastern Asia with our own Australasian Colonies. The shores and islands, which formed the furthest limit of ancient geography, have now become, in the course of modern enterprise, a chief gateway to the Pacific. Nor is their interest less for the sake of their own varied beauty. Artist, naturalist, ethnologist, lover of scenery, lover of science, the searcher after knowledge, the pursuer after mere pleasure, have each and all ample space and marge enough in this fairy region. Earth has no lovelier panorama to display, no realm more favoured with her choicest gifts, none more lovely to sight, more precious to the having. Land and sea, climate and sky, all unite to charm; human nature itself, flawed and incomplete as it everywhere is, here wears a gentler and almost attractive aspect; here, if anywhere, is the Golden Region of the Earth.

Two ladies, each a writer of well-earned fame both for accuracy of delineation and brilliancy of local colouring, have done their best, in the works the titles of which head this article, to make us in some measure familiar with these 'Fortunate Islands' of the East; Miss Bird, now Mrs. Bishop, for the Malay Peninsula, and Mrs. Bridges for the wonderful, and in some respects unique, island of Java. If their writings be supplemented, as they should be, by Mr. Burbidge's valuable but more specialistic 'Gardens of the Sun,' a work principally concerned with the varied flora of Borneo, and by the older and more substantial researches of Mr. A. Wallace, co-extensive with the totality of the Southern Malayan Archipelago from Sumatra to New Guinea, and lastly by those of Mr. F. Jagor in the Philippines, an idea—faint and incomplete, doubtless, as all book-derived ideas of places and men necessarily are, yet sufficiently correct in the main—may be formed even by the fireside Englishman of these Equatorial Portals of the Pacific.

True, no pages read, no pictures or photographs studied, can adequately image forth to the mind that beauty of landscape and detail, compared with the reality of which Spenser's fancied 'Bower of Bliss' would show as a rough-grown shrubbery.

Yet

Yet we will, at whatever risk of failure, ourselves attempt the task of description, and pass in review the principal lands and waters that combine to make up this wonderful landscape from west to east; in hopes thus also to convey, if only incidentally, some notion of the degree in which British energy has already impressed its own peculiar mark on those regions, and of the possession which destiny seems to reserve to our national flag on the Malayan coasts and in the China Sea. In doing this we will, for the lands of their special experience, avail ourselves so far as may be of our authoresses' companionship; while regretting that the limitations of their tours must needs deprive us of their pleasant society somewhat early in our survey.

To the voyager Eastward-bound, whose latest land-horizon showed the fading outlines of Ceylon or the low sameness of the Coromandel coast, the first glimpses of the Malayan Peninsula and the island of Penang open out a wholly new world. Not only do the peaked hills and wooded shores of Malaysia display, in their rapid and infinite variety of outline and colouring, a brilliancy unknown to the dusky uniformities of Hindoostan; but a livelier air, a purer sky, a calmer sea, announce a happier climate, a more favoured region, than the one left behind. The vegetation too, in all its ceaseless diversity of growth, leaf, and flower, of pillared forest-tree, clustering orchid, and delicate fern, justifies the predilection of the botanist; while the bright birds of infinite modifications in shape and hue, culminating in the unrivalled birds of paradise, and the metallic splendours of huge butterflies and burnished insects of myriad form, attract the naturalist. More noteworthy, however, than all the rest is the difference of that which, as the Arab proverb has it, truly constitutes a country, namely the inhabitants. Very new to the voyager from the West are the swarms of yellow-complexioned, long-haired, smooth-skinned, strongly-built Chinese boatmen or coolies, who in quaint 'Sampans,'—broad, spoon-like, shallow, sharp-prowed boats, good alike for draught and speed,—gather round the yet scarcely anchored ship; in number at least a half, in vigour and activity a much larger quota, of the floating harbour-life. New also are the Malay shore-boats, with their composed, silent, smooth-faced, ruddy-brown-skinned crews, not very eager after gain, certainly indifferent to loss of time or even labour. Great indeed is the contrast between these rowing or sailing-boats, and our old Indian acquaintances, not unrepresented even here, of the 'catamaran' model, long black boats, outriggered, and manned, as one might think, by a lot of overgrown black spiders, so long, so lank, so 'laidlie' are the crew, as with
shriek

sk and gesticulation they crowd about the newly-arrived
ner. Lastly, European-built craft of every calibre and rig,
n or sail, of every European merchant-service, the Russian
aps alone unrepresented, are nothing new, except for their
se crowding, continual movement, and truly cosmopolitan
ety of ownership and flag, among which again the yellow
on-ensign of China holds a conspicuous place.

ut it is on quitting our watery station for the well-ordered
y and busy streets beyond that we may best observe the
nge medley of human components, much the same essen-
ly, though with some local differences of proportion and
d, throughout the entire Western and Central Archipelago,
makes up the population and life of these regions. And
, though sometimes more rarely in number, everywhere and
ays in importance, are the Chinese colonists; who have of-
assumed a position, not merely of predominance over all
atic competitors, indigenous or foreign, but of actual rivalry
the European lords of trade themselves, even the British;
e it is under the singular liberality of British rule that the
izing energy, the untiring diligence, the intelligent perse-
nence of the Chinese, have attained their fullest development.
Of this the principal cause is to be found in the peculiarities
the Chinese character itself: at once the surest, the easiest,
the most profitable one of all others to deal with by a just,
, and liberal administration. To a physical strength and
urance, proof against the enervating influences of a tropical
ate; to an intellectual energy and perseverance, not to be
ed by difficulty, nor baffled by the antipathies of hostile
udice or the thwartings of almost prohibitive legislations;
in acuteness and skill adapting itself alike to the highest as
the lowest occupation, penetrating everywhere, everywhere
ropriating each vacant berth or creating new ones, the
nese have added three special characteristics, by the union
which is laid the deepest, the surest foundation of lasting
ess. The first, that no race of men, after all necessary
wance made for individual exceptions and rascaldoms, has
thoroughly understood, so consistently practised, the doctrine
'honesty is the best policy,' true dealing more profitable
a knavery. The second is, that of all Asiatics, from the
phorus to the far Eastern sea, they have best appreciated,
t consistently exemplified, whatever can rightly be called
only' in precept and practice, as opposed to 'brutal' on the
hand and to 'effete' on the other. But the third, and
st notable characteristic of these men, is their almost instinc-
tendency to self-organization, and their capacity for it, with
its

its direct consequences of mutual assistance, support, and preservation.

Under the shelter of British law and justice, more even than elsewhere, these 'Celestials' have so multiplied in numbers, so pushed forward in action throughout Malaysia, that their pre-eminence, most marked, as is natural with an essentially commercial race, in the ports and along the sea-board, is scarcely less absolute inland, wherever mines have to be worked, new forms of agriculture or planting introduced, or factories erected and put to use. As working engineer, superintendent or labourer of land, handicraftsman, carpenter, upholsterer, tailor, builder, mason, butcher, baker, and so on through all occupations where bodily strength and manual skill have to be combined with intelligence, the Chinaman has, in East Asia at least, no equal; without him not one of these occupations but would come to a woeful standstill throughout Malaysia. Worse off yet in his absence would the European settler be for house-servants, gardeners, cooks, writers, copyists, accountants, and the rest. Chinese too are the best washermen, coachmen, and grooms, though not without Hindoo competitors in the first, Malay in the two last of these avocations. And, by a necessary consequence, wherever the British flag announces protection and even-handed justice to all, the resident population is, numerically taken, generally half, often more than half Chinese; in importance and wealth three-fourths would be nearer the mark. Lastly—and it is a matter of far-reaching importance—the Chinaman habitually shows himself much more truly 'liberal,' or, if you will, less narrow-mindedly conservative, than the average European, in respect of intermarriage with those amongst whom he comes to reside as colonist. While the European, and especially the British or German settler, almost invariably refuses the honour, or more truly the justice, of legal marriage to the 'native' woman his partner, and by so doing condemns their joint offspring to the discredit of bastardy, and all the disadvantages in life consequent on that stigma, the Chinaman at once and frankly raises his Malay, Siamese, or Cambodian helpmate to the full rank of wife, treats and honours her as such, and bestows on her children every advantage that acknowledged legitimacy, backed by strong parental affection, can confer. To this procedure must be in great measure attributed both the widespread influence of the Chinese in the lands of their colonization, and the rapid growth of their colonies themselves; the Chinese element predominating almost always in intermarriage, both physically and mentally, over the other, and even tending to absorb it altogether; while the

children, a few unlucky good-for-nothings excepted, adopt readily and as a matter of course the paternal fashions of dress, habitation, and so on; merging every other antecedent in paternal nationality.

Leaving now the Chinese, we turn to the race, prior in bright, though only second in importance throughout the Archipelago from Penang to Manila, the Malay; a race practically, if not strictly and absolutely, indigenous to the region, furnishing two-thirds at least of its 'coloured' inhabitants. Here we find a generic similarity in essentials, shaded off, however, into marked local diversities of body and mind, of ages and religion. Firstly, we have the Malays proper, to speak, that is the inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula, the Golden Chersonese of Ptolemy and Miss Bird; those of Sumatra, and, in a large majority, those of the sea-coasts of Borneo, and of many among the adjacent islands.

These are, almost without exception, Mahometans. Next to these, but greatly outnumbering them, are the Dyak Malays, and other semi-savage inhabitants of inner Borneo, Celebes, and other islands, east and south, besides the Javanese, who alone muster near four-and-twenty millions, the natives of the great Philippine group, misnamed 'Indians,' and, in general, the various sub-tribes, Sasaks, Bugis, Bantaks, Cajelis, and a score or two more, who tenant the entire Malayan Archipelago, from its Papuan or New Guinea verge. Among these, the variety of ethnology though not always of popular designation, the Javanese, and many of the coast-dwellers everywhere, are, by enough, Mahometans; the Philippine 'Indians,' three-fourths Christian; the Sooloo, and other piratical sea-sharks, Mahometan; the rest 'Pagans,' so far as a religion which is restricted to very simple propitiatory rites, offered for the most part to local 'powers,' 'spirits,' or deceased ancestors, with no definite mythology, creed, hierarchy, sacred writings, or even temples, may be stigmatized by the name of Animism. But all, however diversified by discrepancies, sometimes strongly marked, oftener slight, of features, complexion, dialect, or habit, are essentially the same, true branches of the one Malayan stock, itself an offshoot, however modified by time, climate, and circumstances, of the great Mongolo-Malayan tree.

Few travellers of our own time, certainly no sane European resident in Malaysia, will now endorse the antiquated though widely diffused estimate of the Malay character, as judged by navigators and adventurers of old times among these seas; in whose acquaintance with the 'natives' was almost exclusively

clusively limited to the mongrel crews of Portuguese, Arab, Chinese, and Malay admixture, whose piratical savagery has left its bloody record on more than one strait or island in the Archipelago. Hence too the stereotyped epithets of 'treacherous,' 'bloodthirsty,' and the like; most absurd if applied to the Malay of current fact and daily life. On the contrary, in describing the Malays—the average, of course—as 'gentle, honest, honourable,' and so forth, Miss Bird does but confirm the verdict already pronounced by Wallace, St. John, Rajah Brooke, and every other well-informed and judicious observer of these countries. Courtesy solidly based on self-respect, and on respect for others, is the distinctive note of Malay demeanour, whether among themselves or towards strangers; their general manner, though with no trace of sullenness about it, is reserved, taciturn, averse from practical jokes and horse-play, but calm, contented, and even cheerful. Their intellect is uninventive, and is best described as small but well-balanced, clear within its somewhat narrow range of view, but unreceptive, except gradually and little by little; their memory singularly retentive, alike for good and ill, for gratitude and for revenge; their sensitiveness on points of honour, exceeding that not only of most Europeans, but even of the Japanese. Fishing, and small-craft carrying trade along the coast, and agriculture, chiefly rice-planting, in the uplands, hunting, after a fashion, gardening, and metallurgy, are their favourite pursuits; in mechanics they are nowhere, in trade and business they rarely rise above mere pedlary or desk-clerkship; as watchmen and grooms they rank with the first, which is not saying much, among East Asiatics. As a nationality they hold their own, and, under whatever rule or supremacy, are likely to hold it; and their advance in prosperity and culture, though slow, is real and steady. Their greatest disadvantage consists in their too frequent adoption of Islam; a system of all others most adverse to human welfare, most blighting to culture, art, and whatever makes life worth the living. Though of comparatively recent introduction among the Malays, its venom has already in many districts, though happily not in all, penetrated below the surface, hardening their chiefships into tyrannies, and palsying the populations into premature decrepitude, with little hope of rejuvenescence and recovery.

A few of the wealthier Malays, at the head of whom figures our *protégé*, the Maharajah of Johore, have to a certain extent adopted European customs and ways, with questionable advantage. But far the greater number remain faithful to their national

national dress, one of singular elegance and decency, to their national house-architecture, simple, commodious, and well-adapted to the climate and surroundings, and to their other ancestral usages, of which, though on æsthetic grounds merely, the habit of betel-chewing may be considered objectionable. Amenable to law and government, cautious, conservative, methodical, and, when not over-weighted by the Islamitic incubus, reasonably progressive, they form a good, if somewhat thin, substratum for trade and labour, not out of keeping with their equatorial inheritance of calm seas and monotonous fertility of land.

Other components are not wanting to the many figure-groups that give life and diversity to the terraqueous landscape; types and nationalities less dominantly represented, yet each with its own significance and interest.

Most widely diffused among the business-centres of the Archipelago, are the 'Bombay' merchants, so called because natives for the most part of Western Hindoostan and of the town of Surat, near Bombay, in particular; though not rarely hailing from Lower Bengal and Orissa. Shifty and litigious, half merchants, half stock-brokers, three-parts usurers, and wholly liars, they play a prominent, though rarely a respectable part in the trading ventures of the great Malayan market. Their decidedly intelligent, often handsome features, their voluminous muslin turbans, and gay, if somewhat flimsy, robes, put them in marked opposition to the prevalent plainness of Chinese or Malay faces and simplicity of costume; their characteristics, intellectual and moral, afford an even stronger contrast.

More gorgeous yet in apparel, and announced from a distance alike by the precursive odours of musk, their favourite perfume, and by the glitter of brass-gold thread and imitative brilliants, are the 'Arab' merchants; very crows in peacock feathers, sallow, dusky, lean, rapacious-looking fellows, the scum of the Yemen bazaars, mongrels by race, pretentious, grasping, unscrupulous, and fanatical to boot; an evil and occasionally a dangerous influence among the Mahometan Malays. Sumatra is their great muster-point; but the Sooloo islands and wherever else piracy was, or yet is, the order of the day, are their favourite centres.

Of the Europeans, indwellers or sojourners in Malaysia, from the ambiguous Portuguese up to the exclusive Briton, we need not here speak at length. Few in actual numbers, and much more apparent in their effects than in their persons, their presence, but for occasional white forts, tall flag-staffs, and showy residences, would be on shore almost unmarked; though
in

in the sea-view of our panorama their ships, and above all their steamers, would be prominent everywhere.

Such are the principal, though by no means the only actors in the life drama of the Malaysian stage. We will now resume our survey of the stage itself.

Of all the harbours on the western side of the Malay Peninsula, none is so pleasant in aspect, so happy in climate, as the narrow sea-channel between island and mainland that forms the harbour of Penang. It is a kind of Equatorial Dardanelles, but with much loftier and more varied outline of heights on either hand than the Hellespontic; densely wooded too with all the glossy large-leaved diversity of tropical growth, from the fringe of betel-palm, cocoanut, and palmetto, along the glistening beach, up to the very summit of the jagged peaks 3000 feet above, while in front sparkles the calm of a lake-like sea. If we visit the town itself, by name Georgetown, and capital of the island and adjacent district, we shall find it a fair sample of a European settlement in the tropical East, or, it might be more correct to say, of a European nucleus, giving consistency and character to an Asiatic settlement which has grown up around it. Separately taken, the white-plastered or bamboo-constructed dwelling-houses are, in a great majority, Chinese, Malay, or Hindoo; so are also the shed-like mosques, or brick-built temple-shrines—very gay in colour and quaint in outline and detail are some of the latter—jotted along the streets or about the gardens; but the trim neatness of the well-metalled roads, the symmetry of the streets, the cleanly and well-aired market-places, the little fort, the Council House, the Gaol, and, at intervals, one or more of those delightful residences in which whoever has once dwelt, will long and regretfully remember when prisoned in the heavy discomfort of an ordinary English house, while he contrasts its narrow stair-flights and cell-like rooms with the cheerful verandas, the wide spaciousness, and the easy freedom of the Anglo-Indian, no less than of the West-Indian ‘bungalow’—all these attest British presence and British rule, the rule of law, the shelter of justice, the assurance of thriving peace.

But if, escaping from the heat and glare of the town, we drive out to visit the country beyond, we first pass the belt, often two or three miles in depth, of gardens and orchard plots; a mingled undergrowth of orange-trees, mangosteen, pomelo, banana, and fifty more delicious fruits, unknown to less favoured lands, intermingled with gourds, sweet potatoes, melons, yams, and many other succulent but somewhat vapid vegetables, overshadowed by betel-palms, cocoanut, jack-trees, bread-fruit, and loftiest in height as unrivalled in excellence of flavoured fruit

the royal durian. Entering the jungle beyond, we find ourselves in a region of beautiful and luxuriant life, compared with which Ceylon is sterile, and Brazil or Guiana barren. Description of scenery is Miss Bird's 'forte;' so we will avail ourselves of what she tells us regarding her own visit to the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Malacca, premising only that, with little local variation, the picture given might serve for almost any suburban scene in southern Siam, Borneo, Java, or the Philippines, and yet in plain fact falls short of the loveliness of any of them all.

'As we drove out of the town the houses became fewer and the trees denser, with mosques here and there amongst them; and in a few minutes we were in the great dark forest of coco, betel, and sago-palms, awfully solemn and impressive in the hot stillness of the afternoon. These forests are intersected by narrow turbid streams, up which you can go in a canoe, overshadowed by the "nipah," a species of stemless palm, of which the poorer natives make their houses, and whose magnificent fronds are often from twenty to twenty-two feet long.'

An endless entanglement of leafage, undreamed of by Ruskin himself, the delicate adornment of lace-like or gigantic ferns, spreading palmettos, exquisitely graceful fronds, some dark-green in colour, some verging on yellow, of plummy bamboo, glossy orchids, and whatever fantastic undergrowth rich soil, copious moisture, and steady warmth of air, can give birth to, should in description be here interwoven into the canal fringe, and not seldom overarch the stream from side to side. How often have we glided ten, twelve, fifteen, continuous miles amid such a labyrinth, by sun and shade, from beauty to beauty, as though some exquisite sonata of Mozart's had been metamorphosed into living nature, and hearing into sensation and sight! But, to rejoin Miss Bird:—

'The soft carriage-road passes through an avenue of trees of great girth and a huge spread of foliage, bearing glorious yellow blossoms of delicious fragrance. Jungles of sugar-cane often form the foreground of dense masses of palms, then a tangle of pine-apples, then a mass of limes, knotted and tangled, with stems like great cables, and red blossoms as large as breakfast cups. The huge trees which border the road have their trunks and branches nearly hidden by orchids and epiphytes, chiefly that lovely and delicate one whose likeness to a hovering dove has won for it the name of the "Flower of the Holy Ghost," an orchid that lives but for a day, but in its brief life fills the air with fragrance. Then the trees change; the long tresses of an autumn flowering orchid fall from their branches over the road; dead trees appear transformed into living beauty by multitudes of ferns, among which the dark-green shining fronds of the

the *Asplenium nidus* ' [we trust Miss Bird is well assured in her scientific nomenclature], 'measuring four feet in length, especially delight the eye; huge tamarinds and mimosa add their feathery foliage; the banana unfolds its gigantic leaves above its golden fruit; clumps of areca palms, with their slender arrowy-strait shafts, make the coco-palms look like clumsy giants; the gutta-percha, india-rubber, and other varieties of *ficus*, increase the forest gloom by the brown velvety undersides of their shining dark-green foliage; then comes the cashew-nut-tree, with its immense spread of branches and its fruit, an apple with a nut below, and the beautiful bread-fruit, with its green "cantalupe melons," nearly ripe, and the gigantic jack-fruit and durian, and fifty others, children of tropic heat and moisture, in all the promise of perpetual spring and the fulfilment of endless summer, the beauty of blossom and the bounteousness of an unfailing fruit-crop, crowning them through all the year. At their feet is a tangle of broad fungi, velvety mosses, ferns, trailers, lilies, lotus, reeds, canes, rattan, a dense and lavish undergrowth,' &c.

A glimpse this, and no more, of a Flora even yet, we believe, to a great extent uninvestigated by fully-qualified adventure, unclassified by botanical science. Nor are the birds of Malaysia unworthy of its woods. For the wonderful 'Birds of Paradise' dispersed throughout the Southern and Eastern Archipelago, but whose choicest *habitat* or metropolis, so to speak, is in the Ara islands, off New Guinea, their great specialist, Mr. A. Wallace, should be consulted; but for the more ordinary feathered denizens of the Golden Gates, Miss Bird's list, drawn up by her in reference to the Malay Peninsula, but in matter of fact adapted to the whole of Malaysia, may be safely quoted:—

'Sunbirds' (so begins her catalogue) 'rival the flashing colours of the humming-birds in the jungle openings; kingfishers of large size and brilliant blue plumage make the river-banks gay; shrieking parroquets with coral-coloured beaks and tender green feathers abound in the forest; great heavy-billed hornbills hop cumbrously from bough to bough; the Javanese peacock, with its gorgeous tail, and neck covered with iridescent green, moves majestically along the jungle tracks, together with the ocellated pheasant, the handsome and high-couraged jungle-cock, and the glorious Argus pheasant,'—

to which may be added many sub-varieties of the above-named kinds, nor least, though strangely overlooked by Miss Bird, the glorious oriole, and the large cobalt-blue jay, both frequent as thrushes or blackbirds in English hedges; besides birds of prey innumerable; and, to glad the sportsman's soul, wild-duck, teal, snipe, a jet-black jungle-fowl, nearly related, we believe, to a Northern kinsman in the Scottish blackcock; plover too, quails, speckled partridge, and others well worth the shot; among which we have breakfasted, dined, and supped, with

with our gun for sole provider, for days together. Birds of song too, and birds of mimicry, not a few; and, amid the coast-crag, the swallow architect of gelatinous nests, worthy of their epicurean fame. Malaysia is a Paradise of birds.

Insects, as might be expected, are even more numerous and diversified, though some of them, white ants and mosquitoes for instance, might well be dispensed with. Not so the glorious 'Atlas' moth, measuring nigh a foot across the expanded wings, and all the butterfly train, amongst whom Miss Bird noticed

one with the upper part of its body and the upper side of its wings jet-black velvet, blue spotted; another of the same make, but with gold instead of blue; and a third with cerise spots, the lower part of its body cerise, and the under side of the wings white with cerise spots. All these measured full five inches across their expanded wings. In one opening only I counted thirty-seven varieties of these brilliant creatures, not in hundreds but in thousands, mixed up with blue and crimson dragon-flies, and others iridescent, &c.

To these should be added such marvels of form and colour as Wallace's 'Ornithoptera,' with its

'ground colour of a rich shiny bronzy black, the lower wings delicately grained with white, and bordered by a row of large spots of the most brilliant satiny yellow. The body was marked with shaded spots of white, yellow, and fiery orange, while the head and thorax were intense black. On the under side the lower wings were satiny white, with the marginal spots half black and half yellow;'

the great calliper butterfly; beetles! marvellous in form, and gem-like in metallic lustre; and myriads of fire-flies, varying in size and brilliancy, that on a damp and cloudy night especially make such show as if the stars, impatient of the misty veil drawn across them in heaven, had come down to display themselves in mazy dances on earth. For the larger fauna of Malaysia, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the tiger, the lovely black panther, the buffalo, monkeys of all kinds, from the hideous orang-utan, or 'Mias,' downwards or upwards; deer, wild hog, tapir, porcupine, alligators, dugongs, lizards great and small, and a long list besides, we must, for want of space, content ourselves with a general reference to what Miss Bird, according to her opportunities, and those professed naturalists who have in some measure explored these regions, have supplied in their writings.

And now, having thus sketched out, in the slightest of outlines and faintest of colouring, the prevalent life, whether human, animal, or vegetable, throughout this vast landscape, let us embark on the first convenient steamer, English, Dutch,

or

or Chinese—for all or any of these are frequent here at our service—and proceed on our regretfully hurried survey of the great Portal, or Antechamber of the far-Eastern Sea-Palace, our promised heritage and portion. For more than two hundred miles of south-easterly way, we skirt the coast of the Golden Peninsula, here mostly low and fertile by the shore, with a high irregular background of metalliferous mountains, till high and isolated Mount Ophir, a name suggestive of the memory rather than of the actuality of gold, announces our approach to the sleepy old town, the first settlement and once the capital of Europeans on these shores, whence the 'Straits of Malacca' take their name. A too shallow roadstead, and a wholly unsheltered anchorage, have long since transferred the primacy of trade from the city of great Albuquerque and greater Xavier to ports better suited to the requirements of modern navigation; but the influx of twenty thousand Chinese settlers, attracted by the rich tin-mines of the district, and of more than thrice that number of Malays, cultivators of the fertile soil, have in our own time given the town and province more absolute importance perhaps than they ever attained under its former rulers, Lusitanian or Dutch. Thence on to the lovely islet-studded entrance that admits us to the excellent harbour and flourishing colony of Singapore, chief emporium of Asio-European trade for the entire tract comprehended between Ceylon and China.

Selected by the prescient wisdom of Sir Stamford Raffles, as early as 1819, for the free port *par excellence* of these seas, but not actually occupied and opened till 1824, the island of Singapore was sixty years back a mere wilderness of jungle, with a few score of Malay fishermen along its shores, and wild boar, deer, and tigers, for the sole tenants of its interior. To-day it reckons a population of nigh 140,000 souls, two-thirds of them Chinese; its port admits or clears 3,000,000 of tonnage yearly; while brushwood and swamp have disappeared before quays, wharves, squares, public buildings, clubs, schools, churches, libraries, museums, handsome and well-paved streets, great warehouses, and whatever else attends and betokens civilized intelligence and well-ordered prosperity. Nowhere, go where he may, will the traveller see British colonial institutions and society under a more favourable aspect than in the 'Lion City'; nowhere will he be in a better position for appreciating the benefits that law, justice, and free trade, upheld by the strong backbone of naval and military power, and fenced in by effective police, can confer.

It is a pity that Miss Bird, while duly recognizing these things, should—we know not why—have chosen to mar her
otherwise

otherwise truthful description of Singapore by diatribes on what she terms the 'dreary, aimless, half-expiring' life, and the 'insipidity of the local conversation' of the 'parboiled' European community, and, in particular, of the 'feeble Englishwomen' of Singapore. This picture is not in accordance with fact. No doubt the hot hours of an equatorial day are not propitious to violent out-door exercise; and small talk may—nay, probably does—exist at Singapore, just as in any other town, Scotch or English, large or small, London itself not exempted. But it so happens that British existence, male or female, in the Straits is, in matter of fact, singularly active, busy, and energetic, besides being sociable, hospitable, and, on the whole, not less, but more intellectual than that of most trading-centres of similar calibre in England with which we are conversant. Miss Bird must have been strangely unlucky in her acquaintances at Singapore.

It is not our intention here to catalogue statistics which our readers may easily procure for themselves from reports, colonial or consular, statesmen's year-books, directories, and the like; enough to say that on the 1350 square miles which make up the area under direct British rule in the Straits, there exists—nor exists only, but thrives and yearly multiplies—a population considerably over 420,000 souls, or about 312 to the square mile, where, according to the analogy of the neighbouring 'independent' or Siamese States, there was probably, half a century ago, not a twentieth of that number; while the 'protected' States of Perak, Selangor, and Sungei-Ujong, if added, bring up the total of the population to more than 600,000, Malays and Chinese the most part, directly or indirectly under the British flag; and the trade values, export and import, exceed 14,000,000 sterling yearly, these last not an increase, properly speaking, but a creation. Such, at the very outset of a cruise through the Portals of the Far East do we find the results of British supremacy, British free-trade, British equity, British practice. Our rule has its drawbacks, no doubt; what rule has not? but more theory-bigoted than Mr. Frederic Harrison must be, more calumnious than Mr. Healy, more wrong-headed than Mr. Wilfrid Blunt himself, who could, in presence of facts like these, deny that the administration which bears such fruits must be on the whole a good tree, a benefit and a blessing to those who find shelter under its branches.

And now, 'on from island to island at the gateways of the day,' and first to Java, Holland's great colonial success in Asiatic administration and finance, ever since the Batavian Governor-General, Johannes van den Bosch, originated in 1832

the system which, with the greatest advantage to all, rulers and ruled, Europeans and 'natives' alike, has been maintained down to our time. The island well merits a visit. So, leaving behind us the vast jungles and unexplored wealth by mountain or plain of half-occupied Sumatra, we will direct our course, beginning at Java's busy but unhealthy capital, Batavia, and skirting the continuous North Javan coast for above 600 miles east. Everywhere the island is cultivated, everywhere responsive to cultivation with all the varied produce of the equinoctial earth-belt, and made beautiful alike and terrible by a scarce interrupted chain of nigh fifty volcanoes, most of them fitfully, not a few continually, active; the loftier cones averaging 10,000 feet above the sea-level, alternately the fertilizers and the devastators of the plains beneath. Land where we will, from Angor, or where Angor was, on the extreme west, at Batavia, Cheribon, central Samarang, or land-locked Sourabaya in the east, we shall find ample justification of Mr. A. Wallace's verdict, that 'Java may fairly claim to be the finest tropical island in the world;' unless, indeed, our coming visit to the Philippines should induce us to reserve the superlative of praise for the island of Luzon, of which more hereafter.

Let us then accept the challenge, and indulge ourselves in a little inland expedition. Sourabaya, with its crowded markets and lovely garden-villas, shall be our starting-point, whence the railway will take us about forty miles south-east to the hilly district (not unlike many parts of our own South Wales in general appearance) of Malang, about halfway across the island. Here the volcano of Tosari, near 8000 feet high, sends up the smoke of its never-resting fires, itself overtopped at no great distance by a loftier and grimmer-looking but unnamed cone, whence great masses of vapour rush explosively up, after intervals of delusive stillness, and then as suddenly subside,—a vision of horror. On our way we have passed mile after mile of dense cane-fields, studded with sugar factories, large and many, some under Chinese, some under European direction, and chequered with darker-green plots of tobacco or other field produce, till we reach the pretty, stream-channelled belt of broken ground, rising to the central mountain chain. Here palm forests and teak forests, with the other usual growths of Malaysian woodlands, give the landscape a more picturesque character, which is intensified by the frequency of the ruins, stone or brick, of old and now deserted shrines; some apparently of a purely Buddhist character, like those of Siam; others, again, overlaid with Brahminical exuberance and bad taste of ornament, and side by side with these, the slightly constructed sheds that

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satisfy the slender requirements of Javanese Mahometan worship; and now, beneath the overarching shade of giant trees, and a green vault more than a hundred feet overhead in mid air, we begin the ascent of the volcanic range, and are soon involved, up to an average level of 4000 feet, amid the dark and glossy green of dense coffee-plantations, starred with jasmine-like rose-white flowers, or clustered with reddening berries, according to the season; till, emerging from these on more open slopes of grass, we find ourselves, now from 5000 to 6000 feet above the sea-level, among almost European field-produce—potatoes, cabbages, beet, turnips, onions, oats, barley, beans, and so forth; and our pathway is bordered by primroses, nasturtiums, honeysuckle, St. John's wort, and what other gay flowers adorn South-England fields in early summer. Further up yet, till we reach 8000 or 9000 feet, green heights, bare or thinly sprinkled with fir, lead up to bare cindery ledges and ash-mounds; and we stand on the sulphur-stained margin of a huge roaring crater and the smoke that 'goeth up for ever and ever' out of a very hell-pit beneath the deep purple of a vapourless sky. Far away below stretch green-streaked plain and dazzling sea.

Much, too there is to interest us in the Javanese population itself: one that has,—amazing increase!—quadrupled during less than seventy years of Dutch rule, and now considerably exceeds twenty million souls, giving over four hundred to the average square mile. The Javanese are, ethnologically, genuine Malays: gentle, courteous, orderly, uninventive; in external circumstances, as of dress, belongings, housing, and so forth, much in advance of any other of their kinsmen, the inhabitants of the Philippines excepted; but better off again than these last in the matter of good roads, bridges, trim enclosures, and all the communicated neatness on which the Dutch justly pride themselves abroad as at home. But most fortunate of all are the Javanese in the care with which a truly paternal Government watches over their landed interests and peasant proprietorship, protecting them alike against the tyrannous caprices of their own native chiefs and headmen, and the more covert, but in reality much more oppressive tyranny of foreign capitalists and money-making companies, whose action, if left unchecked, would soon here, as it has too often done in other colonies, degrade the labourers into mere coolies, without lands or homes of their own, and all to the selfish profit of the moneyed few; whereas, thanks to a vigilant legislation based on the 'culture system' of 1832, Goldsmith's Utopia, 'where every rood of ground maintained its man,' and, with its man, its women and children

also, is nowhere so nearly realized as in the Dutch Java of our day.

With a few exceptions among the remoter villages, where Paganism has found a mountain refuge, the Javanese are Mahometans, but, happily for themselves, very lax ones; and Islam has little influence over even the theory of their lives, still less over their practice.

Much would there be, did space permit, to write of the wonderful buildings, now in great part ruins, of the 'Thousand Temples' of Brambanam in Central Java, the colossal pile of Borobodor, and other memorials of extinct Indian colonization and rule, noways inferior, it would seem, to the probably coeval fanes of Cambodia, Upper Siam, and Ssu-ch'uan; but for a description of these we must refer our readers to Mrs. Bridges' excellent work, best read *in extenso*, and, however reluctantly, quit Java, where we have already lingered perhaps too long, for the further islands of the Archipelago, a majority of which are also more or less completely under Dutch suzerainty, varying from mere influence paramount to absolute rule. Of these, Madura, Bali, and Lombok, the last two not less volcanic than Java itself, belong for inhabitants, scenery, fauna, flora, and the rest, to the same Indo-Malayan system as the Chersonese, Sumatra, Borneo, and Java, and exhibit the same beauty and abundance of bird and insect life, the same equableness of climate, and the same fertility of agricultural produce. Here too the once dreaded scourge of piracy has disappeared before the frequency of steamers and the strong hand of European repression; while, in the perennial calm of a sea where hurricanes and cyclones are unknown, traffic in every form, and conveyed in every craft, from the native 'prau' with its frame-work of bamboo and its sails of matting, up to the iron screw-steamer of North British build, goes on secure and uninterrupted month by month and day by day. In the carrying work of this trade the coast-Malays, born seamen, take the lead; in whatever concerns the desk and the account-book, the Chinese; while European persistence and capital furnish a backbone to the whole.

Continuing our way east, we now traverse the central, or, to borrow Mr. Wallace's appropriate nomenclature, the Austro-Malayan region of the Archipelago, a deep sea-belt, where the island of Celebes, supposed to be in superficial dimensions not much inferior to Borneo itself, and in shape like a deformed octopus, offers to the naturalist a uniqueness of animal and vegetable forms not easily explained, alike distinct from the Asian on the north-west and the Australasian on the south-east. The capital of the island is Macassar. The native dwellers,
who,

no, though all of pure Malay stock, include among themselves several distinct tribes and clans, are partly Pagan, partly Mahometans, though the latter seem, till quite recently, to have resembled, in head-hunting and other wild practices, their semi-barbarous Pagan cousins, the Dyaks of Borneo. But now, under Dutch rule and influence, they have settled down into an orderly, tranquil, industrious population, chiefly busied in agriculture and coffee-planting, the last being carried on under government control, much as in Java. The greater part of the island is non-volcanic, and hence, however lovely in the details of scenery, destitute of the grandeur of fire-piled mountain peaks, also of the exuberant fertility proper to volcanic soil. Only at the northern extremity of Celebes does igneous activity re-appear, and with it such mingled beauty and grandeur of scenery as is quite astonished even the much-experienced Mr. Wallace himself. Here too Dutch rule, acting on a race which by his account seems to represent the Malayan type at its very best, closely resembling, so far as our own knowledge would lead us to infer, the so-called 'Visaians' of Cebu and the Central Philippines, has resulted in organizing what Mr. Wallace considers to be the 'most industrious, peaceable, and civilized population of the whole Archipelago.' For a succinct, yet efficient, account of the measures by which this happy result has been obtained, illustrated by some valuable hints on the very different result of certain other systems, more in accordance, it may be, with 'liberal' theory, but far less so with nature and experience, we must refer our readers to Mr. Wallace's book itself; it will repay thoughtful perusal.

Again we re-embark and, continuing our eastward voyage, arrive at the third and furthestmost division, the immediate sea-chamber of the Australasian sea-palace, where the Jilolo, the furthest of all, the Torres Straits, give free opening on the Pacific. Here the famed 'Spice Islands,' or Moluccas, with Amboyna, earliest among European settlements in these regions, and Timor, where the comparative merits of Portuguese and Dutch administration are yet curiously exhibited side by side within the same insular circuit, claim a passing notice. The Moluccas in particular, lying on both sides of the Line, free of the blighting influence of the dry winds of the Australian continent, which do much harm to the more northerly lands of the Timor group, display equinoctial vegetation at its best; giant forest-trees, orchids, ferns, gorgeous flowers, luscious fruits, besides the cinnamon, nutmeg, and cloves, whence especially they derive their European designations. Here too begins, and hence extends eastward all over New

New Guinea, but no further, the favoured *habitat* of nature's most exquisite toy, the bird of paradise; besides other feathered forest dwellers which elsewhere might seem unsurpassable in beauty, parrots, pigeons, king-fishers, starlings, and fly-catchers by classification, but all peculiar to this region, all attired, so to speak, in the liveries of their queen, the bird of paradise.

Each island of the group has its speciality and peculiar worth. Banda, once a Portuguese, now a Dutch, possession, has long been, and still is, the chief nutmeg orchard in the world, and is likely to remain so, judging by the ill-success of recent plantation in Ceylon, the Straits, and elsewhere. Why this is so, we could perhaps say, as also why our coffee-plants perish wholesale by a blight little, or not at all, experienced under a different mode of cultivation. But this is a topic which, however important, does not come within our present scope, and to have alluded to it must be enough for us here. To return to the Spice Islands and their produce. Ceram, one of the largest and most fertile, is distinguished by the excellence of its sago crop; Amboyna was selected by the Dutch for the cultivation of the clove. The entire group is included among the Netherlands' possessions. But, for a native population, instead of the orderly and easily-governed Malay, we here find a very different material for their rulers to deal with: the Papuan race, identical with the aborigines of New Guinea and its dependent islets, and closely allied to the natives of Australia, the Fiji, the Pelew, and the Tahitian groups, of New Zealand, and of the other countless islands scattered through the Eastern and Central Pacific; all of whom, though differing even in some instances very widely among themselves in shades of colour or degrees of savagery, are yet undoubted members of one great Polynesian family, and in physical and moral characteristics essentially the same. These are, to adopt the only rational conjecture yet formed on existing data, the 'survivals' of the aborigines of a vast continent, long since partly broken up into islands, partly buried beneath the ever-deepening waters of the Pacific Ocean; nor can any more striking contrast be imagined than that which distinguishes them from the conterminous Malays, Asiatics by origin, and an undoubted offshoot of the Turano-Mongolian family.

Tall, with long lank limbs, prominent eyebrows, and nose curiously drawn down at the tip, bearded, and with frizzly hair, not woolly like the negro's, but of a harsh, wiry growth, forming a compact mop on the head, and frequently in tufts over the arms, legs, and breast, the Papuan is at first sight distinguishable from the short-statured, smooth-faced, smooth-skinned, some-
what

at flat-featured Malay, whose delicately-formed limbs, hands, and feet furnish an even more characteristic contrast to the coarse and coarse extremities of the Papuan. Nor is the mental difference less strongly drawn. 'The Malay,' once more we quote Mr. Wallace, whose observation, we may add, closely coincides with our own, 'is bashful, cold, undemonstrative, and reticent; the Papuan bold, impetuous, excitable, and noisy. The former is grave, and seldom laughs; the latter joyous and laughter-loving; the one conceals his emotions, the other displays them.'

In quickness of perception at least, though not, we think, in range of intellect, the Papuan surpasses the Malay; in foresight, foresight, and tact, he is decidedly inferior. Again, the Papuan has mere decoration, elaborate but unmeaning, the Papuan has no idea. Fancy is his, not invention. But it is in affection and moral sentiment that the Papuan shows himself most deficient; that is, in precisely those regards in which the Malay excels most Asiatic, nay, even the European races. The strong self-respect, joined, as is usual, to an almost equal respect for the feelings of others, so wanting among Malays, is to Papuans a thing unknown. It is,—and this is the one thing of paramount importance in the view of the future,—the Papuan, like all his kinsmen, alike the degraded Australian and the intelligent and courageous New Zealander, seems, judging after the experience of little less than a century, to be not only incapable of assimilating any good, moral or material, from the more civilized races with whom he may come in contact, but even to derive from that contact certain deterioration, demoralization, and proximate extinction. And hence the hopes of finding a solid and steady basis, and, in process of time, an effective co-operation to the full establishment of law, order, and social organization, the development of agriculture and trade, and, in a word, the true civilization of the Archipelago, in its Malay population, have no counterpart in the Papuan-inhabited portion of the same region. Nor unjustly does Mr. Wallace conclude from the analogy of the past to a future now, it seems, not far distant: 'The true Melanesians'—among whom the Papuan family is strictly included—'are, no doubt, doomed to an early extinction. If the tide of colonization should be turned to New Guinea, there will be little doubt of the speedy disappearance of the Papuan race. But the more numerous Malay race seems well adapted to remain as the cultivator of the soil,'—he might have added, 'and as a humble but useful coadjutor in the important coasting and trading trade of these many-shored seas'—even when his country

country and government have passed into the hands of Europeans.' We have no hesitation in ratifying this verdict. Ominous, too, for the Papuan future is the fact, long since established by proof, that while the Chinese immigrants, the brain and right-arm of all colonial enterprise from Penang to East Borneo, not merely co-operate readily, but even amalgamate with the Malay population, blending by frequent inter-marriage into a new, able, and fertile race, they as invariably remain separated by a deep, hopeless gulf of mutual incompatibility, often broadening into active hostility and bloodshed, from the Papuans of the islands. All which the projectors of 'Far East' commerce or colonization will do well to bear in mind. Not all the well-nigh fabulous beauty and fertility of the Spice Islands, of Jilolo and its satellites; not the sago-forests of Ceram, not the birds of paradise of Aru, fit abode for such denizens, not even the half-explored or unexplored, yet undoubted promise of New Guinea, can wholly make up for the absence of that great, in the tropics we might almost say paramount, condition of success, native labour, indigenous co-operation, so valuable, as the history of Java and other colonies, Dutch or Spanish, amply shows in the Western and Central Archipelago, so absent from the Papuan section of its extent.

It is on purpose, and because worthy of special and distinct notice, that we have, while thus traversing Equatorial Malaysia, so long deferred our visit to that noble island, second in dimensions to Australia alone, far superior to it in the gifts of Nature's dowry, the island of Borneo, placed in the very centre of these seas, and halved by the Equinoctial Line. And yet, near as Borneo is to busy, enterprising Singapore on the one hand, and to industrious, teeming Java on the other, situated, too, on the main highway from the Malaccan to the Sooloo Straits; and, in certain monsoon phases, on the great China route itself, of the greater part of this huge island, of its wide inland, and even in some places of its coast, we know hardly more as yet than of New Guinea. This ignorance, or rather the want of intercourse that has occasioned it, is partly due to the very immensity of the quasi-continent, partly to the scarcity of navigable water-ways for penetrating its masses of upland and jungle. One remarkable exception indeed there is, on the north-west Bornean coast, and one amply sufficient to show how easily (under wise guidance and just administration) the best results of European enterprise might be attained through a much wider region, if not, indeed, to the total extent of the island; an exception of present interest alike, and of good future hope, and thither we will now direct our course.

How

How the principality of Sarawak was founded, past what shoals and through what storms the vessel of its destinies was successfully piloted by the skill and courage of the great Rajah Brooke, a lineal and worthy representative of the now almost extinct hero-breed, too truly entitled by Mr. Froude, 'England's forgotten Worthies;' how his skill and courage triumphed over intrigue and revolt on land, and wiped the red stain of piracy for ever out of the adjoining seas; how, since his retirement and death, Rajah Brooke, second of the name, the Ruma of Sarawak, has administered, consolidated, and widened his princely heritage; all these things, with the detail statistics of the State, between three and four hundred miles in coast-length, with an average breadth of one hundred, its administrative system, closely corresponding with that by which the Dutch have given prosperity to Java, its executive at once simple and efficacious, its law, or equity rather, its military and naval establishments, both of very modest dimensions; its revenue, now exceeding 60,000*l.* yearly; its imports and exports, of which the British quota alone amounts to half a million sterling; its mines, of antimony, quicksilver, and coal; its agriculture or forest-produce, and so on; may be read, partly in Mr. St. John and Miss Jacob's biographical narratives, partly in the documents, official or other, published from time to time by the present Rajah. Combined they make up a pleasing history of a good work begun in heroism, continued in much patience, brought out in firm resolve and wise delay, and already, though of only forty years' standing, more solidly based, more advantageously and symmetrically reared, than many a showier but less durable administrative fabric of our modern age.

Pleasant indeed is the picture exhibited to the eye and mind, as our small steamer, fresh started from the Singapore Straits, and sighting, after not many hours of absolutely open sea, the north-western angle of Borneo, makes her way towards the mouth of the Kutching River and the capital of the Principality. High hills, wood-covered, form the coast, and come down in sheer precipices on the sea, which here rolls in one long heavy swell, driven by the northerly monsoon from the Sumbanese shores, a thousand miles away, and scarce broken by the rocky Anamba or Natunha island groups. It is a miniature, but a more picturesque, Bay of Biscay. As we near the river entrance, a dense jungle of mangrove, overtopped by tall palms, pecca, cocoanut, or sago, meets our view, and lines the banks of the rapid rivers up which we pass by scattered hamlets and plantations, with fanciful rocks and overhanging tree stems between,

between, till after about twenty-five miles we come upon the little grassy fort-crowned knoll which guards the river-approach to the town, situated on the opposite bank. Just beyond the fort stands the *Astana*, or Government House, residence of the Rajah, a well-constructed but by no means showy bungalow, amid a lovely garden-park, where turf, green as any in mid-England, is jotted with plots of tropical shrubs and flowers, and lotus-bearing tanks, full to the brim, for Kutching, like Singapore, stands nigh on the equator; and refreshing showers are of almost daily recurrence, even during the drier months of the year.

Opposite the palace the little town, numbering scarce six thousand inhabitants, nearly half of them Chinese, with its neatly-kept market-place, guarded council-house, treasury, gaol, schools, mosques, temples, church, and other public buildings, besides many pretty private houses of merchants and the like, and bamboo-hedged gardens, gives evidence of prosperity and orderly rule. From hence in every direction new-made roads strike out into the country, and are bordered by market-gardens and field-cultivation for miles away; the gardening is mostly in the hands of the ingenious and hard-working Chinese; while the less energetic Malays content themselves mostly with the growth of rice and sago, the latter being here, in the Rajah's words, 'almost enough to feed the world.' Pepper and coffee also prosper; tea and quinine have lately been introduced, and everything is done to encourage field-work, and to render and keep the natives proprietors of their own soil—the surest guarantee of loyalty and stability in a state. 'To develop the country from within, by its own resources, and, so far as possible, by its own indigenous population, supplemented only, where defective, by Chinese immigration, and to prefer small but local enterprise and gain to the sweeping ventures of European capitalists, such is the head and sum of the Rajah's political economy—already in no small measure justified by success. A flourishing State and a firm dynasty will prove, should it be steadily persevered in, its certain reward.

Here in Kutching we meet the genuine Malays of the interior, the Dyaks, well-proportioned men and women, of ruddy-brown colour, and somewhat taller on the average than the coast Malays; handsomer too in feature, and, according to the opinion of competent judges, on a higher mental and moral level. Though simple in their habits, they are by no means savages. Head-hunting, a barbarous practice, but not unparalleled among the semi-civilized aborigines of Central and
Southern

America, has now totally disappeared from within the the Sarawak principality, and, as we are informed, of ning Dutch territories ; and piracy, in which the coast ere largely implicated, has been stamped out by the ane energy of the great Rajah and his successor. For temperate, honest, trusting, and, within the limits by a tropical climate, industrious ; healthy too, well- and eminently brave ; the Dyaks have in them the of a good settled population, a basis on which to build onial superstructure ; nor is there, happily, any danger inoculation with the Islamitic virus, that has so seriously d and stunted the Malays of the Borneo coast, no less e of the Peninsula, of Sumatra, and of some others e lesser islands.

e prospects of the 'North-Borneo' Company, lately n view of colonizing the north-eastern angle of the ad at present holding in grant from the indigenous above 20,000 square miles of territory, it would be e as yet to speak. Time must show. Of the natural of the region, its metallic treasures, its excellent its propitious rainfalls, and other analogous recom- ns, a good report has come up. But it is sparsely, adequately peopled ; and of this defect, Chinese coolie- a sufficient, is a costly supplement. Much, too, will n the tact of its first administrators ; much on the of land-tenure and cultivation introduced by them. enough, the Dutch themselves, eminent as has been ess in Java, have thus far made but little mark in where Sarawak yet figures as an isolated phenomenon al prosperity under European rule. Why all this so, depends on causes from the investigation of which s must debar us for the present. But lands, like ave their day, and Borneo cannot long remain un- oy the rising tide of trade and enterprize, already n encroaching eddies round her forest-girded shores. nd south we have now surveyed, however cursorily, nte-Pacific Archipelago : its northern limits, assigned lfs of Siam and Tonquin, with the adjoining coasts and Southern China, though all-important both to the colonization of the entire region, must here be passed ef description would be unsatisfactory ; a full one, in rticle, impossible. So we turn, for a concluding view lliant panorama, to the long range of islands, reaching en degrees and a half of latitude north and south from eo and the Sooloo Straits up to the Bashee Channel, and

and to Formosa itself; a giant bar, sundering by an almost continuous wall of island beauty the Malayan and Chinese Seas from the dark Pacific beyond. For the greater and best part they belong to Spain, and constitute the most enviable, and now almost the sole colonial jewel yet unfallen from the crown of Castille and Leon. For the benefit of the possibly uninformed reader we will add that the Philippine island-group lies between lat. 20° and lat. 5° N.; and that it consists, firstly, of two large islands, namely Luzon, on which the capital, Manila, is situated, to the north, and Mindanao to the south; the former having an area nearly equal to that of Ireland, the latter about one-fourth less; secondly, of seven large intermediate islands, with a collective area equalling that of Luzon; and lastly, an absolutely innumerable number of smaller islets, mostly inhabited, making up a total area of 54,000 square miles. The population reaches to about eight millions; the yearly exports and imports between the Philippines and Great Britain (being about one-fourth of the total trade) amount to little less than four millions sterling.

We have left Singapore, and five or six days of north-westerly passage have brought our steamer to anchor beside the lovely little island, midmost of the Philippine cluster, and called, like its capital town, Cebu. A large Spanish-renaissance cathedral, with the episcopal residence and a spacious Dominican convent hard by, all in the heavy but not ungraceful style of the architecture of Philip II. and Philip III., overlook a wide square, where a large proportion of stragglingly-built bamboo houses, galleried round and thatched with palm-leaves, declare the Malay, or, as Spaniards, with a glorious contempt of ethnological classification, term it, 'Indian,' element predominant in the town. Beyond are green hills, well-watered fields, wooded slopes, and not a few volcanic cones, quiescent indeed just now, but which may any day break out into activity, for Cebu, like all the Philippines, with hardly an exception, is a volcanic formation. Meanwhile the landscape is everywhere dense with 'fertile promise,' and accomplishment too, of grain, tobacco, sugar-cane, coffee, cacao, and fruits of every kind; buffaloes are grazing, and natives, 'Indians!' at work in the fields or lounging in the shade. But opposite the little knoll on which we stand overlooking the harbour, and across a narrow silvery sea-streak beyond, lies full in view the low green islet of Mactan, where, close to a palm-grove, by the beach, we see a small white monumental obelisk, evidently Spanish. It marks the spot where the world's first circumnavigator, the Portuguese Magellan, discoverer (though not, as it proved, for Portugal but Spain)

of the Philippines, then on his return from the straits to he gave his name, fell, pierced in an ambushade of the Malays by a poisoned arrow. This was in A.D. 1521: three years later the Spanish Admiral Legaspi, beginning at Cebu, annexed the bulk of the Archipelago, island after island, to the Spanish dominion; though the completion of the prize was reserved for his yet more daring grandson and successor, Salcedo, A.D. 1572-6.

We too will take our way northwards, through what is here called the 'Inland Sea,' a succession of straits and seeming lakes forming a maze of lovely islands, rock-buttressed, or clothed with coco, palm, stately forest, and cultivated interspaces down to the water's edge; a scene equalling, if not indeed for labyrinthine beauty surpassing, the better-known 'Inland Sea' of Japan. We skirt the great and fertile island of Panay, with the port of Iloilo, second in importance to Manila alone; and here, if we choose, turn eastward, through the narrow rock-enclosed Straits of Bernardino, where the warm turbid waters of the China Sea rush like an eddying Bosphorus to discharge themselves into the wide Pacific. This is the mid-Philippine region. Scarcely have we rounded the outermost headland, entered on the pure deep darkness of the ocean, when, rising above us in nine thousand feet of unbroken slope from every beach, rises the giant cone of Mayon, the ever-burning volcano of Albay. Over its inaccessible summit a pennon of white smoke flaunts from the black lava-peak, the terror and the fertilizer of southernmost Luzon. Should we land, we may yet visit, at a distance of at least twelve miles from the mountain base, the charred ruins of villages destroyed by the falling cinders thrown out in the great explosion of November 1864, when the mountain, after no further warning than a single shock of earthquake and explosion, appeared at dawn, to use the words of a native describer, 'like a bride in a nuptial veil,' and with one continuous ash-sheet from crater to sea-shore. Three weeks eruption followed eruption, till for leagues around, hamlets and churches ruined, bridges broken, roads obliterated, plantations scorched or overwhelmed, and lives both of cattle and men lost beyond all count, made the very name of Mayon a terror in the Philippines. Yet so admirably fertile were the lands scattered abroad, so abundant the succeeding crops of coffee, sugar, coco, and the finest of 'Abaca,' or Manila hemp (the fibre of the glossy dark-green plantain-leaf, as beautiful as useful), that even now it is said to have already 'far more than made amends for the damage caused by his paroxysmal violence.' The total

number

number of active craters throughout the Philippines is estimated at seventeen ; of half or wholly extinct, legion.

But most beautiful of all scenes in the island of Luzon is justly pronounced the loveliest of our planet, is presented by the lake of Taal, not far from Manila itself. A small steamer takes us from the capital, for about twenty miles eastward, up the river Pasig to the great lake of Baii, a water sea, more than a hundred and thirty miles in circumference, placed in the very heart of Luzon ; and then embarking on its southern shore, we traverse for some miles more the coffee and cacao plantations of the densely peopled province of Batangas, till we reach the district lake of Taal. It is an extinct crater, oval-shaped, longer diameter of about seven miles, by a shorter of five, shut in by steep cliffs, inaccessible except at a few points, and full of clear metallic-blue water, deep and stainless, with a clear blue heaven overhead. Just at the centre of the lake a little of green slope and flowering shrubs rises abruptly from the waters, springing up into a cone six hundred feet high, and a continuous eddy of white sulphur-smoke issues ceaselessly from its summit, often seen across the mountain range far out on the open sea. Climbing the hill we seat ourselves on the extreme verge of the crater, and look down into a boiling malebolgia of steaming sulphur, crossed by quick flickers of blue flame ; a miniature hell, set in a very paradise.

Manila itself, the capital, with its unrivalled harbour, its antiquated fort, its noble churches, its gay parade, its picturesque streets, busy canals, and lovely orchard-gardens, must of course be left to others to describe ; nor can we attempt to do justice to the grandeur of the inland mountain scenery, and the beauty of the coast towards the Pacific ; nor the giant forests of the interior, nor the rivers and waterfalls, the caverns and solfatare, nor the yearly wonders of the May thunderstorms, and the fresh beauties of the cooler months, with all the lavish display of Nature's munificence and power, that render the Philippines as superior in beauty and productiveness to the other groups of the Malay Archipelago, as that Archipelago in general surpasses the West Indian and every other of the same kind, Old or New. Enough to say that from equatorial Soerabaya to the almost temperate climate of the Northern Cordillera, from Cagayan, every diversity of tropical scenery and growth is exhibited at its best, and that too with a singular exemption from the ferocious, and even in great measure from the venomous forms of life, that infest the tropics elsewhere ; while in

of bird and insect life the Philippines, equal in these respects to Borneo or Java, yield only to the islands of Aru.

The inhabitants of this sea-girded paradise, however subdivided in dialects and other minor details, group themselves ultimately into two large families, both Malay, yet with a difference. The southern half of the Philippines is tenanted by the 'Visaians,' who in stature, features, and general qualities, mental and physical, as also, we believe, in dialect, closely resemble the Dyaks of Borneo and the dwellers of Celebes, though somewhat lighter of complexion, and, both male and female, decidedly handsomer in feature. To this last superiority, greater comfort, better food and dress, and the other advantages consequent on secure and peaceful organization, have doubtless contributed not a little. With the exception of a scattered Mahometan population in the large but sparsely-tenanted island of Mindanao, and of the piratical inhabitants of the Sooloo cluster, also Mahometans, the 'Visaians' are Christians, and have found in Catholicism a form of belief and worship which seems adapted to their mental and moral requirements. In dress also they have adopted a not unpractical modification of European clothing, laying aside the turban and the 'savong,' or waist-cloth, characteristics of Malay Islam; but replacing the latter with light trousers, and adding a loose over-dress, or blouse, of finely-woven 'abaca,' the choicest fibre of the 'Manila hemp' or banana-plant, white, or stained in tasteful stripes, and replaced on holidays, whereof there are many, by the 'piña' texture, a tissue of pine-apple fibre, delicate and costly as the finest lace. Their dwellings are, like those of Malays in general, neat and orderly, with coloured prints representing the Madonna and the Saints. Musical instruments of European pattern, though often of native make, abound everywhere, not a village but having its band ready for Sunday or Feast-day, Mass or Vespers; while the annually-recurring processions, illuminations, and merrymakings, untarnished by drunkenness or rioting of any sort, at Easter-tide, on a patronal festival, or the like, far excel, both for spontaneity and brilliancy, anything now to be witnessed in Western Europe. Nor less noteworthy is the courteous, orderly, law-abiding demeanour of the working townsman or peasant, at all times and everywhere. A happy condition of things, for which in part thanks are undoubtedly due to the Spanish administration as such, more yet to the intrinsic goodness of the Malay nature; but most to the benign and judicious rule exercised by the clergy, Spanish or island-born, and the humanizing influence of their life and teaching on the laity around. It will perhaps surprise a large
number

number of our readers, that it is to the Catholic clergy, and especially to the monasteries, richly endowed and thickly dotted over all the larger islands, that the inhabitants of the Philippines chiefly owe their happiness and content. Yet so in truth it is. Identifying their own interests with those of the people, the Philippine clergy, regular and secular alike, has constantly stood forth the true and provident protector of the flocks under its charge; and, in requital for a very moderate share of the wool, has kept the sheep from the too-close clipping shears of the Civil Administration, and from the ravening wolves of alien speculation and deadly usury. Under the sheltering care of the 'Cura' and the 'Frayle' the land no less than the labour has, throughout the Philippines, remained the property of its cultivators; and while Spain and the merchants of Europe have, the one directed the Administration, the others reaped a fair share of the profits, the natives have been left sole masters and owners of the soil.

Less good-featured, darker-complexioned, and in general of lower but compacter stature than the 'Visaians,' are the 'Tagals,' who, with their subdivisions of 'Kozans,' 'Bicols,' 'Igorrotes,' and others, make up the population of the northern and more densely peopled moiety of the Philippines. In bodily strength, energy, perseverance, and intellect, they surpass their southerly cousins. Excellent agriculturists, ingenious artificers, and daring seamen, they are, to use a hackneyed phrase, more 'progressive' than the Visaians; nor have they, as indeed is but natural, proved always equally docile subjects. Between these 'Tagals' and the dark-skinned component of the Japanese population, there are not a few points of bodily and mental resemblance; and tradition, unsupported we believe by any direct historical evidence, speaks of mutual immigration and admixture between the races in time past. None of them are Mahometans; but a few of the tribes, inhabiting the mountainous tracts north of Manila, have kept up a sort of old-fashioned Mongolian ancestor-reverencing paganism, and with it a modified independence of their own. The tobacco of which the well-known 'Manila' cigars and cheroots are made is grown chiefly in the northerly districts of Luzon.

Lastly, in despite of Spanish jealousy, finding expression in countless annoyances of excessive and arbitrary dues, vexatious regulations, and illiberal interference of every kind, the irrepressible Chinese have managed to make good their footing at Manila and the other 'open' ports, where, as is their wont, they have taken a leading position in traffic, manufactures, and finance. Here too they intermarry freely with their Malay fellow-citizens;

izens; and the Chino-Tagal 'mestiço,' or half-blood, chief, the indispensable link between the native and the European exporter in the ports. Among European business the English hold here undeniably the first rank. Next come the Germans and the Swiss; the Spaniards, in small number, a small military force included, throughout the Philippines, does not much exceed five thousand, take little interest in anything except the administration, civil, military, or naval. They pique themselves, not unjustly, on a certain reserve, keeping up, in purity uncontaminated by colonial vulgarity, a high tone of good 'Castilian' society. They are hospitable, and, to the well-bred of whatever nationality, enjoying life, and making it enjoyable to their guests, are far from unworthily representing in the 'Far East' much of the courtesy and culture of old Spain, as it is said yet to be found in some parts of the Western Peninsula. Under their rule the Philippines have before them a prosperous and self-sufficient future; if not a brilliant future; nor is the Utopian goal of the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' anywhere, we think, more nearly attained, than where the Spanish flag flies in the easternmost region of the Malay Archipelago.

Lastly, are the three great outlets on the Pacific, the Straits of the ocean-palace beyond. Southernmost, close to the coast, and under the shadow of Kini-Balu, giant amid the mountains, is the Sooloo channel, once pirate-infested, but now safely for its neighbours, under the acknowledged rule and control of Spain. It leads out direct on New Guinea, and its free navigation is of scarce less importance to the Malay settlements than is that of the Red Sea to our Indian Empire. Ten degrees north, midway in the Philippine archipelago and sentinelled by ever-burning Mayon, is the deep, Bosphorus-like Bernardino Strait, opposite to the Linares Islands; while northernmost, on the tropical coast, is the wider but cyclone-vexed Bashee passage, the nearest to the coast of China and Hongkong. And here let our Malayan voyage be stayed.

It is for at least four-fifths of its extent by Malays, that is, eminently qualified to serve as the substratum, whether for manual labour, for commerce, or for orderly administration. It is penetrated now and leavened all through by the most energetic, the most intelligent, and the most persevering of influences, the Chinese; guaranteed by nature for far the greater part of its range, that is from the latitude of Siam north to Java south, from the cyclone pest that so often checks the trade.

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or imperils Chinese coast navigation, and provided with regular and moderate trade winds in their season secure harbourage and easy water-way everywhere; with ever earth has choicest of her surface productiveness, or underground treasures, to offer to the creative sun-god equatorial throne; this Archipelago is a region well worth being merely considered in itself and for itself, the attention of whom, like ourselves, have received the seas for our birthright; the utmost isles of its waters in our possession; but far still is its claim if regarded, as is due, in the light of a high and our great South Pacific expansion, to Australia, Tasmanian, Polynesia, New Zealand, and, in no distant future, Guinea.

Five European Powers, either simultaneously or at different epochs, have striven more or less avowedly for supremacy in this all-important region—Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and England; but with marked difference alike in the methods employed and the success obtained. Of these five, Portugal, the earliest and the latest to enter the lists, namely, Portugal and France, may now be safely passed by as unworthy of serious consideration. A few square miles of unratified suzerainty over the peninsula of Macao, and a few more in the distant and decayed settlement of Timor, remain as the sole monuments, rather, of dead Lusitanian enterprise; while the degraded half-caste race, the very dregs of humanity, scattered over the Archipelago from Malacca to Hongkong, still serve to dishonour, not prolong, a once glorious memory. In this, Portugal is nothing now to Eastern Asia; her flag brings no commerce, her harbours shelter no trade. Nor is her pretentious, but spasmodic and ill-directed, enterprise in France, from the days of Louis XIV. and the protracted intrigues of the Greek renegade Falcon, down to the exploits of Grévy and the filibustering exploits of a Garnier or a Lamoignon, detain us long; nor would the annexation of Annam and of Tonquin, supposing it effected, greatly advantage the interests either of the Archipelago and its denizens, or of Europe and her traders, or even of France herself, hang more than her costly sterility-smitten colonial monopolies have advantaged them elsewhere. The foundations, economical, political, and administrative, are all awry; nor can the superstructure be other than unstable and profitless to all concerned. We abstain, of course, from any attempt to reopen the old sore of Tahiti, and leave to future diplomacy the *modus vivendi* which must be established between the possessors of the Marquesas and New Caledonia and our Australasian Colonies.

ere remain Spain, Holland, England ; and with these three, after its fashion, the case is very different.

essor in her own right even now of nearly 116,000 miles of territory, and ruling over at least eight millions of Asiatic subjects, Spain, as Mistress of the Philippines, with an average yearly trade exchange of twelve millions sterling, in command, geographical at least, of the three main Eastern portals, is still, though no longer, as in the sixteenth century, Lady Paramount of the Archipelago, yet an important power in its present and its future alike. The rule of the Netherlands, more recent in date, but fresher in vigour, covers a territory of more than 600,000 square miles, and claims the allegiance of nearly twenty-six millions of Asiatics ; and its commerce watches over a yearly trade amounting to thirty millions sterling in total value. Compared with either of these, but especially with the latter, our own sovereignty over a territorial space of one poor thousand four hundred and odd square miles, Hongkong included, and a population little exceeding a million, makes at first view but a sorry figure.

When, on further examination, we find that this narrow strip of British territory, one-seventieth only of what Spain, one hundredth of what Holland commands, owns an average commerce equal in amount to the total Hispano-Malayan traffic, and commands a third of what the far more extensive Dutch dominion commands, we begin to perceive that the unrivalled pre-eminence of the English name, of English influence, English prestige, about the Malay Archipelago, must have a foundation deeper than to itself, one not less firm because floating, not less secure because more in fact than in name. Not to territorial considerations merely, but to a wider class of statistics, must we look. The British ascendancy, not indeed wholly uncontested, universally desired nor greatly loved, yet respected by all, loved by all, is based on our naval superiority, royal or popular, on our invested capital, on our credit, moral and material, on our lavish energy of enterprise, our prudent expenditure of daring, our even-handed justice in act :—qualities which are, as we trust, despite of pessimists and cynics, not on the decrease, but on the increase ; not mere survivals of a past, but glorious, but guarantees and first-crops of a future, fruitful and more honourable still.

do not, as our readers must have already observed, wish to detract from or deny, on the contrary we admit, approve, and praise the proved wisdom and beneficence of Dutch administration ; we find much also to appreciate and to praise in the

often unjustly decried Spanish rule. Both have truly in view the well-being of those they govern; and both, though on different paths, go about to ensure that well-being, more effectively often than, we regret to say, we ourselves at times succeed in doing towards the Asiatics under our own care; in whose regard, as in many other matters connected with what is termed the 'development' of men or things, we are too apt to forget that oldest, truest, wisest, of sayings, 'Foolish they who know not how much more is the half than the whole.' But, while allowing that the Javanese may possibly be happier and better under Dutch rule, the Visaians and Tagals under Spanish, than they might have been under our own, we hold it for a matter of equal or greater certainty that European trade, and the fortunes of the world at large, would have been greatly the gainers had we in 1762 retained for our own the already conquered Philippines, or Java in 1814. Nor can we for a moment doubt that the unrestricted power of capital, enterprise, and free trade, under the British flag would soon have thrown open and utilized the immense, and as yet but half-recognized, resources of those noble islands, no less than of the Moluccas, Sumatra, and the Malay Archipelago generally, on a much wider scale and to grander purpose than has been or ever can be done by the guarded monopolies and protective systems of Holland and Spain. The time-honoured but erroneous idea that a colony is, to quote the clever author of the 'Expansion of England,' merely 'an estate, out of which the mother-country is to make a pecuniary profit,' however modified in the Continental statesmanship of our days by the better recognized claims of justice or humanity towards the indigenous or colonial populations, yet holds place as a leading axiom in the Dutch and Spanish schools of colonial policy; and it is but lately that we ourselves have, in an important measure at least, exchanged it for a more truly liberal, because a more deeply patriotic, a more widely national, and hence, necessarily though indirectly, a more cosmopolitan teaching. And thus it is that our colonies, and ours alone, fertilize, not their own proper territorial limits, or those of the Suzerain Power merely, but the world at large.

Nor should we overlook the fact, one of special meaning here, that the colonial expansion of England, far more than that of any other kingdom or nationality ancient or modern, the Phœnician not excepted, is twofold in its character; an expansion of miles and acres on land, an expansion of distances and ocean-routes at sea. Without infringing on the equal rights of other maritime powers, there still remains a sense in which the

seas are not her highways merely, but her territory, the heritage of her fathers, the heirloom of her children ; not, indeed, to the exclusion of other nationalities, but to the free benefit and open advantage of all. How far the consolidation of this our ocean-rule may render desirable, or even necessary, the absorption of a wider extent of landed territory, is a question which it would be unwise over-anxiously to raise before the time ; unwise and pusillanimous alike not to face boldly when that time arrives. Poetic metaphors of England blindly staggering beneath the over-weight of an Atlantean burden, and the like elegant self-depreciations of a hyper-refined and sentimental school, are but the expression of timid misunderstanding or unpatriotic spleen ; they have no place among realities, no resemblance to the truth of English suzerainty by land or sea in the far East or farther South. In her colonies, on board her navies, in her plantations, in her trade-ships, England is ever England, and her pre-eminence synonymous with a more equal justice, a deeper reverence for law, a securer peace, a more widely diffused well-being, a firmer-based prosperity, than are sheltered by any other flag whatever, of the Old World or the New. That Australia and New Guinea alike, Polynesia and all its isles, the Malayan Archipelago, and the fairest shores shone on by earth's sun, may long continue to enjoy, or speedily enter into participation of these good things, should be the wish, the hope of every one who knows what these regions once were, when yet unvisited by England, what they now are, what they may yet become.

- ART. III.—1. *Life of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone.*
T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P. London, 1884. 2 vols.
2. *The Official Writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone, son
Governor of Bombay.* Edited, with a Memoir, by
Forrest. London, 1884.

NO fitter name than that of Mountstuart Elphinstone, a student at Poonah and Governor of Bombay, could be chosen to typify that spirit of political sagacity, combined with chivalrous enterprise, which characterizes the Indian Civil Service. Mr. Elphinstone brought with him, when he landed in Calcutta a boy of seventeen, a temperament ardent and generous, and it was his good fortune in his first acquaintance with the East to be subject to influences well suited to develop the qualities of his nature. The civilians of his generation were inspired directly by the two greatest of Indian statesmen, Cornwallis and Wellesley were not more conspicuous in the conquest or in powers of command than Clive and Hastings; it was from them, not from Clive or Hastings, that our political system in India took its form. They it was who stamped distinctive qualities, and rendered it at once the most independent and the most efficient public administration that the world has ever seen. From Cornwallis was derived that high sense of honour and integrity, that obedience to duty, and that chivalrous bearing, which have become traditions of the Service; from Wellesley that rare adaptability to the circumstances and conditions of government, that plastic power of influence, that instinctive statesmanship, which are no less the badge of the English rulers of India. When Elphinstone arrived, Cornwallis had already returned to England, but in the Service the forces which he had stimulated were in full activity. Cornwallis had been a living example of the spirit with which he laboured to inspire his fellows in government. Contemporary writers love to dwell on his humanity. If we give the harsh interpretation to the word, as something less restricted than the mere sense of pity and philanthropy, it will not be inapplicable to him; in him it meant a wide and tender respect for all men joined to high courage and inflexible resolve. His character seems almost sentimental when he shrinks, with a 'Don't touch them black fellows,' from the half-good-natured, half-continual words of the young Englishman; it is stern even when necessity obliges him, as in America, to inflict the terrible severities of martial law. In the case of Lord Wellesley, the influence exerted upon Mr. Elphinstone was personal. It was during his administration that the

vilian received his first responsible employment, and he abided at the fountain-head those maxims of government which Lord Wellesley had set himself to teach in India. In that magnificent apology for the endowment of the College of Fort William, which may vie with the charter of any foundation in the world, Lord Wellesley has explained the political duties and aspirations which were to be fostered in the Company's servants. He was determined so to order the education of the young civilians, that they should bear themselves in the true spirit of statesmen. Henceforward they were 'to discharge the functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors of provinces, all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations,' and in so doing were to remember that they 'were the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign,' and that their duties were 'those of statesmen in every other part of the world.'

The two works before us enable the public for the first time to form a real estimate of Mountstuart Elphinstone's life and work. Professor Forrest's volume contains reprints of those near and far-seeing State Papers, which were compiled by Mr. Elphinstone to inform his superiors, or to explain his methods of government. They are by no means prolix, and the style is most happy, an admirable mean between official exactness and simple unaffected narrative. The spirited little memoir, which Professor Forrest has prefixed to his volume, is highly appreciative of Mr. Elphinstone's character, and efficiently serves its purpose of placing an outline of his life before the reader.

Sir Edward Colebrooke's volumes have a wider scope, and merit high praise as an example of what a biography should be. With admirable reticence, he has allowed the subject of the memoir to tell the story of his life by means of quotations from letters and journals, only incorporating, where necessary, paragraphs to explain allusions or to fill up gaps in a broken narrative. It is too seldom that a biographer is willing to make himself self-effacement, yet it alone can secure the successful accomplishment of his task. The manner in which Sir Edward Colebrooke has briefly condensed the history of the period, where it was essential to keep his readers in the current of contemporary events, and has yet avoided the danger, so seldom escaped in this kind of writing, of launching out into the generalities of his subject, deserves special recognition.

The reader of Mr. Elphinstone's journals and letters, unless he is singularly unimpressionable, will rise from them with the sense that he has made a new friend in literature. They put before us a personality as distinct as it is attractive. But

besides

besides this picture of the man, there is a discursive and less remarkable. The variety is inexhaustible. Delicately sketched glimpses of scenery, of 'the silent courts and the midst of an almost impenetrable forest,' or of 'the smoke driving through the leafless trees,' where the jungle has caught fire; vivid descriptions of battle 'round and grape flew in every direction,' where 'the dust was knocked up the dust under the horses' feet'; or of battle and of the dead lying blackened and withered, with the victors feasting on them, 'tearing great pieces of flesh'—are side by side with outbursts of enthusiasm for Homer and Thucydides, disquisitions on Shakspeare, or on the 'majesty and harmony of Spenser's verse.' On one page is an analysis of the feelings of the civilian when he joins a forlorn hope in the storm of a hill-fort; we turn it to learn how the mystic poetry of Hafiz oppresses the mind, or to see the keen rays of sympathetic criticism striving to penetrate the spiritual barrier which religion forbids the intellectual community of East and West. Sometimes are to be found the nicest perceptions of the nature of Oriental affairs—perceptions undimmed by the most artful professional Oriental diplomacy, and yet never hardening into coldness. Here is much of hope, of delight in life, and of the pursuit of lofty ideals, but here too, lest the picture should be too bright, are records of hours of spiritual darkness openly acknowledged and manfully striven against. Seldom has a man of action and of his pen to describe what he saw around him and felt within him with more freedom and sincerity than has Mountstuart Elphinstone. The man as we see him is one of warm feelings, quick perceptions, and brilliant gifts; and pervading all a spirit of modesty and humility: one for whom no fitter phrase can be found than that noble common-place of 'a true gentleman.' His literary record can inspire the enthusiasm which personal acquaintance gives. There are some among us still whose youth was roused by their fathers' stories of the civilian's dashing leadership at Poonah or Kirkee; who remember the arrival in England of the kind, but very shy, man who had been the active hero of that time; and who, like Sir Edward Colebrooke himself, were among the friends that enjoyed him in the days of retirement in which he spent the rest of his life.

Sir Edward Colebrooke tells us enough of the history of the noble house of Elphinstone, to show that the subject of this memoir was sprung of an adventurous stock. His grandfather, Keith, had won high renown as an admiral; and his father served under Wolfe in Canada, and was wounded at the siege of Moretown. Of the glimpses given us of the little boy

to sing 'Ga ira' and 'Les Aristocrates à la Lanterne' from the Jacobin prisoners in Edinburgh Castle, we can attempt no account, but must be content with the fact that Mr. Elphinstone landed at Bombay in the year 1796. The first few years of his life in India contain no events of importance, except his narrow escape from the massacre of Benares, and the formation of a friendship which was maintained throughout the life of his friend, and which forms an important feature of his biography. In those days of Indian isolation, when boys were sent out before they were seventeen, and when communication with relations in England was slow and uncertain, close and lasting friendships were formed far more often than, it is said, they are now. Two young men of kindred tastes and aspirations by such an intimacy might in some way make up for the loss of home and family, which was felt so bitterly in the first years of exile. Elphinstone has himself expressed the feeling:—'This country has a dreadful effect on the heart. Unless you form some friendship, you have no ties on your heart at all, and at best you have little exercise for your sensibility, which must become torpid for want of action, and you stand a cold, solitary, insulated wretch.' The bonds of sympathy which held together Mountstuart Elphinstone and Edward Strachey were especially strong. Both had tastes for the nobler things of life; both loved literature and poetry; both were of gentle breeding and refined nature, and so unfitted to find congenial companions among the men of dubious origin and character who still crowded the service; and both, too, were full of youthful spirit, and of delight in social enjoyment. They were formed for mutual esteem: and at the end of more than thirty years of unbroken friendship, Mr. Elphinstone's journal of January 1831 records: 'On the 27th I heard the sad account of the death of Strachey, to whose early advice and example I owe so much, and on whose continued friendship I depended for a great portion of my future life.' Carlyle in his 'Reminiscences' has drawn a picture of Strachey, as he knew him in later life, in words which explain the charm of sincerity which doubtless was strong to attract Elphinstone. He describes him as 'a genially abrupt man, a Utilitarian and Democrat by creed; yet, beyond all things, he loved Chaucer, and kept reading him; a man rather tacit than discursive, but willing to speak, and doing it well in a fine tinkling mellow-toned voice, in an ingenious aphoristic way; a man sharply impatient of pretence, of sham and untruth in all forms, especially contemptuous of quality, pretensions, and affectations, which he scattered grimly to the winds. Scorned cheerfully the general humbug of the world, and honestly strove
to

to do his own bit of duty spiced by Chaucer.' 'A man,' he ends, 'of many qualities comfortable to be near.' Readers of Mr. Elphinstone's journals and letters will be inclined to say no less of him than Carlyle did of his friend:—'beyond all things he loved Chaucer.'

With Strachey Elphinstone was constantly thrown for the first six years of his life in India. At Benares, his earliest appointment, he was Strachey's assistant, and when he entered the college at Fort William, Strachey was in Calcutta, and the friends were still together. In 1800, Strachey was appointed secretary to the Resident of Poonah, and was able to get Elphinstone a post under him in the same mission. The two young diplomatists were allowed to undertake the journey overland. Of this year of travel a delightful record is preserved in the diaries from which Sir Edward Colebrooke has printed extracts. In them we see the writer full of youth and ardour, and eager before all things for a life of adventure. It was soon to be his. Mr. Elphinstone had hardly arrived at Poonah, when the tranquillity which had seemed secured by the conquest of Mysore was rudely broken, and all India was again in arms. Lord Wellesley's policy of excluding French influence from India had destroyed the dynasty of Hyder, had placed the Nizam in a position of complete dependence, and was now being directed to bringing the heads of the Mahratta Confederacy under the iron bonds of his system of subsidiary alliance. Poonah was in 1802 the scene of constant diplomatic activity on the part of the English, and of internal dissensions among the natives. Mr. Elphinstone was thus, as a youth, a witness of the opening of that mighty drama, in the last scenes of which he was to play so conspicuous a part. The Treaty of Bassein, and the reinstatement of the Peshwa by General Wellesley's army, were the prelude: the final catastrophe was not till Elphinstone had himself proclaimed the overthrow of the Peshwa, and had ordered his cannon to salute the liberated Raja of Satara—a salute which signified, not that the usurped sceptre had been restored to the descendants of Sevajee, but that it had passed for ever into British hands.

As soon as war became imminent with Scindiah and the Raja of Berar, Elphinstone obtained an appointment upon the staff of General Wellesley, and with him he remained till the close of the campaign. The military operations are traced with wonderful power and minuteness in the letters to Strachey, which are during this period very full. Never has the battle of Assye been so well described as in these letters. The laconic despatches of the general, though so full of pith and vigour,
supply

supply little detail, and even Grant Duff's account is somewhat meagre. For the first time an adequate picture may be formed of that memorable engagement, of the storms of round and grape that swept the English line as it formed between the gullies, of the charge to save the remains of the 74th, and of the victorious general lying down to sleep on the field of battle among the dead and dying. Equally good is the account of the storming of the hill-fort of Gawilghur, which is told in detail in the letters to Strachey, and in the diary, where as usual poetry and the din of arms are side by side. The style is eminently graphic. We see the 'little deep valleys' surrounding the fort in which the English camp lies covered, the sepoy straining at the guns, which the bullocks move forward and the elephant pushes. We see the officers walking out from the battery to examine if the breach is practicable; and Elphinstone himself, the night before the attack, lying awake and thinking of Scudamour in the 'Faerie Queen.' At breakfast next morning he is talking of 'Hafiz, Saadi, Horace, and Anacreon;' an hour later he is in the trenches, proposing himself courteously to the leader of the storming party,* who 'bows and agrees.' This is hardly over before the advance begins, 'silent, deliberate, and even solemn,' which, the narrator says, put him in mind of the lines in the 'Iliad' and of how—

οἱ δ' ἄρ' ὕσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοὶ,
ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

When the war was over, the impression made upon General Wellesley by his secretary was so favourable, that, while telling him he had mistaken his profession and that he ought to have been a soldier, he obtained for him an appointment of considerable importance—the Residency of Nagpoor. In the enforced solitude of Nagpoor he had much time for study, and it was here that he made himself, if not a finished, at least a very tolerable Greek scholar. Solitude, as it often does, brought out his finer emotions. We see in his letters at this period how full of sensibility and yet of manliness was his nature, and how he thirsted for sympathy. 'Write me,' he exclaims to his friend Strachey, 'long, frequent, open, wild, sentimental letters, with occasional peeps down to the very abyss of your heart; and

* Those born of Indian families may perhaps remember what was once a favourite story in the Service in connection with this siege of Gawilghur. It is Spartan in its ideal of military obedience. A young officer of artillery had been directed to transport a heavy gun into a difficult position. He failed in the attempt and reported to his colonel that the thing was impossible. 'Impossible,' exclaimed his indignant superior. 'Impossible, sir! I have the order in my pocket.'

we pray God to take you into His keeping.' This is no affected or passing vein of feeling. Though generally suppressed, it is always near. At Nagpoor Mr. Elphinstone remained until sent on his well-known embassy to the King of Cabul. The story of the embassy has been told by the ambassador himself in the Introduction to his '*Account of the Kingdom of Cabul*,'—a work which, but for the Lethe which overwhelms all things Indian, would be a classic book of travel. In the student who had drunk such intoxicating draughts from the ancient historians, it raised no common emotions to cross the Indus, and to behold the stream which had borne the fleet of Alexander, or to wonder if the place where he crossed the Hydaspes was not the very spot described by Quintus Curtius as the scene of the victory over Porus. It was interesting to him to see at Peshawur an Asiatic Court which still preserved something of the old splendour. It was here that he saw the king, Shah Sujah, enveloped in what seemed 'an armour of jewels.' In one of his bracelets shone the Kohinoor—that famous stone which, after Runjeet Singh had wrung it by starvation from Shah Sujah, fell at last to the prowess of the young artillery officer who was first to enter the treasury of Lahore.

In returning from his mission, Elphinstone was the witness of an example of fallen power and grandeur, which would have served a stoic philosopher as the text of many a homily on the hollowness of human pride. During the first few years of his service, the name of Zemaun Shah had spread terror from one end of India to the other. His splendid armies, his high qualities of command, his vast schemes, caused alarm even at Calcutta. And now, when but ten years had passed, he beheld the great king—'blind, dethroned, and exiled in a country which he had twice subdued.'

When Elphinstone returned to Delhi, he heard of his appointment to Poonah, where he arrived in the year 1810. On him was imposed the task of conducting our negotiations with the chief Native Power in India. As often as the final catastrophe of the Mahratta Power is told, must the name of Elphinstone take a prominent position in Indian history. It was with a nice appreciation of this, that the historian of the Mahrattas placed the name of his old chief before that book which tells with such dignity, and yet with such vivid charm, the rise and overthrow of the successors of Sevajee. It is on Poonah, the last capital and the centre of the Confederacy, that we must fix our gaze, if we wish to see his greatest trials and his greatest successes.

The home of the Mahratta race and language is in the
West

West of India. The grand geographical feature of the country is the chain of the Ghauts, which runs parallel and near to the coast-line. In these mountains, in the table-lands they support, in the spurs which run out from them, dwell to this day the descendants of the followers of Sevajee. Whatever of independent power was possessed in early times by the Mahratta race, gave way to the progress of the Mogul invasions of India. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, a movement began in these mountain-districts which took shape as the revolt of Sevajee. No one needs to be reminded of the earlier stages of the rebellion, and of its romantic incidents; of the leader's humble origin, of his captivity and escapes and countless adventures in the field, till his declaration of independence in the year 1672. Though Sevajee's death caused an apparent reaction, the progress of the Mahratta cause was not really delayed, and in 1719 the Emperor, exhausted by the fruitless war waged for so many years, made a formal grant of the territories occupied by the Mahrattas. It is not possible to follow in detail their internal history. When the first seventy years of the eighteenth century had passed away, momentous changes had taken place in the power and organization of their state. Everywhere their frontiers were extended. Chout—a tribute of the nature of black-mail—was claimed for all India. The capital was now Poonah; but here reigned, not the successors of the blood of Sevajee, but the descendants of the crafty mayors of the palace, who had supplanted their masters, and rendered their hereditary office of Peshwa, or Prime Minister, sovereign in all but in name. In a hill-fort, neglected and almost forgotten, except when a robe of investiture at the accession of a Peshwa, or a deed of confirmation for some grant or privilege, was needed at Poonah, lived the Rajas of Satara—nominal heads of the whole race, but, in truth, State prisoners, without power, and without hope of restoration. Owning nominal allegiance to the Brahmins who wielded the authority of the Rajas of Satara, a number of powerful Mahratta States were scattered throughout India. To the eastward, the Raja of Berar overawed the Subhadar of the Deccan, and spread terror over the fertile plains of Bengal, even as far as Calcutta, where the Mahratta Ditch still remains to testify to the alarm of the inhabitants. In Hindostan and Malwa, Scindiah and Holkar—one sprung from a village headman, the other from a simple goatherd—had raised mighty states, and commanded vast armies. Scindiah was the real ruler of Delhi, Holkar's armies pressed hard upon the chiefs of Rajputana. To the west, a crowd of smaller feudatories upheld the traditions of plunder and conquest. Among them the most important

important were the Gaekwar of Baroda and the pirate Raja of Kolapoor. This heterogeneous collection of States has been called a Confederacy. It may be convenient to name them so, but as often as not the bonds were bonds of disunion. On no occasion did they all act together, and practically Scindiah, Holkar, and the Raja of Berar, are alone found acting in concert with the Peshwa.

The political relations between the English and the Mahrattas took shape when, during the administration of Warren Hastings, we engaged in the first of our struggles with that Power. The disputed succession, the treaty of Salbye, the effect of Scindiah's guarantee of that treaty, the alliance with the Mahrattas in the war with Tippoo, the claims against the Nizam, and Sir John Shore's policy before the battle of Kurdlah, are all links in the chain of events which drew together the English and the Peshwa. Our relations with that Power were finally settled by the treaty of Bassein. This celebrated instrument, made in the year 1802, was a subsidiary treaty of the strictest type. The form of these engagements was always the same. The English undertook the general defence of the Native Power, and bound themselves by an alliance offensive and defensive. They also agreed to keep up a certain number of troops, drilled and officered by Europeans, for the protection of the Sovereign. In consideration of this, the Native Prince agreed to pay a sum of money each year to support these troops, to submit all his differences with the neighbouring States to English arbitration, to hold no communication with any foreign Powers, and to place the whole conduct of foreign affairs in the hands of his protectors. Furthermore, he engaged to employ no subjects of any European or American State in his armies; and if the stipulated subsidy fell into arrears, to assign instead lands of which the revenues were equivalent in amount. The result of the treaty of Bassein was the war with Scindiah and the Raja of Berar. These chiefs would not endure—though their own independence was not touched—to see the Peshwa under English control, for our protection prevented them from fighting and intriguing at Poonah, from pulling down and setting up as they chose one puppet-prince after another. But though the Peshwa was freed by our success in the war from this domination, he was by no means grateful. To him the influence of the English Resident was far more irksome. By the year 1810, he had become thoroughly tired of the English protectorate, and was intent on throwing off the yoke whenever he dared. He had begun, contrary to his treaty obligations, to carry on constant communication with the other Mahratta chiefs, and with any other of the
Native

ve Princes who would listen to his overtures. Were such a
e now pursued by a dependent Native State, the severest
shment would ensue.

at that time the Government of Calcutta was content to watch
Peshwa, and was unwilling to bring on open hostilities as
as his intrigues could be kept within bounds. The risk
r with such a State was not lightly to be incurred. The
ary renown of the Mahrattas had suffered somewhat in the
of 1803 ; but their spirit was still high, and they thirsted for
age. The Peshwa reigned directly over a country which
ured not less than sixty thousand square miles, and which
contains some ten millions of inhabitants. But the military
gth of the State is not to be reckoned merely thus. It
nded rather on the countless hill-forts perched on frowning
isolated crags, that were scattered through the wooded high-
s of Khandesh, and on those swarms of hardy and daring
enaries, Pathans, Arabs, and Pindarries, that would gather
y magic with the thunder of the first cannon. It must be
embered too that the Peshwa did not stand alone. How-
loose were the bonds of the Mahratta Confederacy,
ever deadly were the quarrels of the various chiefs, people
princes remembered always their common name, and
ed in theory allegiance to the Brahmins of Poonah. The
ie had been plunder. Another had grown up—hatred of
English conquerors. There was a constant danger that the
eague might be revived, that the sacred banner might be
rled, and that, in the name of the successor of Sevajee, the
wa might lead forth an army which, combining the forces
indiah and Holkar, and the Gaekwar and the Raja of Berar,
ould strain all the resources of England to overcome. It was
efore no unimportant function which Elphinstone was to
orm in managing our relations with the Court of Poonah.
the reigning Peshwa Bajee Rao been capable of making
of the full strength of his position, the history of India
at have been changed. Yet Bajee Rao was no weak de-
rate princeling. His intellectual powers were remarkable ;
when he failed, it was never through want of foresight or
rstanding, but from faults still more incompatible with
ess.

he minute accounts which have been preserved of Bajee
enable us to form a vivid picture of the last of the Peshwas.
a young man, he was singularly graceful in appearance, and
etained throughout his life ‘a manner strikingly impres-
sive, and a countenance manly, sensible, and majestic.’ This
city of demeanour, though it hid a nature base, superstitious,
and

and sensual, never failed him on public occasions, and won for him the admiration of the Englishmen who visited his Court. His manner, when he chose, could be soft and insinuating, and in these moods few could resist the enchantment of his address. Practised diplomatists like Malcolm were not proof against it; and even Elphinstone, though he had fathomed the depths of his duplicity, bears witness to the spell. It is hardly surprising that in youth, when captivity and suffering added a charm to the graces of his person and mind, the crafty Prince should have found himself able to exert on those who surrounded him an influence almost irresistible. Yet on the hearts he had won he dared not depend. Gratitude for their services he did not feel; he could not give them credit for warmer feelings than his own. It is well said of him by the historian who watched and recorded his overthrow that, 'To trust none, to deceive all, was the game he invariably played; and, like all who have ever done so, he never failed to lose.' Still, the first act in his career of deception seemed so extraordinarily successful, that it is hardly to be wondered that the stripling of nineteen, who had deceived the greatest master of Indian statecraft, should have imagined that no other qualities but cunning, falsehood, and intrigue, were needed to gain what the mightiest ambition could demand. The story of the means by which Bajee Rao raised himself to sovereign power, and overthrew that vast political fabric which Nana Furnavese—the Machiavelli of the Mahrattas—had raised with such tireless ingenuity, reads like a romance.

The son of an unsuccessful pretender, his youth was passed in confinement. The then reigning Peshwa, Mahdoo Rao, was his cousin,—a weak boy entirely in the hands of the minister Nana Furnavese, whose policy it was to keep Bajee Rao strictly guarded in a hill-fort. Here the handsome youth gained the good-will of all who approached him. Compassion enhanced the effect of his natural gifts. Captain Grant Duff, who had often talked with men who remembered these events, tells us that 'His bodily and mental accomplishments were equally extolled; at the age of nineteen he was an excellent horseman and skilled in the use of the sword and bow, and allowed to be the most expert spearsman in Gungthuree. He was deeply read in the "Shasters," particularly in such parts as regards the observance of caste, and of his age no pundit so learned had been known in Maharashtra.' The Peshwa, who was of almost the same age, heard with pleasure of the graces and virtues of his cousin. Perhaps his own condition—for Nana Furnavese kept the strictest guard over the young Prince—made him sympathize the more strongly with the fate of Bajee Rao. He
longed

set the State prisoner at liberty and to enjoy his
Bajee Rao no sooner heard of the romantic attachment formed for him than he resolved to turn it to
and, though both were closely watched, it was not
the former managed to convey a message which
spark into a flame. He represented that 'he was in
at Senneree, and the Peshwa under the control of
ter; that their condition as prisoners was nearly
at that their minds and affections were free, and should
l to each other; that their ancestors had distinguished
t, and that the time would arrive when his cousin and
ight hope to emulate their deeds, and raise for them-
asting and honourable name.' They thus began a
lence, which was as artfully conducted on one side as it
ously and affectionately on the other. The minister,
soon discovered that letters were passing between the
His rage was unbounded. He bitterly upbraided the
nd revenged himself upon Bajee Rao by rendering his
nt far more irksome than before. Mahdoo Rao was
ued with anger and disappointment. The poisoned
ns of his cousin had taken deadly effect, and not only
ortified by the sense of his own impotence, but he
eely for the fresh miseries that on his account were
on Bajee Rao. The end can best be told in the words
Grant Duff, whose narrative of these events has an
charm. 'His spirit was wounded to desperation, a
ncholy seized on his mind, and, on the morning of
of October, he deliberately threw himself from a
his palace, fractured two of his limbs, and was much
by the tube of a fountain on which he fell. He sur-
two days, and, having particularly desired that Bajee
d be placed on the musnud, he expired in the arms
Rao Phurkay, for whom he had entertained a strong

Mr. Elphinstone pointed out, was the new Peshwa's
sion. He only dared to be cruel when in perfect safety.
palace-window he could watch his unfortunate and
ictims tied to the foot of an elephant, and so dragged
d to pieces; but when he had decoyed his rival
to an audience with the intention of seizing him, he
though surrounded with guards and courtiers, raise
o give the signal. It is not to be wondered at that,
was found to supply the necessary hardihood, the
ntered into no design that required boldness in execu-
ch an instrument was discovered in the favourite
7.—No. 314. 2 B Trimbukjee,

Trimbukjee, a menial servant, one of those hideous growths that spring up fungus-like in the corruption of an East India Court. When the Cardinal Lorenzino de' Medici strove to win by artful questions the devotion of an assassin, he was cut short with the impious exclamation, 'Bid me murder the Christ, and I will do it.' No less monstrous, in the eyes of Brahmins, were the words used by Trimbukjee to Mr. Elphinstone to express his slavish devotion:—'If my master order me, I will kill a cow.'

The first few years of Elphinstone's appointment—from 1811 to 1815—passed quietly enough. During this time Trimbukjee was gradually rising to supreme favour, and his rise was marked by an increased activity in the foreign policy of the Peshwa—an activity which was closely watched by the English Government. The first open conflict, however, which took place between the Resident and the Court of Poonah, was not due to the discovery of any such intrigues, but to a murder which was the scene of its perpetration, for the sacred character of the victim, and for the treachery that accompanied it, hardly find a parallel in Indian history.

Mr. Elphinstone, during the summer months of 1815, had taken a journey to Ellora. He was recalled to Poonah by the news that the Ambassador of the Gaekwar had been decoyed to join in a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Punderpoor, and had there been cut to pieces with every circumstance of horror and indignity. Not only was the victim a Brahmin, and the place of his murder one of the holiest shrines in India, but the personal safety of the Ambassador had been guaranteed by the English Government before he had ventured to trust himself to the hands of the Peshwa and his unscrupulous favourite. The murder sent a thrill of horror throughout the native population. The Peshwa, though he denied all knowledge of the crime, dared not enter his capital in public for fear of the popular feeling so acute was the feeling. Mr. Elphinstone did not hesitate to insist that the severest punishment should be awarded to the murderers. Every consideration urged such a course, and the resolution he formed he thus expressed, 'the dishonour of remaining silent when the whole country cried out, induced me to accuse Trimbukjee as soon as I had an opportunity.' The one doubted who was the instigator of the murder. Mr. Elphinstone's remonstrance is noble and spirited:—

'A foreign ambassador has been murdered in the midst of your Highness's Court. A Brahmin has been massacred almost in your Temple during one of the greatest solemnities of your religion; and I must not conceal from your Highness that the impunity of the perpetrator

trators of this enormity has led to imputations not to be thought of against your Highness's Government.'

The despatch continues by warning the Peshwa that he will be considered responsible for any act of violence which Trimbukjee may commit so long as he is at large; that no communication with the Residency will be allowed till this demand is complied with; and ends by desiring that the 'reply may be communicated through some person unconnected with Trimbukjee Danglia.' It was not without difficulty that this communication could be lodged, and when it was so, the shuffling procrastinating policy pursued by the Peshwa required to be met with the greatest firmness and temper by the Resident. Fortunately there was no lack of such qualities in Mr. Elphinstone, and no false step was committed. After the Peshwa had exhausted the whole gamut of prevarication; after he had blustered, lied, denied, and had even attempted to intimidate by massing troops in the capital, he yielded, and Trimbukjee was placed a prisoner in the hands of the English. A fort in the Island of Salsette was chosen as his place of confinement. English soldiers, as an extra precaution, were his guards, in case the sepoys might be tampered with. The imprisonment was not for long. The story of Trimbukjee's escape is as romantic as any Border legend. A Mahratta groom presented himself to the English officer in command of the fort, and, showing the most excellent letters of recommendation, was engaged. The groom was noticed to be fond of exercising his horse by leading him up and down on a terrace in front of Trimbukjee's prison, singing the while snatches of song in the Mahratta language. One night both groom and prisoner disappeared; and, when too late, it was discovered that those Mahratta songs which had been sung under the very eyes of the English sentries had conveyed the plot. They had told that the wall between the prison and the stable was cut through, that when the tide was out the mainland could be reached without a boat, and that, once there, horses and trusty followers were ready to guard their flight to the hills and jungles. Trimbukjee's escape, which occurred early in the year 1816, was a signal for all the malcontents in the land to assemble, and he soon had around him a band of desperate men. The Peshwa's hopes revived. He seemed hardly to care to conceal the encouragement he gave to the outlaw, and on one occasion a meeting took place between them at a distance of not seventeen miles from Poonah. All Mr. Elphinstone's difficulties had thus begun over again, and once again the Peshwa would have to be intimidated. Accordingly, the Resident remonstrated, and pointed out the danger incurred by

thus countenancing the fugitive. The Peshwa seemed infatuated. His ministers gave as usual answers sometimes evasive, sometimes insolent, and meantime troops were being collected on all sides. It almost seemed as if Bajee Rao was for once about to take a decided course. He had his treasure removed in April to a strong hill-fort, and his military preparations were pressed forward. War seemed certain; for Mr. Elphinstone had answered by similar precautions, and indeed was only prevented from making an attack on the palace because he shrank from the idea of exposing a great city to the horrors of street-fighting. This was singularly characteristic of the man, and yet in harmony with that inflexibility of purpose which he could show when necessary. On this occasion his firmness was as severely tried as on the memorable days that preceded Kirkee; but now, as then, his serenity was undisturbed. Sir Edward Colebrooke has drawn a most graphic picture of the events of a certain night in May, when matters had almost reached a crisis. The account was given to him by Lieut-General Briggs, then an officer attached to the Residency. The Peshwa's emissaries had been for some time actively engaged in attempting to bribe and cajole the members of the Residency, but Mr. Elphinstone had been able to circumvent these schemes. This was partly accomplished by a secret intelligence service of his own, which indeed was so well conducted that the Peshwa once petulantly declared 'that the Resident knew the very dishes that were served at his meals.' The tension grew greater every day, till on the night of the 5th of May there appeared unmistakable signs that an attack was imminent. The artillery bullocks had arrived, the guns had been drawn up in readiness, the streets were full of mounted men. All this the officer saw himself, and he had besides authentic intelligence that at that very time 'the Peshwa was in full durbar, discussing with his chiefs the subject of an immediate attack.'

'I hastened,' proceeds the narrative, 'to inform Mr. Elphinstone, whom I found sitting in a large tent engaged in playing a round game of cards with a party, among whom were several ladies. He saw me enter, and observed my anxiety to speak to him, but he continued his game as usual for half an hour, when, after handing the last lady of the party into her palankeen, he came up to me, rubbing his hands, and said, "Well, what is it?" I told him the news, which he received with great *sang-froid*, and we walked together to the Residency Office.'

It was a critical moment. Both felt that if the attack were made that night it would be impossible to defend the Residency. Mr. Elphinstone saw that his wisest course was

to defer all preparations till the morning, since no active measures could be effectively taken that night. Contrary to all probable expectation, the night passed in profound quiet. It appeared that some of the ministers had objected to the war; it is probable that, as always, Bajee Rao could not nerve himself to the attack. The next morning the Resident was able to take the necessary steps for his defence, and to strengthen his position by a reinforcement of men and two guns. These vigorous measures produced a complete revolution in the conduct of the Peshwa. Where he had threatened, he now implored; where he had been insolent, he flattered. His attempts to excuse his conduct were abject. As usual, he had recourse to his favourite artifice of calling himself a coward. 'How could I be asked, 'so constitutionally timid as to be alarmed at the sound of cannon, who requires that no salute shall be fired at him, he has passed on to a certain distance, ever think of setting himself up as a warrior, and placing himself at the head of an army?' Yet, alarmed as he was, he could not consent to yield Trimbukjee without a bitter struggle.

Elphinstone's notice of these events is too characteristic to be omitted. He, indeed, when engaged on 'mighty issues,'

'Is happy as a lover, and attired

With sudden brightness like a man inspired.'

April 27, 1816.—The Light Division came in to-day. I have given up all thoughts of attempting to seize the Peshwa in the city, in the event of the calamities such an enterprise would bring on the British. Major Lushington and many other officers here to-day. Everything very pleasant—the new faces and bustle.

April 30.—Walking in the moonlight last night, and thinking how pleasant these times are, although they come after I have often given up all hopes of pleasure in life, I came to the conclusion that there should be an active campaign now, and I have the good fortune to witness it, as is likely, this will be as pleasant as any time in my whole life. Less novelty than the Mahratta war, less sanguine than the journey to Caubul, but a pleasant prospect of exertion and reasonable hope of success. The political part will be interesting and important, and the military, as it is not my business, will be amusement.

May 7.—Things have gone as pleasantly as before, plenty of society, plenty of society, the heat moderate for the season. The mail from Calcutta has been intercepted, which has cut off my communications; I am therefore acting without them. I have given the Peshwa twenty-four hours to give up four forts as securities for his surrender of Trimbukjee. If he refuses, we surround the town, and war will ensue. I had a long interview with the Peshwa yesterday night, the last. He was collected, conciliatory, and able, but would

would not pledge himself to give up Trimbukjee. I thought it possible, in these extremities, and with his treachery, he might seize me for a hostage, and carry me off to Singhur, but he seemed not to have the most distant thought that way. To-day everything is as calm as if the force were at Jaulna and the Peshwa at Copergaum. With all his crimes and with all his perfidy I shall be sorry if Bajee Rao throws away his sovereignty.

'May 9.—The Peshwa sent several messages in the night to make me lengthen the period to four or five days, and afterwards to make me take two forts, leaving out Rygurgh. At seven in the morning, when the troops were almost at the town, he promised acquiescence. The troops marched on and surrounded the town in very fine style, and at ten came orders for two forts. The order for the most important, Rygurgh, came at three, and the carcoon who brought it missed the detachment, and had a lame pony which lost more time. Singhur has been delivered up empty, so that the delay was to remove the treasures. The Peshwa was nearly off in the night, and I had nearly moved the cavalry to stop him. I spent the day in camp, and came home in the evening. We must now have a new era or a repetition of the same course ending in the Peshwa's ruin. I have taken to writing politics in my journal of late, which must not be often done.'

The Peshwa was not, however, to escape so easily. Three days after this settlement, fresh instructions arrived from Calcutta.

In view of the Peshwa's continued misconduct, the Governor-General required that far harder terms should be exacted. The Peshwa must agree to carry out to the letter the stipulations of the Treaty of Bassein, which forbid all intercourse with foreign courts, and to dismiss all their agents from his capital; he must acknowledge his dependence on the English Government; he must resign all claim to be considered as head of the Mahratta Empire; he must yield territory for the support of the subsidiary force, and lastly, he must in explicit terms declare the guilt of Trimbukjee. These humiliating terms for a moment seemed as if they would sting Bajee Rao into action. But again he shrank back. A sullen acquiescence was wrung from him, and he permitted his ministers to place the family of Trimbukjee in confinement. Had Mr. Elphinstone been allowed to manage the transactions which next followed with the Peshwa, it is possible that he might have succeeded in preventing that Prince from rushing headlong on his ruin. At any rate, his overthrow would have been accomplished with far greater ease. It is necessary, however, before recounting the changes made by the supreme Government in the conduct of their affairs at Poonah, to say something of what was happening in the rest of India; for a crisis in the development of the
English

English power in India had been reached. A distinguished historical writer, in his recent treatment of that great series of events which he has so happily named the 'Expansion of England,' and which he has analysed with such brilliancy and penetration, notices, as an extraordinary example of English energy, the fact that, in little more than a year after Waterloo, we were placing an army of 113,000 men in the field and were about to open military operations in a theatre as large as that of Napoleon's Russian campaign. And it was for no small cause that the war was undertaken, nor could an unsuccessful issue have meant anything but the overthrow of the English power in India. No expressive name has been found for this momentous undertaking. To call it either the Pindaree or Mahratta War is misleading. It was rather a war for the settlement of India, under the acknowledged supremacy of England. The immediate occasion for the war was not insignificant.

Throughout Indian history bands of marauders have sprung up whenever the unsettled condition of the country has given them an opportunity. During the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries such bands, under the name of Pindarees, became common, especially in those provinces where the empire of Sevajee, itself reared on the ruins of a still mightier State, was falling into decay. The Pindarees have been compared to the Mahrattas in their earlier stages of development; but in truth such a comparison is misleading. The resemblance is superficial, the difference fundamental. The Mahrattas were a people; the Pindarees were of all races and all creeds. The Mahrattas were like the plundering clansmen of the Highlands; the Pindarees like the free-companies of Germany and France, or those mixed bands of English, Swiss, Flemings, and Gascons, who flocked wherever an Italian condottiere raised his banner. At the time of Lord Wellesley's Mahratta War, many of these bodies of mercenaries had been employed in the native armies; at the peace they did not disband, but looked out for fresh employment. The weakness or the rivalries of the petty States of Malwa and Central India afforded them the opportunities they needed, and these unfortunate provinces were for years given over to all the horrors of mercenary warfare. The dhuras, for so each distinct band was called, grew in numbers. Every vagabond who had a horse and a spear at his disposal could find employment, by enlisting in one of them. Scindiah and Holkar secretly favoured them, and soon several of the chiefs had obtained permanent settlements on the north side of the Nerbudda. Every year, when the rains were over and the rivers became fordable, they poured forth

forth their swarms of mounted freebooters into Southern India. Gradually these expeditions became extended; till at last, in the years 1814 and 1815, when the desire for such rich plunder became irresistible, and encouraged by rumours of reverses suffered in the Nepaul War, a force of marauders penetrated into the very heart of the English territories. It was extremely difficult to defend our frontiers against them. Their movements were incredibly rapid. Marches of forty or fifty miles a day are recorded of them. To give warning of their approach was impossible. They would suddenly swoop down on a village, and as suddenly disappear. Yet their visits were not the less terrible because so short; the land was swept bare before them; what could not be carried away was burnt. Men were exposed to the most frightful tortures, that confessions of hidden treasures might be wrung from them. Women were mutilated and dishonoured, or else perished voluntarily, flinging themselves into wells, or setting fire to the houses in which they had taken shelter. Children had their arms struck off, the quicker to secure their golden bracelets, or were tossed on spears in the mere sport of cruelty. Against such raids defence was a mere name. The only course was to extirpate the Pindarees in their strongholds, across the Nerbudda. This Lord Hastings saw clearly, and he saw also that, if he wished to establish a permanent peace, he must, as the corollary to such an undertaking, reduce to order the distracted principalities of Central India, and force the Mahratta Princes to cease from lending their countenance to the mercenary chieftains. But to carry out such schemes in safety, he must be prepared to subdue all the forces that the Native Powers could bring into the field. Accordingly an army was equipped, which for size and efficiency had not been seen in India since the silken tents of Aurungzebe had been pitched to mark the head-quarters of the Imperial camp. Yet for its work of imposing throughout India what a chronicler of our early kings might have called the peace of the English, the force was small. Massed first on the frontiers, it was gradually to close in upon and destroy the Pindarees. But at the same time the Peshwa, the Raja of Berar, Scindiah, and Holkar, were to be held in check. Events proved the wisdom of Lord Hastings's caution. It is strange to reflect that a war of such importance should be remembered with so little interest by the mass of Englishmen. Yet the Pindaree War abounds with incidents and characters such as might fill a cycle of Romance. Incidents such as the defence of Coregaon, when the Peshwa and the Raja of Satara had their canopies pitched on a hill that overlooked the village, that they might there behold the destruction of the hated

hated English: or that scene, in the grey of dawn, where on the river-bank the beautiful and infamous widow of Holkar was dragged from the Palace of Indore, and there suffered from her revengeful rivals a fate which, though justice would have awarded it her, she did not deserve at such hands. Not less do the characters and fate of men like Chetoo or Ameer Khan fire the imagination. The Pindaree Chetoo, once the leader of fifteen thousand spears, was at last left without a single follower. Hunted down with tireless energy by English dragoons, he knew not a moment's repose. For months he slept but by short snatches, and then always by his horse—the bridle in his hand. He would listen to no terms of surrender, for a constant dread was upon him, the fear lest he should be sent beyond the sea. Even in sleep his terror could not be banished. His followers, who obtained pardon for themselves, related that the words, 'Kala Panee! Kala Panee!' ('Oh the black sea! oh the black sea!') were ever on his lips. His end was not inappropriate. Alone, he attempted to take shelter in a jungle near the fort of Asseghur, a jungle known to be infested with tigers. A few days passed, and his horse was seen, riderless, feeding at the edge of the forest. A search was made. Remnants of clothes, stained with blood, pieces of bones, and near them a head entire, and with the features still recognizable, were found at no great distance. Chetoo, the most famous of the Pindarees, had fallen a prey to a tiger, a fate he dreaded less than captivity. Ameer Khan was a more fortunate adventurer. This unprincipled and blood-thirsty leader of mercenaries contrived to incur no ill-effects from Lord Hastings's operations. Indeed he gained a confirmation for his rule in the State which, like an Italian condottiere, he had contrived to establish. Cæsar Borgia might have envied him his opportunities; Machiavelli would have quoted him as an instance of a prince who could protect himself against the whims of fortune.

The events at Poonah, narrated above, occurred just as Lord Hastings was completing his arrangements for exterminating the Pindarees. His troops were beginning to surround the territories from which it was intended to sweep the Pindarees, and to take up positions from which they could converge by simultaneous movements on a common centre. The army of the Deccan consisted of five divisions and a division of reserve, in addition to the troops left to protect Poonah, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor. In Guzerat was stationed a single division. From Bengal four divisions, with two in reserve, were under the direct command

command of the Governor-General, to co-operate with the movements of the southern force.

To Sir John Malcolm were entrusted some of the most important functions of the executive. In addition to a divisional command, he was named as the Governor-General's political agent with the army of the Deccan. This appointment gave him the fullest discretion in all negotiations with the Native States, and conferred powers on him which could override those with which Mr. Elphinstone was invested. Soon after the execution of the new treaty, the sullen Peshwa had retired to Punderpoor—a scene of devotion which his guilt and treachery, in connection with the murder of the Shastree, seemed to have rendered no less agreeable as a place of pilgrimage. During his absence Sir John Malcolm arrived at Poonah. The Peshwa did not return, but invited him to a special conference at Maholy. Sir Edward Colebrooke has, with nice discrimination, observed that it was Malcolm's weakness to be too great a believer in diplomacy. His successes in that career had been so marked, that it was perhaps natural that he should rely overmuch on his skill in influencing the Native Princes. But Bajee Rao was a far greater master of all the arts of diplomacy. He knew well how to turn to advantage Malcolm's belief in his own powers of management. There was one, and one only, safe plan of treating the Peshwa—the plan pursued by Mr. Elphinstone; never to trust him, never to attempt to get the better of him by employing diplomatic artifices. At their meeting the Prince commented, in his best style, on the degradation of his position, and the destruction of the friendship which had once existed between him and the English. Yet at the same time he protested that his gratitude to them could never be forfeited. Malcolm was touched. He had entertained, it would seem, a totally erroneous view of the Peshwa's character, and fancied that his late conduct could be set down to 'a temporary aberration, the result of evil counsellors, from which he was already recalled by the penalties he had suffered.' He would exert the influence of an old friend, and lead the erring Prince back into the paths of virtue. Accordingly he endeavoured to soothe Bajee Rao, and to show him how he might in some measure regain the position he had lost. He explained to him Lord Hastings's plan for the suppression of the Pindarees, and hinted at the reward that might be expected if cordial aid was given to the execution of the Governor-General's schemes. Nothing could seem more candid and willing than the manner in which the Peshwa gave his assent to these proposals. It was a part he had always been able

able to play to perfection. Malcolm was completely deceived. He felt that he had regained Bajee Rao as a faithful ally, and that he might now be treated with confidence, and might even be encouraged to levy troops for aiding in the war. Another striking advantage was that General Smith's corps, now stationed near Poonah, would no longer be wanted to watch the Peshwa, but might safely be sent on to join in accomplishing the main object of the campaign.

Elphinstone was of too chivalrous a nature to oppose such an arrangement, and he was accordingly left at Poonah with three weak battalions of sepoys. Meanwhile, as a first mark of confidence, three of the four forts had been restored. In September the Peshwa returned to Poonah, but he did not at once exhibit his hostile designs, and he was able to offer the excuse Malcolm had lent him for any preparations that became obvious. He was merely levying troops to join in suppressing the Pindarees, was his reply to all remonstrances. The minister to whose care these preparations were entrusted was of a stamp far different from that of Trimbukjee. Gokla inspired among his English foes not loathing and contempt, but the admiration and sympathy which always await a brave soldier. By the beginning of October all was ready for an attack. But it was not in Bajee Rao's nature to try open force, before all possible forms of treachery and intrigue had been exhausted. The murder of the Resident was constantly in his mind, and he debated whether the best opportunity would be at a conference, or as he rode out. But Gokla, always a chivalrous foe, disdained an act so cowardly, and the idea seems to have been abandoned. He next formed a scheme, and this was prosecuted with great energy, for corrupting the English officers and sepoys of the escort. The attempt on the former was, of course, futile; and, to the honour of the sepoys be it said, it was no less so with them, though bribes, which to them were enormous, were freely offered. On October 14th, Mr. Elphinstone had his last interview with the Peshwa, and for the last time listened to the old series of complaints, of assurances of good-will, of expressions of loyalty and good faith. On the 19th of October was celebrated the feast of the Dussera. Now, for the first time, public slights were put upon the Resident. The ceremony was one of great military pomp. A pageant so splendid had hardly before been seen at Poonah. One of the methods of insult was characteristic of the Mahratta nature. The sepoy guard of the Resident had been drawn up to witness the review. Upon the flank of this small body a huge mass of cavalry was seen to direct its charge, and only to wheel off in time to avoid actual contact.

contact. Each day the tension became greater. For several days before the 25th, troops had begun to pour into the town by day and night. General Smith was far away, and the European battalion which had been ordered up from Bombay could not be expected for ten days. It seemed certain that the attack would not be postponed till their arrival. The night of October 28th was one of terrible anxiety. A little before midnight, we are told by Captain Grant Duff, who spent that night alone with his chief, news was brought to Mr. Elphinstone that the enemy were prepared, that 'their guns were yoked, their horses saddled, and their infantry in readiness.' As Mr. Elphinstone and his friend stood on the terrace of the Residency, then wrapped in perfect repose, the beating of the Mahratta guns, and all 'the din and uproar' of preparation in the Peshwa's camp, was borne to their ears. The necessity of deciding whether to attack at once, or still to wait, was immediate; and the difficulty was no small. The best chance for personal safety lay in attacking and it seemed but just to the soldiers to let them at least do with arms in their hands. But there were other considerations which forbade anything which might precipitate hostilities. Mr. Elphinstone was aware of the Governor-General's secret plans in regard to Scindiah, and of the likelihood that they would fail if the rupture with the Peshwa were not postponed. He therefore resolved to wait. The next day (October 29th) was spent in remonstrances and negotiations. Gokla urged an instant assault. The Peshwa hesitated, and asked for more time to press his bribes upon the sepoys. Nothing was done. On the following day it was too late, for that afternoon the European regiment that had been summoned from Bombay marched into cantonments. Apprised of the state of affairs, they had made heroic exertions to reach Poonah in time. Mr. Elphinstone's courageous policy of waiting had been successful, and he was now able to take more vigorous measures. The troops were at once ordered to change their quarters to the village of Kirkee—a position four miles from the city, and so removed from the intrigues of the Peshwa, but one easily defensible, and well situated for communication with the Residency. The move took place on November 1st. On the 3rd, the light battalion was summoned to move from its cantonments at Seroor, some thirty miles from the capital. When the Peshwa obtained information of this, he determined to delay the attack no longer. He believed that the sepoys were thoroughly corrupted, for, by the direction of their officers, they had accepted all his bribes, and agreed to all his plans of desertion. On the 4th, Moro Dixit, one of the chief ministers, sought an interview

with an officer—Captain Ford—for whom he entertained
ing affection. He disclosed to him the certainty of attack
e morrow, and begged him to save himself by not engaging
e battle. When Ford refused such a course, the Mahratta
sed that they should enter into a mutual agreement, what-
was the issue, to protect and befriend each other's families.
done, they parted, and on the morrow, Moro Dixit fell
from one of the first shots fired by his friend's battery.

With the dawn of November 5th, active preparations were
on the part of the Mahrattas. To conceal them, they
pted to amuse the Resident with various ambiguous
ges. At last, in the afternoon, when all was ready, came
nal message. Its words were insulting, and all saw what
meant. The messenger had hardly left, before troops
seen to be on the move to throw themselves between the
lency and the cantonments of Kirkee. It was necessary
Mr. Elphinstone and his household should without a
ent's delay make their way to Kirkee.

Residency was situated in the Sungum, a piece of land
in the angle at the junction of the two rivers on which
ah is built. It stood on the same side of the river as the
ge of Kirkee. The quickest route was to be chosen for the
it. The river takes a wide sweep in its course between
ee and the Sungum; so wide, indeed, that a straight line
a from the village to the Residency would pass through
ver twice. The direct course would be taken by crossing
ford just in front of the Residency, keeping along the
bank and recrossing by a bridge opposite Kirkee. This
they resolved on, and it had the additional advantage of
ce placing a river between themselves and the enemy.
'crossed,' says Mr. Elphinstone, 'leaving our horses, books,
s, manuscripts, and everything but the clothes on our
, a prey to the enemy.' While the sepoy detachment
servants were crossing, Captain Grant Duff rode up to
rising ground near the ford to observe the movements of
enemy. His description of the spectacle which met his
as he gazed on the plain stretched out below him, can
be forgotten.

his plain, then covered with grain, terminates on the west by a
of small hills, while on the east it is bounded by the city of
h and the small hills already partly occupied by the infantry.
s of cavalry covered nearly the whole extent of it, and towards
ty endless streams of horsemen were pouring from every avenue.
only who have witnessed the Bore in the Gulf of Cambay, and
een in perfection the approach of that roaring tide, can form
the

the exact idea presented to the author at the sight of the Peshwa army. It was towards the afternoon of a very sultry day; there was a dead calm, and no sound was heard except the rushing, trampling and the neighing of horses, and the rumbling of wheels. The effect was heightened by seeing the peaceful peasants flying from their work in the fields; the bullocks breaking from their yoke; the wild antelopes, startled from sleep, bounding off, and turning for a moment to gaze on this tremendous inundation, which swept all before it, levelled the hedges and standing corn, completely overwhelmed every ordinary barrier as it moved.

The Resident's party effected their junction with the troops at Kirkee in safety. These troops had already been ordered to advance to attack the enemy, and they were speedily joined by Captain Ford's contingent, which was moved up from its encampment a few miles distant. Mr. Elphinstone had not served under the Duke of Wellington in vain. He had learnt the great secret of Mahratta warfare:—Never wait to be attacked. *Fermez vite et frappez fort.* The history of the engagement was simple enough. The English troops under arms numbered 2800 men, of whom 800 were Europeans. The nominal command belonged to Colonel Burr, once a dashing officer, but infirm in mind and body. His courage, however, was unquestionable, and the sepoys of the regiment, which it was a boast to have 'formed and led,' regarded him with devotion, and all want of faculties on his part was amply compensated by the Resident's military knowledge and high qualities of command. The Mahrattas amounted to not less than 30,000 men (horse and foot being in nearly equal proportions), though not all were engaged in the action. This vast body met the intrepid assault of the English with little animation. A gloom brooded over them, which even the high courage of Gokla, as he rode through the lines 'animating, encouraging, and talking,' like an Homeric hero, could not dispel. An omen of ordinary significance oppressed them. As the troops were leaving the city in the morning, the staff of the Juree Pahl had been broken. This 'Golden Pennon' was the oriflame of the Mahratta army. Carried only by the most distinguished chiefs, and surrounded by the flower of the cavalry, its presence in battle was regarded with special reverence. The rapid advance of the English had almost brought the two armies into contact when—lest a final act of procrastination should be wanting on the part of the Peshwa—a messenger was seen approaching from the Parbuttee, a hill crowned by a temple and overlooking the field, to which he had retired. The messenger bore a command requiring Gokla on no account to fire the fir

n. Gokla divined the nature of the communication before it could reach him. He accordingly ordered one of his batteries open fire at once, and the cavalry on both flanks to move forward to meet the attack. On the left of our line, as it advanced, was stationed a body of sepoys. The first troops with whom they came in contact were a regiment of regular infantry, under the command of a Portuguese soldier of fortune. They pressed upon their enemies with too great eagerness, and the soldiers became separated from the rest of the line. Gokla took the opportunity thus offered to him. He at once ordered a picked body of horse, some 6000 strong, accompanied by the red banner and headed by the bravest leaders, to charge. These troops had been stationed in reserve on the left, and they would therefore have to cross in front of their own line. The British ceased firing to let them pass, and this sea of horse swept on with all the splendour and fury of the Mahratta onset. The whole English front were witnesses of the charge, 'of the order of the ground, the flashing of their arms, the brandishing of their spears, the agitation of their banners rushing through the air.' It seemed as if nothing could save the British. The mere weight of such an attack would destroy a tiny body of infantry as easily as it would level a corn-field. A morass, however, unperceived by either side, lay on their flank. This accident of the ground saved them. The foremost horses and their riders rolled over in the yielding ground, the fury of the assault was broken, and in the moment of first confusion, the fire of the infantry, reserved till now, completed the discomfiture of the Mahrattas. The failure of this charge, and the death of many distinguished men, disheartened the enemy. Gokla drew off his troops, and the English, contented with their success, withdrew with nightfall to their cantonments at Kirkee, where they were next morning joined by the light battalion which had hurried up from Seroor.

Such was the battle of Kirkee. The loss of the English was insignificant; but the killed and wounded of the enemy numbered at least 500. The division of General Smith, which had been advancing to attack the Pindarees, was several days' march from Poonah. Mr. Elphinstone had, before the outbreak of hostilities, arranged with the General to send him a daily letter, informing him of the Peshwa's attitude. Should these letters stop, General Smith was to conclude that war had broken out, and was to hasten to the relief of the Resident as quickly as possible. The first act of hostility on the part of Bajee Rao was to stop the messengers. General Smith was therefore on his march to Poonah a few days after the battle. When he arrived,

arrived, he expressed his determination to attack the capital at once. Mr. Elphinstone was anxious above all things to save the city from the horrors of an assault, for our soldiers were infuriated by the treachery and cruelty of the Peshwa. He contrived to effect this object, and quiet possession was taken of Poonah on November 17th, twelve days after Mr. Elphinstone had quitted the Residency.

It will not be possible to follow here the details of the rest of the campaign, which was, in fact, a pursuit of the Peshwa. It fell to Sir John Malcolm, not to General Smith and Mr. Elphinstone, to receive the surrender of Bajee Rao. Already it had been declared that the Peshwa had ceased to reign, but he fought hard for good terms. Malcolm, if not again deceived, at least found Bajee Rao as difficult to resist as ever. The enormous annuity of 80,000*l.* promised him, was out of all proportion to his just demands. How much too large, was to be proved many years later, when Nana Sahib, the Peshwa's adopted son, used the savings from this princely income for his disaffected purposes. When the conquered territories were cleared of hostile troops, the task of organizing them was handed over to Elphinstone. This task, his sympathy with the natives, his strength of character, his moderation and his political sagacity, enabled him to perform with no less ability and success than he had already attained in other very different spheres of action. The student of the political history of India will read for himself Mr. Elphinstone's own State Papers on this subject. Here we must content ourselves with noticing how Elphinstone, though a reader and admirer of Bentham, not only did not attempt, but deliberately condemned and set aside as unsuitable, all *à priori* methods of legislation and administration for the newly-acquired provinces. He saw that peace and incorrupt justice, though inestimable blessings to a people, were not all that was wanted to make them happy, and that the greatest precautions must be used if the English modes of bestowing these blessings were not to take away almost as much as they gave. It was not only the great feudal chiefs, with their privileges and powers of life and death, but the whole people subject to them, who would be disturbed and made discontented by the substitution of English courts of justice, with forms and methods foreign to all the native customs and usages of many generations. And, by the reduction of local chiefs and of the local rulers of the village communities to a dead level of submission to English collectors and magistrates, the social fabric, which on the whole had been working well and in harmony with the sentiments and

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f the people, would be swept away. The settlement far as possible, to be a native growth—not a British creature, though a growth under British culture and . This, we may say, was the principle of Elphinstone's ment and organization of the provinces placed under his ent: and his methods were an important contribution olution of that great problem which still lies before all statesmen,—how English power and English justice e India its share in the blessings of national life and ion.

merits displayed by Mr. Elphinstone in the work of nt following those of his previous career were not passed he was recommended for the rare distinction of being ed from the Service to the Government of Bombay, to Presidency the newly-conquered provinces had been As Governor of Bombay, Mr. Elphinstone won an of veneration and esteem such as fall to the lot of few men. The character drawn of him by Bishop Heber, w him during his term of office, reflects clearly the d opinion. His administration was an era in Indian for he was the first to strike out those lines of policy ave since occupied the attention of all Indian govern- the codification of the law, education, and the opening l employment to the natives. To such ends have the enactments of successive administrations; to such y are alike pledged such opposing schools of Indian unship as those of Lord Northbrook and Lord Lytton. hinstone saw clearly that education was in reality but t step towards admitting the natives to share in the f government. In a letter to a friend he roughly es these views 'in favour of the admission of natives to es.' 'It has long been a favourite notion of mine, that ect ought to be to place ourselves in the same relation to ives as the Tartars are in to the Chinese; retaining the gent and military power, but gradually relinquishing all the civil administration, except that degree of control s necessary to give the whole an impulse and direction.' s on to point out how 'the first steps are, to commence a tic education of the natives for civil offices, to make them at once a larger share of judicial business, to e their emoluments generally, and to open a few high or the most able and honest among them.'

e year 1827 Mr. Elphinstone resigned his appointment itted Bombay. When he reached England, he had osent nearly thirty-five years. His delight to be once 157.—No. 314. 2 C more

more among old friends and in his own country, was bounded. The thirty years remaining to him he spent in his rooms in the Albany, or in a country-house in London, leading always the life of a modest English gentleman. Though by nature retiring, he delighted in genial society. This and his intense love of literature—a love which not only made him master of all the great works of the classical authors, but led him to read and annotate the whole of the Elizabethan dramatists—made for him a happy existence. His work was accomplished; he had no more restless ambition to be unsatisfied. He declined almost every distinction that was offered him: a seat in Parliament, the Chairmanship of the Board of Directors, a Peerage, a mission to settle the revolted Provinces of Canada, the permanent Under-Secretary for India, the office of Governor-General. It will be believed that such a man did not resolve on this complete retirement from active life without much and often-renewed consideration. But he decided, and many years afterwards again records his judgment that he had decided rightly, that his health rendered it impossible to do any more work in India, and that his disposition, and his whole political training, disqualified him who was too shy to propose a health after dinner, and was accustomed to decide and act on the most momentous occasions without consultation with others, from any useful work in the conditions of public discussion, and explanation, and promise, required in all English statesmanship. But his interest in India was unabated. With conscientious and careful labour extending over six years, he wrote his admirable ‘History of India’; and we have ample evidence in the concluding chapters of Sir Edward Colebrooke’s volumes, how great and how important was their influence upon those who were to listen to the lessons of mature experience and wisdom of the venerable old man taught, though with the diffident humility which never ceased to characterize him.

The end came in 1861. On the 20th day of November he died by a stroke of paralysis which caused him little suffering. Mountstuart Elphinstone’s body lies in Westminster Churchyard. His statue is in St. Paul’s. It seems that his memorial should be near that of the man he honoured so deeply. The words he found to express his admiration of the Duke of Wellington may serve us here. What we reverence and would desire to imitate in Mountstuart Elphinstone is ‘his perfect sincerity, his simplicity and simpleness of purpose and his all-ruling sense of duty.’

ART. IV.—1. *Of the Five Wounds of the Holy Church. An Essay dedicated to the Catholic Clergy* (1832). By Antonio Rosmini. Edited, with an Introduction, by H. P. Liddon, D.D., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's. London, 1883.

C. M. Curci, Sacerdote. *Il Vaticano Regio. Tarlo Superstite della Chiesa Cattolica* ;* *Studii dedicati al giovane clero ed al laicato credente.* Firenze, Roma, 1883.

IT is, to say the least of it, a happy coincidence, that the same year, which has given us the important and instructive work of Padre Curci, has also produced an English translation of the now almost classical 'Five Wounds of the Church,' by Antonio Rosmini, with Dr. Liddon's valuable Preface. These books may be said to represent for us two epochs in the history of the Church in Italy during the present century; one, that of the aspirations which were current in the minds of her most enlightened sons under Gregory XVI. and in the early years of Pius IX., the other that of the disappointed hopes and anxious forebodings which have made themselves felt under the pontificate of Leo XIII. Rosmini's book seems to be striving after an unfulfilled ideal; Curci's, on the other hand, to be depicting a painful reality. Rosmini displays before us the Church, wounded indeed, but still capable of restoration; Curci, though he professes his faith in the Church, and even his devotion to the Roman See, yet pictures for us the evils of Vaticanism in such vivid and startling colours, that the predominant feeling in our minds as we close his book is like that with which we turn away from one of Orcagna's nastiest representations in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Corruption and the gnawing worm seem to have taken the place of the wounded but still living body. Dr. Liddon tells us in a biographical sketch, of which our only complaint is that it is not longer, the main particulars of Rosmini's life. A man of good birth and of considerable fortune, with an irresistible vocation for the priesthood, and at once a philosopher and ascetic, he seems to have gone through a training as severe as some primitive or medieval Father, first in the studious leisure of his own home at Rovereto, and then at the Calvary near Domo d'Ossola, close to the Italian foot of the Simplon Pass; and to have spent the rest of his life between the foundation of an Institute of charity and the composition of various religious and philosophical works. On one occasion he was sent by the Piedmontese government on an embassy to Rome, to obtain Papal aid

* The Royal Vatican; the surviving canker-worm of the Catholic Church.

against Austria. This, however, broke down, and any which had been entertained of winning Pius IX.'s adherents to the liberal interest were soon destined to have the same fate. Two of Rosmini's own works were put in the list of prohibited books, and it was not till 1854 that the censure on his work was removed, just a year before the author's death.

The '*Cinque Piaghe*' was kept in MS. for fourteen years. Written in 1832, it first saw the light in the brief period of hope which marked the beginning of the reign of Pius IX. Padre Curci tells us with what a storm of unpopularity it was received in certain circles. Yet in reading it we are struck by its calm and philosophical tone, and especially by its freedom from those attacks on living persons which characterize the literature of Italy, alike in the pages of the '*Divina Commedia*' and in the popular newspaper of the present hour. It is more a declamation than of an historical enquiry. To quote the words of the English Preface:—

'The title of the book is more mystical than its contents would lead us to suspect. . . . It was probably suggested to the writer by his sojourn on the hill of the Calvary near Domo d'Ossola. It presents an analogy which naturally results from the well-known language of St. Paul, between Our Lord's natural Body, crucified through His death, and His mystical Body, the Church, pierced by the sins and errors of men in the ages of Christian history. . . . These wounds, according to Rosmini, are a legacy of feudalism. Beginning with the wound in the left hand of the Crucified, he sees in it the lack of sympathy between the clergy and people in the act of worship, which is due, not merely to the use of a dead language in the Church services, but to the want of adequate Christian teaching. This is to be accounted for by the wound in the right hand, the insufficient education of the clergy; and this again was both caused and perpetuated by the great wound in the side, which pierced the heart of the Divine sufferer, and which consisted in the divisions among the bishops, separating them from one another, and also from their clergy and people, in forgetfulness of their true union in the Body of Christ. Such divisions were to be referred to the nomination of the bishops by the civil power, which often had the effect of making them worldly schemers and politicians, more or less influenced by selfish interests. It formed the wound of the right foot, the claim to nominate was itself traceable to the feudal period, when the freehold tenures of the Church were treated as fiefs by an overlord or suzerain, who saw in the chief pastors of the flock of God only a particular variety of vassals or dependents. In the main results of this estimate Rosmini notes the wound of the left foot.'

With much in Rosmini's pages that the English reader will sympathize in and admire, there is a good deal that will

prise him. Not only, as Dr. Liddon says, will his unfaltering belief in the Papal supremacy be out of harmony with Anglican ideas, but many readers will be astonished to find Gregory VII. figuring as one of the shining lights instead of the bugbears of history, and his pontificate described as a turning-point in the hitherto downward course of the Church. So again it will be a new assertion to many among us, that we owe the idea of a constitutional instead of an absolute monarchy to the Catholic Church, which, by imposing conditions on rulers (as on the Emperor Henry IV.), paved the way for our modern conceptions of a compact between the sovereign and the people.

Another peculiarity of Rosmini's work is his hatred of Gallianism, and of everything that makes the Church national rather than Catholic, or, perhaps we should say, Roman. He would rather that the Church should forfeit her temporalities, than allow that bishops should be holders of State baronies, or that the clergy should be in any way hampered by the favours of the secular power. On nothing does he express himself more forcibly than on the interference of kings like Henry I. of England in questions of investiture, and on the conduct of prelates like Paschal II. and our own St. Anselm on such occasions.

In a word, Rosmini pushes his zeal for the independence of the Church from State control to the furthest conceivable point. At the same time he would allow the laity to have a voice in the election of bishops, or at least to have the power of accepting or rejecting them when elected. But that a bishop should be a royal nominee, is in his eyes a transaction little better than simoniacal; and the devoted loyalty and sense of nationality in the minds of the Gallican clergy was, according to him, the cause of their ruin in the terrible catastrophe of the Revolution.

A gulf of nearly forty years lies between the publication of Rosmini's work and our own day. That period has been one of many startling changes, especially in Italy, and was marked in 1862 by a crisis with regard to episcopal elections, which, had advantage been taken of the opportunities then given, might have made it an epoch of untold good in the history of the Church.

In that year, owing to the unhappy disagreements between Victor Emmanuel, recently raised to the throne of Italy, and Pius IX., a large number of sees, among them the Metropolitan See of Milan and the Archiepiscopal See of Turin, were without bishops. At the same time the Court of Rome, by a decree of the

the Roman Penitentiary, forbade the bishops and clergy of the kingdom of Italy to take any part in the public prayers for their king and country on the national anniversary of the Statuto, June 1. Here was a political complication of excessive difficulty; yet one which would have admitted of solution, if the statesmen of the day had possessed any knowledge of Church history, or if the bishops and theologians of Italy had been endued with greater wisdom, learning, and courage, and had been able, in a word, to distinguish the Church from the Pope.

It may not be wholly irrelevant to observe here that three letters, issued by an anonymous hand, obtained a considerable circulation at the time in Italy. They bore on the question of the day, and treated of the relations between the Papacy and the State, showing that the Bishop of Rome has no authority to summon bishops from other countries, without the Sovereign's permission, as he did, for instance, in 1862; that the claim of the Papacy to appoint bishops has no foundation in primitive antiquity; that the Pope has no right to extort from them oaths of allegiance; that bishops should be synodically elected, not arbitrarily chosen; that it is uncanonical to keep sees open more than three months; that Concordats between Sovereigns and the Pope are an infringement on the rights of the clergy and of the people; and that the only way out of actual difficulties would be to fall back on the system of the Primitive Church. Perhaps the best tribute that could have been paid to the importance and opportuneness of those letters was, what actually happened, that the supposed author received an intimation from Cardinal de Angelis that 'a pension would be bestowed upon him if he would cease from writing.'

The opportunity, however, was not seized; the misleading maxim of Cavour, '*Libera chiesa in libero stato*,' prevailed; and in 1871 (May 12th) the 'Law of Guarantees' was passed, surrendering to the Papacy the appointment to bishoprics in Italy and Sicily. We shall see from Padre Curci's book, that the Italian clergy have not profited much from this change. But first, we must devote a few words to the personal history of its author.

Carlo Maria Curci (better known from his connection with the Jesuit order as Padre Curci) is now in his seventy-fifth year. Owing partly to his natural energies, and partly to the austere simplicity of his life (he rises at 3 every morning, says mass at 5 o'clock, and devotes many hours of the day to study), he seems still to be possessed of far more bodily and mental vigour than many younger men. This is attested by his having,
only

only a year ago, brought out a translation of the Psalter in Italian, with a very learned commentary, and in December, 1883, the important work which appears at the head of our present article. 'The Royal Vatican' may be regarded as representing the matured opinions of one who, for the best part of a century, has been both an actor and a spectator in the great drama of Italian church history, as a distinguished and popular preacher, especially at the Church of the Gesù in Rome; as a member of one of the most powerful and versatile of religious orders; as a contributor to the celebrated Ultramontane journal, the '*Civiltà Cattolica*;' and as the author of a Commentary on the New Testament, in three large volumes, and of other valuable works. Padre Curci has now been for some time out of favour with the Vatican. His work entitled '*Il Moderno Dissidio tra la Chiesa e lo Stato, considerato per occasione di un fatto personale*,' published in the December of 1877, and expressing his views on the temporal power, procured his expulsion from the society of Jesus. His '*La nuova Italia ed i vecchi zelanti*' came out in 1881, and is said to have moved the Pope to tears on reading some of its pages. It was, however, condemned by the Holy Office; and, in spite of the author's submission, was nevertheless in no small degree the cause of the cold reception which his work on the Psalms afterwards met with. A copy of Curci's New Testament was sent to every bishop in Italy; few signed even to acknowledge it, and fewer still to express any appreciation of it.

In the Appendix to the present work, its writer says:—

'I doubt if in all Catholic Christendom, even among the lowest of the clergy, there be a priest condemned to canonical penalties more arbitrarily and less legally than myself. For seven years I have been interdicted *à divinis*, never having been told my fault or been able to learn how long my punishment was to last or when I might have a chance given me to set myself right. I celebrate mass, as I have had the Holy Father's permission since 1878 to do thus in private. As to ministering the divine Word, it will be seen elsewhere how I fared.'

This refers to a narrative, given in the Introduction, p. xiv, and which we regret that lack of space forbids us to quote, concerning the difficulties which were thrown in the way of his giving a series of conferences on religious subjects at Rome in 1883. The same sternness was displayed in regard to the hearing of confessions, which the Padre tells us has been strictly forbidden him, even in the case of those who would otherwise die without the sacrament.

Yet that there are traces of uneasiness in the minds of those
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in whose name these stringent measures are taken, is evident from such incidents as the following, which we slightly abridge:—

‘When I was at Rome in 1882, bringing out my edition of the Psalms, I was honoured with the visit of an old acquaintance, one of the chief lay-officials of the Pontifical Court, who expressed much personal regard as felt for me by the Holy See, and professed great regret at my poverty, though I assured him that I was glad sometimes to celebrate unpaid masses, as it seemed more conducive to devotion. A few days later he paid me another visit, renewing his assurances of the Pope’s goodwill towards me, and left a 500 lire note on my desk, saying it was the alms for 200 masses. Guessing whom it came from, I begged to know if I might send my thanks to the Holy Father. My kind friend murmured something in alarm, and indistinctly, and, seeing that he did not wish to compromise the giver, I thanked the bringer of the gift, and relieved him as quickly as I could from embarrassment, exclaiming in my own mind the while, “Good heavens! is this what the autonomy of the Pope has come to, that he cannot send a small dole to a priest without compromising himself?”

‘A few days before leaving Rome I had to pay a visit to one of the most illustrious among the cardinals. The first thing he asked me was if it was true that I had gone to Florence to get a book printed, and what was the subject? I replied generally that it was true, and I hoped it would be useful to the Church. He began by warning me to be on the watch against illusions; and though I assured him I had done my best, he enforced his argument by saying that the devil is able very often to thrust his tail into our plans. This was more than I could stand, and I exclaimed, without giving him time to interrupt me, “*Senta, Eminenza*,—if, instead of a poor priest, I found myself, for my services to the Church, in this splendid apartment, seated at a handsome table, or driving about the town in a noble carriage, being thoroughly well pleased both with myself and the Church in whose service I flattered myself I was thus living, I might indeed be afraid of illusions! But to live, as I now do, in the service of the same Church, ejected at seventy-five years of age from a sacred society and covered with ignominy, while home and the world which I renounced from a boy, and which my religious duty forbids me to re-enter as an old man, are alike cut off from me; with no sure subsistence but 33 soldi a day (about 1s. 3d.) from the *Demanio* as a ‘suppressed’ *religieux*, and the uncertain alms of the mass; with the prospect of ending my days in an asylum for paupers or in a hospital; and meanwhile to remain as cheerful as Easter (*una pasqua*), since I would not change my condition for all the red berettas in the world,—Oh believe me, *Eminenza*, Jesus Christ counts for something here; the devil must be a fool indeed if he tries to allure followers by such means!” The *Eminentissimo* listened with his mouth open. But as he said all he had said before over again, apparently

apparently he had not taken in many of my remarks. I fancy he is still praying that I may be delivered from my illusions; and I shall be most thankful if, through his intercession, I am allowed to escape sharing any of *his*.'

But it is time to proceed from this brief account of the author to say somewhat of the book.

As will have been seen, it is, especially in the latter portion, far more personal in its character than Rosmini's work. While going over a good deal of the same ground, it makes us feel that the author has advanced further than his predecessor. The evils of which it complains are in many respects the same. Both writers mourn over the worldliness of the higher, and the ignorance of the lower clergy; the substitution of feeble little tracts and catechetical handbooks (the '*Summa Theologiæ*' of Aquinas seems almost the only accessible work of reference of a higher order) for the rich stores of early theologians; the wretched education offered by the clerical seminaries; the isolation of priest from people, caused in part by the use of a dead language in the services of the Church. But while Rosmini carefully avoids any attack on the temporal power, Curci is outspoken in his denunciations of it. Rosmini disapproves of the 'national' spirit. Curci applauds it. Both writers agree in their high estimate of the character of Gregory VII.; but Curci nevertheless has the courage to speak of the celibacy of the clergy (which that pontiff did so much to promote), not, indeed, as an evil in itself, but as incidentally and not infrequently a source of evil. Rosmini inveighs against State interference in the appointment of bishops; Curci gives us the painful experience of recent years, when Italian bishops and clergy alike are at the mercy of the Vatican; and he also draws a picture of the mischief done by modern miracles, the adoration of the Sacred Heart, and the development of what may be called the sensational side of contemporary Romanism. But we will let him speak for himself on some of these topics. After alluding to the Liberal ideas of 1830, he goes on to say:—

'But the Royal Vatican, which saw in the triumph of those ideas the ruin of all its temporal interests, . . . rejected support from this quarter, nay, even cursed it, attacking it with one of those shameful, obstinate, and pitiless persecutions, of which it alone possesses the secret; and Catholic Liberal became a term of reproach. . . . When the Coryphæus of so-called Catholic journals durst give a profane and scandalous name * to Père Ravignan, that pure and holy

* '*Suppôt de Satan*.'

soul (how I loved and venerated his presence!), who had hardly ever meddled with politics, what could others expect? Yet among these may be named (to mention some of them), in France, Dupanloup, Montalembert, Lacordaire, Du Falloux, Lenormant; among us, of the clergy, Antonio Rosmini, Gioachino Ventura, Carlo Vercellone, Guglielmo Audisio; and of the laity, Silvio Pellico, Alessandro Manzoni, Carlo Troya, Cesare Balbo, Massimo d'Azeglio, Tullio Dandolo, Gino Capponi, Federico Sclopis, and others of that noble band of sincere Catholics and distinguished Italians, of which, I fear, two representatives barely exist to-day, in our most fertile modern historian in the world, and our most polished one in the cloister. . . . I can still hear ringing in my ears, though nearly seven lustres have since expired, the words in which that great writer and speaker, but greater Christian, Charles Montalembert, bewailed in my hearing, not his ruined popularity, but all that the Church had thus lost, and the ruin of souls which would supervene, and which has continued to a far greater extent than he foresaw.'

At page 155 there is a tribute to the memory of Savonarola, and the bold phrase is used, that the Vatican, in deeming it can send to hell whom it pleases, is guilty of a foolish blasphemy, *una stolta bestemmia*.

In Chapter VI., the author speaks of the blunders (*sbagli*) of the Vatican; first in matters of fact, thinking Italy much more ready to follow its lead than it really was, as was seen in the Episcopal declaration in favour of the temporal power; in the command enforcing 'Political Abstentions'; the promulgation of the Syllabus, &c.; and secondly in matters of right.

'The Vatican' (he says) 'having made a god of the Pope (I do not say explicitly, though even this blasphemy has been used and enforced by it), but a superhuman man (*un uomo trasumanato*), infallible and impeccable in all that has to do with Church government and the like, goes on, to this day, keeping up and superposing on this prerogative, wherever any one will receive it, a never-failing expectation of temporal power. This expectation is of no benefit to the Church, except as a right which any one may, if he choose, consider as still existing, but which, however, far from being serviceable to the Church, causes great disturbances within her. God grant it may not create many more! But if this anticipation does no good to the Church, it does very much for the Vatican, for though the title "King" is no longer used by the Pope, or, if we please to say so, is suspended, the very expectation we speak of has kept alive the epithet of "royal" as applied to the Vatican, and thence a fountain of lucrative gain is opened for itself and its dependents.

He then goes on to show how the very claims to divinity and perfection thus put forward by the Papacy are destructive of Faith, and illustrates his view very ably by an allusion to Renan's

n's attacks on Holy Scripture, which, if it were always
ctly intelligible and free from difficulties, would exercise
ith less than it does now. '*Quod videt quis, quid credit?*'
cles are a sign, not to believers but to the unbelieving, and
persons who in our own day are always hunting after new
les (such as that of Lourdes, which is obviously in his mind,
h he does not name it), are showing more zeal than know-
For his own part, if he knew that to-morrow there would
miracle in the Piazza della Signoria, he would go off in the
ion of the Cascine.

other topic on which he dwells, though he says it is a very
te subject, is the nepotism of the Popes, which is the exact
odes of the doctrine of primitive Christianity, one being
enounce everything you have,' and the other 'to acquire
thing you do not already possess;' and he speaks of it as
direct consequence of clerical celibacy.

1852 there lived in Rome a prelate, one of the most eminent
Curia, a man of letters whom some of the elder among us may
remember, who said to me more than once, half-pathetically,
omplacently, that he had not less than eighty-three nephews on
oulders! and just think what an outlay this implies! But the
was equal to anything. So many high and wealthy posts, else-
mentioned, which are to be had at the Vatican, so many still more
ous, if less important, with the arbitrary accumulation of them
e head, which so often takes place, show that these interested
tations will not be disappointed. Certainly, *cæteris paribus*,
is a far better chance there than in secular careers, which offer
re mediocrity or something less.'

p. 249 he speaks of the distinction, which recent changes
done much to promote, between the higher and the lower
r. This is a point which Rosmini also notices.

e recent Law of Guarantees provided comfortably, if not
omely, for bishops and other dignitaries; and many of the
bents had benefices under lay-patronage, which the law
not touch:—

at,' he continues, 'by the side of this, which, excepting the last-
l class, may be called the "higher clergy," there is another well
inated "lower," very numerous, especially in the southern
ces, of priests ordained no one knows why or wherefore, only
say mass, incapable of undertaking any serious study, of which
eminary professors could not give them any notion, let alone
ve, since they did not possess it themselves. These, before
onfiscation, used to get a few morsels from the ecclesiastical
ony—crumbs from the master's table—but now they are abso-
lutely

lutely destitute. I am thankful to say, by God's goodness to the lower clergy, and am at the very bottom of the ladder never tried to find out how it came about. Perhaps God acted—it is the way of the world—with much regard for and indifference, if not contempt, for the little; perhaps the spoliation gave an excuse to the masters to leave off dry crumbs; anyhow, such is the case. The *basso clero* is now destitute in Italy, or in most of its provinces, and more and more numerous than people choose to believe or believe.'

These priests, whose only prospect of subsistence 9½*d.* a day, derived from the saying of masses—itsself-tain source of income—are completely at the mercy of bishops, who may suspend them at any moment, '*ex conscientia*.' This implies in many cases little less than banishment. Indirectly this is the means by which the intervention of the temporal power is kept up, as any priest who betrays unsoundness on that point immediately falls out of the good graces of his superiors.

'A few years ago, in the southern provinces, a good youth of much promise, and beloved in his native place, was not in favour with his superiors—perhaps because some of his actions seemed not strictly conformable to those of the Vatican; having no private resources, he had no way of living but to say masses. This man, having made some respectful remonstrance to his bishop about the time and place of saying masses, were listened to with the usual sternness, received an intimation that he should go and take his orders from the Vicar. On his refusal, the latter drily signified to him his suspension *a divinis ad nutum*. The youth, naturally of a quick and fervid disposition, as with a thunderbolt; however, he restrained himself, without speaking a word; but he had hardly got to the door of the house, when he fell down a cold and lifeless corpse. This natural, this created a great excitement in the diocese, especially in the poor man's native village, where the Bishop, having imprudence to show himself during his usual evening's airing in his carriage, aroused among the population, an exceptionally devout one, a tumult, in which the carriage had a narrow escape from the stones which were flung at it. The prelate, perhaps more than was necessary, made off in what was very like a flight. The next day he had a *Te Deum* sung in all the churches of the diocese, thanking the Most High for having delivered him from the hands of the revolution, which persecuted the Church and its pastors, and there wanting Catholic journals to salute in him a new O second Athanasius!'

Those who are devoted to the Vatican, he adds

well the miserable condition of the *basso clero*, a unity of the Church almost throughout Italy; but not known the extremities to which in some cases it driven, and have perhaps scarcely suspected what it was; yet this state of things is purposely kept up at it, to enable its own system to flourish.

on to show how the lower clergy are made a tool of apacy, as in the case of the 12,000 ecclesiastics who the *Indirizzo*, framed and circulated in 1863 by the

Carlo Passaglia, formerly one of the most eminent clerics of Jesuits for his learning and ability, and selected to be the champion of its new dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Pius IX. was advised, or rather respectfully entreated, to lay aside, under certain conditions, his claims on the temporal power, an advice which, it was, yet, judged according to the circumstances of the moment, showed considerable sagacity in its proposal; above all, it showed the mind of the Italian Pope. Yet this expression of independent opinion was never approved by the Vatican. This was proved in a singular way in the case of Carlo Passaglia himself, the leader of the movement, who in the enjoyment of high favour at the Pontifical Court in consequence of his great work on the 'Immaculate Conception,' found himself eight years afterwards so completely out of good graces, that his name was allowed no place on the great slabs of marble in St. Peter's which commemorate the promoters of that doctrine. Podesti, the artist who painted the fresco in the Vatican commemorative of the event, was urged to efface the figure of Passaglia from his work, and he did so. Our author tells us of the 'terrorism' exercised by the rest of the clergy, and adds, that he has known of a respectable prelate who saw it himself, that the Pope, whose office it was to give the last touch to the collation of benefices of any kind, in the years following the promulgation of the *Indirizzo*, used habitually to keep on his desk a printed alphabetical catalogue of those who had signed it, and would he ever consent to the promotion of any one till he had carefully ascertained that his name was not in this catalogue; if it were, his consent was inexorably withheld. In addition to what the more zealous bishops did, the Pope still do, in their own dioceses.

For further illustration of this subject, we may refer to the account of the writer's account of the difficulties he met with regard to the publication of his own books, and of the precautions undergone, not only by himself but by those who

who sympathized with him. He tells the story of a young priest, 'perhaps the only student in the diocese,' who, stimulated by a conversation with himself, threw off a *jeu d'esprit* on the existing state of things, and, with the approval of his immediate superior, though against the advice of the narrator, sent it to the press—a thing likely to be forgotten in a week! It was, however, long remembered. Eight days of penitential exercises, a public retraction, and nine years of miserable starvation on half the wages of a maidservant, were its consequences; and this for a man whom the Bishop himself recognized as one of the ablest of his clergy, and who had depending on him poor parents who had made great sacrifices 'per tirarlo su prete.' Meanwhile, in the same diocese, a young priest who, in consequence of his having paid impertinent attentions to a young lady, had to hurry away from a church under fear of being removed by the Carabinieri, received the offer of immediate promotion.

Another characteristic of the 'perfect Catholic' is apparently Evangelical Abstinence, in other words, minding your own business and asking no questions. A priest who says mass, even though he does not understand a syllable, duly observes Easter, and the prescribed days of fasting and abstinence, is a perfect Catholic; and if, not content with blind obedience to the Pope, he joins the army of workers in the cause of the hopes still cherished for the temporal power, he may not only be let off from fasting, but may practically obtain a dispensation from the precept of love of God and his neighbour, and indeed from little less than the whole Decalogue. . . . This reminds one of the days of the great Western Schism, when the Antipopes, in order to maintain their authority, were ready to indulge their supporters with any kind of concession, up to the belief in the Blessed Trinity or the Sacramental Presence. It is obviously impossible that such a system can really benefit society or grapple with the evils of the day. In a word, it is incapable of 'forming Christ in the heart.'

Much that our author says here might be applied to systems of benevolence among ourselves, which try to deal with the working classes apart from true evangelic Christianity. The lack of personal religion is, as he truly says, '*the cause of the sterility of modern civilization.*' How little is done 'to form Christ in the hearts of the people,' we may gather from what is said of the 'Popular Sermons of the Day':—

'One cannot' (he says) 'speak seriously of those miserable "explanations of the Gospel" offered on Sundays to a dozen women and children by a priest who repeats what he has read up hastily over-night . . .

. I am speaking, of course, of the majority. But if my readers are disposed to enquire more closely, I will add everything they can ever remember hearing preached about all the Madonnas, past, present, and future; of all the possible and impossible. They will remember furious denunciations against the Revolution, and all that it is to-day supposed to stand for; also against the Protestants, who are certainly respected in Italy at present, but do not expect (it would be foolish for them to do so) to make proselytes. The one thing I do not remember having heard expressly preached about, is Christ, His works, His miracles, and His doctrine.'

He then speaks of the miserable quality of books provided for Catholic readers: *

The Vatican, taking for granted that Scripture (including the Old Testament) will not be read, is admirably condescending in other ways. It contains no religious literary trash which it will not recommend, and is rich with Indulgences. . . . But among all this heap you will be able to pick out one that speaks of Jesus Christ. . . . It follows that the Protestants, especially in England, despite the intricacies of private judgment, preserving, as they do, both clergy and people the study of Scripture, especially the New Testament, are less ignorant of the sovereign object of our faith than Catholics. Hence also arises that deplorable severance between doctrine and morals which we have to bewail to-day.'

Pope VII. is devoted to the subject of Reform and of the unsuccessful attempts, just before the Council of Trent, under Leo X., who as he reminds us, was himself 'impigliato in nepotismo politico, per ingrandire la sua Casa Farnese,' whose old age was embittered, and his death perhaps hastened, by the harshness of his own family.

'Reform,' he says, 'is really possible in the Church of Rome if the Vatican itself changes. "Pel centralismo guasta tutto col

A pedantic and monotonous formalism reigns at the head of the Church, and so jealous is the Vatican of a higher standard, that it discourages those who attempt to live up to one. A young man who succeeds an inefficient priest is actually advised not to do himself too much with preaching, sick-visiting, and the like. "it would be a tacit reproach to his predecessor."

A man of learning who shows any enlightened ideas is kept at the cold, while another, fresh from a term of penal servitude for *crimine pessimo*, has a good chance of preferment as a reward for his diligence in collecting Peter's pence.

As the weightier matters are thus neglected, an absurdly

* This passage, which, as in other cases, we have somewhat condensed, also has a parallel in Rosmini, p. 67.

large amount of time is consumed in settling the most frivolous questions. Some admirable good sense may be found in the remarks on the incapacity of the modern Roman Church to 'see the one in the many,' and its consequent losing sight of great principles and fidgetty observance of trifles. This is illustrated by the present condition of Catholic Christians in the matter of fasting. The spirit is lost sight of, and the forms are kept up by absurd enactments and serious discussions on the most trivial points of diet. 'I was present when Pius IX. jocularly gave dispensation to two or three of his young favourites in violet dresses from meagre diet, fasting, and the Breviary.' Meanwhile the Vatican spends a great deal of grave consideration on doubts and subtleties which remind one of the days of Innocent III. Not to speak of the eight ounces carefully weighed in the goldsmith's scales for the *cænula vespertina* on fast-days, which would be too much for a delicate appetite, and would not be enough to prevent a hearty youth of twenty-two from lying awake all night, there are more serious difficulties, for instance, whether, since in certain cases it is forbidden to use meat and fish in the same dish, a chicken might be served with anchovy sauce. The Vatican, after a careful study of the arduous problem, first sent word 'Yes,' and then 'No.' So the observance of one day in seven, God's own institution before the Fall, is almost lost sight of, while the calendar is crowded with all kinds of new-fangled festivals, often, like that of St. Anthony of Padua (June 13th), invented for political reasons.

'Any one who considers the state of our present practice in these three respects—abstinence, external worship, and religious instruction—especially the first, would be tempted to think that the ministers of the Church, inspired by the Vatican, would like to keep society (after their own likeness in some cases) in perpetual childhood; and, since material is never lacking, to be creating around them a race of babies (*un popolo di bambini*). And since this cannot be done, save in a limited portion of society, if ever the remainder (which it now treats as outlawed, and is too likely to continue in its outlawed state) should think of becoming practically Catholic, the only way will be to do (as Mlle. Montader proposes*)—namely, have two Liturgies, two hierarchies, two disciplines, and possibly even two Popes, which she hardly thinks necessary, though she says others have thought so.

'The mischief done by the present state of things is especially

* In a work entitled '*Fin de la Crise religieuse moderne.*' Paris, 1881. This devout and intelligent young French lady died before the publication of her work, which was brought out by her brother, a Dominican, and, with some qualifications, is highly praised by Padre Curci.

as regards women, *il sesso che dicono bello per adulazione, tali son poche; ma con più verità si dice debole, perchè tali son* will not be so ungallant as to translate), who, instead of trained in the grand and simple doctrines of Christianity, and to know and love their Saviour, are distracted by all the ties, the "praticucce e predicucce," the new saints and new nuns, the new miracles and new revelations to be found in the daily papers. The one thing which is rare, stunted, mis-looked, and misliked is, the teaching about Jesus Christ, His life and miracles. This one wound of the Church is equal to a mini's five—the worst calamity of contemporary Christianity. For myself if, in the rage for Saints and Madonnas (a furia di e Madonne), I were ever obliged to forget Christ, I would leave them all to the winds to attach myself to Him, without whom Saints nor Madonnas, nor I, as a Christian, could exist.

Indred evil is the worship of the Sacred Heart, a practice which our author had formed the highest expectations, but has become a degrading piece of physical materialism. Men now (and they are not numerous), who go to church only do so for festival masses, and never go near a priest at Easter. The rest of their religion consists merely in going to the attractions of music; or going to hear a preacher, which is equally entertaining; would that such entertainment were always decorous!

As to the use of Latin in the services of the Church, he recommends, not its abolition, but the clearer pronunciation of words (which are so closely related to Italian as to be intelligible by those who take pains to listen), and the action, as in Germany, of some portions to be sung by the choir in their own language, the reading of the Epistle and Gospel in the vulgar tongue, after what is prescribed to be read in Latin, and giving translations in the popular books of devotion.

Mr Curci then goes on to speak of Episcopal elections, and rather singularly that he quotes the example of France, where the State does interfere (a circumstance which he agrees with me in regretting), to the disadvantage of Italy where it does not. In France the State takes care to promote men who have earned it by parochial or diocesan work. In Italy no priest will be placed at the head of an important diocese, and have to learn the very alphabet of his work at its close. But such are the effects of the favouritism shown by the Vatican! He is anxious that the laity should some day be allowed to vote with the clergy in the election of their chiefs; quotes with approbation the movements in the Church toward lay-co-operation; and thinks that the *Compagnie*

pagnie di Carità, which still exists in Tuscany, misutilized to this effect.

Some of the statistics as to the numbers of the clergy in various districts are curious. Naples, with a population of 698,079 souls, has 2517 priests (about 1 to 277); Milan, 1,318,389, has only 1920; Ferrara, with 136,972, has but 523. In a word, there are too few priests, and yet few priests—few real ones. There are absolutely no writers, preachers, professors, of any decency among them, while the minds of the laity are more active than ever. The seminaries for clerical education, of which there are 300, are wretchedly officered and miserably paid. The Pope of Scripture at one of the largest gets 200 lire a year (8*l.*) a third of what the bishop might pay his groom. They are obliged to attend to other matters to make both ends meet, and have always one foot in the air to go off, when they can find of anything better. One remedy suggested is to have more seminaries and better-paid teachers. The Grand Seminary of France have borne admirable fruit. Grant that a Renan came from them now and then, yet even he is willing to testify to the virtue, condition, and kindness of their superiors and professors. Clerical studies should be put on a level with those of the laity, and a man who felt at the last moment that he had no vocation should be allowed to fall back on a layman's career.

One of the most singular admissions in Curci's book is as to clerical celibacy, which he calls the unique jewel of the Catholic priesthood in the Latin Church; but yet a thing so precious that without jealous care it may become 'un veleno vitupero'—a poison and a shame. As things are now, it is in some provinces a fetid sore. Towards the end of the reign of Pius IX., in one rather small southern diocese every priest, even the bishop himself, was known to be living in the habit of incontinence. It is almost impossible for a priest who is not a student, especially in the country, to avoid scandal. It hangs heavy on his hands, and serious occupation is wanted.

'That lazy word *basta*, "it will do," I have heard it with my ears from priests and bishops! For a country flock the slightest excuse is "it will do." It is not so easy as people think to explain a thing worthily or to catechize profitably. And even suppose "basta" for others, yet not for him, for he is lost if he has not the desire to learn. A priest who cannot rise above the everyday level must sink below it. As young priests are now sent out from the Seminary straight into the very face of danger, they not only do not have the only human shield that might protect them, but they have no notion, much less a love, of study.'

describes how, on one hot August afternoon, he met in the of Florence a young priest standing bareheaded and drenched under a burning sun.

He took him compassionately into a neighbouring book-shop, and made him sit down and wipe the moisture from his brow, I am sure what ailed him. The reply was: "Only think! my bishop has sent me off to the cure of a country parish." "Well, that need distress you. You mean you are beginning your ministerial work must keep up a good heart about it."

"But I have never been outside the Seminary; I know nothing of the world. I have never had to do with women. How am I to get on day in a lonely house with one servant?" "Have you told your difficulties to your superior?"—"Yes, but he will not pay any attention." "Then you must pluck up your courage and obey, and keep a watch over what you feel to be your dangers. Meanwhile I will try to arrange matters as best you can. Pray earnestly, and I will be a dear and life-long companion for you."—"Study? I have finished my studies. I have passed my examinations. Should I study?"

He was in a hurry to visit a sick person, so after a kind word or two he left him, with an aching heart. This, and many similar instances, only tend to confirm what I have already stated, that in the present day our young students in ecclesiastical seminaries have lost the love, nor the habit, nor even the bare conception of study. At this, in the majority of cases, clerical scandals must ensue. The day, perhaps, is not far off when the Church, in her loving care, may think it well (it is a matter which rests entirely with her) that it should conduce to the glory of God and the good of souls to permit even for the Latin clergy a "facultative" celibacy, leaving it open, when necessary, to honourable marriage. This would be only regrettable; but should the Church deem it necessary, I say: "Better preserve the jewel in a silver setting, than, under pretext of having it chased in gold, to let it roll in the mud."

There are some of the facts regarding the present internal decay of the Italian Church, which the work of Padre Curci has brought before us, and which throw into stronger light than ever 'errorism' and 'favouritism' (they are his own words) which are not only blighting her future, but ruining the heritage bequeathed to her by the past.

It seems impossible that Rome can ever be reformed from within. Even a man like Gambetta saw this with his usual clearness. In a conversation lately recorded of him ('Pall Mall Gazette,' Jan. 2, 1884) the writer informs us: 'I once said to Gambetta, "If you had been Pope, what wonderful reforms you would have made in the Church; you would have revolutionized Catholicism!"—"Oh no," he replied, "that would be

quite impossible; for *the Pope can reform nothing*. If I were Pope, and attempted reforms, I should die a very sudden death,* and a wiser Pope would succeed me.”

What then may we hope for Italy in the future? No one who has even a superficial knowledge of the Italian character can expect that a dry Protestantism will ever do more than make a few occasional converts; yet it seems impossible for any one to doubt that there is a strong religious spirit subsisting, especially in the northern provinces. The devout and beautiful peasant life of Manzoni seems to revive for us in the pages of a work like the ‘Story of Ida,’ for which we are indebted to Mr. Ruskin and Miss Alexander, and no one who has visited Spain and Italy can fail to see how much more hope of progress there is in the latter country than in the former. Such men again as Count Henry Campello and Monsignor Savarese can hardly fail to leave an impression on their age. In a pathetic passage at the close of one of his chapters, Padre Curci compares the twelve-year-old kingdom of Italy to the daughter of Jairus, and prays that even she may hear *Talitha cumi* from the Divine lips. Is it too much to hope that the new and growing political life of Italy may ere long give a fresh impetus to her religious life? that her national feeling, combined with her strong religious instincts, may either be able to make itself independent of the Papacy, or be able to work out some *modus vivendi* in common with it? For ourselves we confess we are inclined to hope for the former alternative. Were any additional proof wanted of the *animus* which prevails at the Vatican, it would be the reception which this very work has met with, the language used concerning it by Leo XIII. in his discourse of Dec. 24, and of the letter written at the express desire of the Pope by Cardinal Jacobini to the Cardinal of Ravenna, in which the doctrines of Curci are characterized as sacrilegious, undutiful, and fatal to the Church. To quote the last words of a contemporary Italian Journal (*‘il Labaro’*), after speaking of the sympathy which Curci has met with from the laity, ‘The fury and anathemas of the Vatican must convince Italians of the impossibility of that alliance which has been the favourite dream of our age; and we can hardly doubt that the author of the work will be driven to share this conviction.’

But whatever effect Padre Curci’s work may produce in Italy, it ought to be of great service to us in England, especially to

* There is something of dark suggestion in the expression used by Curci (p. 325) about the sudden disappearance of Cardinal Franchi, a prelate of liberal ideas who had befriended him, and who died in 1878. ‘I do not know whether God called him to Himself, or men sent him there before his time.’

those among us who are desirous of seeing their own Church more closely approximated to that of Rome, on the one hand, and those who are inclined to criticize her and her clergy, on the other. We are far from maintaining that the Anglican Church system is faultless, or that her clergy are free from the failings and infirmities which beset their fellow-men. But as we lay down Padre Curci's book, we can scarcely do so without a feeling of thankfulness that we have not to listen, week after week from English pulpits, to legends of modern miracles and new Madonnas; that the Person of Christ is, after all, that which is brought most prominently before our minds; that Holy Scripture is habitually read in our Church, and forms the basis of her teaching; that the cross, if cross there be, on the altar, is not dwarfed by an image of the Virgin; and above all that, with few and rare exceptions, no one can cast a stone at the moral character of the English clergy, or at the decency, if not the sanctity, of their homes. We have gained the clergyman's wife without losing the Sister of Mercy.

Again, it would be well if some of those who desire not only the unity but the uniformity of the Church would consider at what a price the outward unity of the Church of Rome is purchased. Some of us may be reminded by its condition of some splendid effect produced on the stage, where the brilliant display is dearly bought at the sacrifice of even the slightest token of individuality.

Padre Curci's book is indeed a glimpse behind the scenes. We hear the ropes creak and the pulleys groan, the high words that pass between the performers, the favouritism and terrorism exercised by those in power. And we see that artificial traditions have so long been in possession, that the voice of nature or truth, if it ever makes itself heard, is violently and instantaneously suppressed. We find, as is the case often elsewhere, that the nominal manager is completely in the hands of a clique who rule in his name, and that, even when he wishes to show kindness, his hands are tied. The Pope, as Curci shows, is a spiritual and secular paradox. He is a very mysterious impersonation of impotent omnipotence. Omnipotent he is, as long as he is the slave of those who profess to adore him, in order that they may rule the Church and the world by means of their own idol; but impotent and paralysed the moment he attempts to be free from their control, and act for himself.

One or two practical suggestions may be derived from this review of the state of Romanism in Italy.

An illiterate clergy must be the ruin of a Church. It must produce an indifferent, if not an infidel laity. Are Padre Curci's

Curci's warnings on this subject quite unnecessary among ourselves? Thoughtful persons cannot but feel very deeply the need among our younger clergy (as distinguished from what a wise writer bids us beware of as 'handbook knowledge') both of sound, solid, theological learning, and of sufficient acquaintance with history, literature, and science, to enable them to sympathize with, if not to guide their brethren of the laity in matters where theology and secular learning come in contact. May not Italy be a warning to them, and especially to those among them who are educated exclusively in theological seminaries, to beware of *praticucce* and *predicucce*? Another and very different class, we mean our philanthropists and political economists, may read a lesson here. What is said of attempts to do good to the working classes, without some organized and definite form of religion, deserves to be written in letters of gold. The working man, still more the working woman, will never desire the good of society for its own sake; nor does it seem likely that the worship of humanity will have much effect in stopping drunkenness, wife-beating, and lawlessness. We cannot do without the Church, and the Church cannot do without her Divine Head, and without, to use the Padre's own words, 'forming Christ in the souls' of all who bear the Christian name.

The works which we have had under our notice contain a twofold warning; first, against allowing the Church, for the sake of temporal advantages, to forfeit her independence and become a mere tool of secular power; and next, against that spirit of sacerdotalism and exclusiveness, which denies to the laity any voice in the choice of their chief pastors and in the conduct of Church affairs.

It would be a miserable day for England when her clergy became an isolated caste. The eighteenth century showed us how she could be crippled by her connection with the State. It will be well for us if the twentieth century do not find her with some tendency to a one-sided development produced by her desire for independence, and in danger of becoming the Church in England, instead of the English Church.

RT. V.—*The Lauderdale MSS. in the British Museum.* 26 vols.

WHEN Charles II. was restored in England, it was upon conditions which were none the less stringent because he had taken no oath to observe them. He wished to tolerate dissent, and to favour the Catholics, and he found himself hand and foot by the Anglican Church. He longed for military force, and he was constantly reminded that Cromwell had made men weary of the very name. He would have given back to the Cavaliers the lands they had lost in his service, and he had to reckon with their disappointment instead of their gratitude. He would have wiped away the records of the Commonwealth, and yet he had to place Manchester, Roberts, Hely Cooper, Monk, Morrice, and many other prominent men of the Commonwealth, in places of dignity and power.

In Scotland, however, he was wellnigh free to have his will. The conditions were exactly reversed. Charles had sworn to spare as much as he could; he had sworn to maintain the Covenant, to have no friends but the friends of the Covenant, and no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant. But ten years of defeat and disruption had passed since then. The Constitution had during that time been in abeyance, and there was neither the power nor the purpose of resistance. To settle a country would have been a difficult task for the wisest and most far-seeing of statesmen. But at least there was a fair field for honest endeavour.

Charles, however, was fully occupied with England. He was ready enough to hand over a country which he despised, and which he could now afford to despise, to the worst of all governments, that of a broken and semi-feudal nobility, torn by mutual jealousies, and destitute of sympathy with the lower classes. The record of Scotland from 1660 to 1685 is one of greatness. Of the adventurers who harassed her with their misgovernment, there is but one whose designs escape the charge of vulgarity. Lauderdale was a bad man, by the standard even of that time. But he was at least a man of striking ability, with ideas which relatively were great, almost imperial. Hitherto historians have treated him chiefly as an English politician, as a member of the famous Cabal. As such, however, he has neither individuality nor importance. It is as Secretary of State for Scotland, or, we ought rather to say, as Charles's Vizier, in supreme command over this outlying province, that he is a person historically significant.

Full materials are at length available for filling up the meagre though faithful outline given by Burnet. The twenty-six large volumes

volumes of Lauderdale's correspondence, which are preserved in the British Museum, not only afford the fullest possible illustration of the history of Scotland during Charles II.'s reign, but in parts supersede all history at present written. We propose in the following pages to give the main results of a somewhat close examination into that portion of these manuscripts which comprises the years from 1660 to 1670; and for this purpose a few words of retrospect will be necessary.

The helplessness of the Presbyterian Church in 1660 is a phenomenon which demands explanation. Under her influence had been fashioned the beliefs, the habits of thought and speech, the very manners, of four generations of Scottish men: she had possessed the entire control of the educational system: she had often contended, not unsuccessfully, against the violence and craft of the Crown, and, after each struggle, had shown herself less inclined to compromise her claims. Unable to extort from the baronage the maintenance which she deemed to be rightfully her own, she had nevertheless been strong enough to subject their outward lives, and even the privacy of their homes, to a commanding censorship; while over the lower classes, over their goings out and their comings in, she had exercised an empire unquestioned and uncontrolled. She had asserted in her own proud language, and had been prompt to realize the claim, her right 'to treat in an ecclesiastical way of greatest and smallest affaires, from the King's throne that should be established in righteousness to the merchant's ballance that should be used in faithfulness.' That such a power should fall so completely, without a blow given, almost without a protest raised, is at first view an amazing fact. It is still more amazing when we remember how, in her cause, the country had confronted Charles and had spurned at 'Canterburie'; how, at Westminster, she was like to have dictated to all England her polity and her worship; how the armies which gathered at her summons had met and wellnigh destroyed the hosts of the great Sectary; how, before giving the crown of Scotland to the son of her erring King, she had insisted upon his submission to her strictest rites; and how, but lately, though the strongholds of her country were garrisoned, and the temples of her worship were polluted, by the scorners of the Covenant, her organization, shorn as it was of its beauty of holiness, had but taken deeper root in the heart of the people. If, in England, logic called for the restoration of Episcopacy with the restoration of Charles, it appeared to demand still more imperatively that in Scotland the Church of Knox, of Melville, and of the Covenant, should be left respected and secure. Actually, however, the
Kirk

Kirk was powerless for defence. Still less could she assume the old aggressive tone. And for this powerlessness there were three leading causes which demand emphatic recognition.

In the first place, she had for long been a house divided against herself. The Act of Classes, by which a large part of the population had been rendered non-combatant, was the triumph of the uncompromising section of the Covenanters. As such it broke up the concord in the Kirk, and broke it up for ever. Dunbar followed, and an army was absolutely necessary, if further resistance were purposed. The nobles and the moderate men in the Church united to oppose the Western enthusiasts, and carried the repeal of the Act. Against this betrayal the latter protested with fierce energy. To them the Covenant was of awful majesty. No greater utterance had been heard from heaven since the day when in clouds and thick darkness the Law had been given on Sinai. Its words had been traced by the glowing fingers of Jehovah Himself. As to the King, God, 'the prime Covenanter,' had rejected him and his family, as aforetime He had rejected Saul and all his house, and to fight by the side of the malignants in his cause was to be found fighting against God. With these exalted sentiments were mingled in the case of some of their leaders more politic views. Strongly imbued with independent and Republican principles, for which the orthodox Presbyterian bore an immeasurable hate, they refused to fight against Cromwell, the leader of those principles. They formed, indeed, an English party, a fresh source of schism in the already distracted kingdom. For the time the National party was the stronger. Set free by the repeal of the Act of Classes, they equipped an army, marched to Worcester, and were there, in September 1651, annihilated. For the next nine years Scotland was an English province. Political life ceased; the iron hand of Monk was heavy upon the people; there was literally neither spear nor shield to be seen in their gates. The Kirk, too, was powerless to act on a grand scale, for her General Assemblies, whereby alone she could express her collective will, were proclaimed, while the feuds within her organization were carefully fostered. All avenues of thought and action were closed, save the one which it was to the conqueror's interest to leave open. The Protesters now reaped the advantage of their former policy: weak in numbers and, with a few exceptions, as weak in ability, they received the ostentatious protection of Cromwell, while Monk as sedulously favoured the moderate party. The 'infatuating and ruining distempers' found their way into every synod, into every Presbytery, into every Kirk Session,

Session, into every family. And thus it happened that, when the Restoration took place, and an instant need of unity of purpose arose, the Kirk was found without a leader and without a policy. 'Like a widow whom none looketh after she sat in the dust, and of all the sons whom she had brought forth there was none to take her by the hand.'

Secondly, the Presbyterian Church had, in the nobility, an enemy still more formidable than her own want of cohesion. In Scotland, as in France, the interests of the nobles and the interests of the reformers had for the moment coincided. In each case, the alliance between them lasted until the interests of the nobles appeared safe, and no longer. Knox's life was spent in a vain attempt to wrest from the jealous gripe of his temporary allies a decent maintenance for the clergy. Under Andrew Melville the estrangement became permanent and complete. From 1560 to 1660 there is no instance in which the nobility made common cause with the clergy, unless to repel or to resent an attack by the Crown upon their order. The Kirk had been a harsh schoolmaster. 'We have some discipline among us,' wrote Cox from England to Gualter, 'with relation to men's lives, such as it is; but if any man would go about to persuade our nobility to submit their necks to that yoke, he may as well venture to pull the hair out of a lion's beard.' Circumstances, however, had in Scotland compelled the nobles to humble themselves to a discipline which they hated, to assume the garb and to repeat the Shibboleth of a religion which they never felt. They had been obliged to 'compeer' before Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries; to sit in the chair of penitence; to bow before the sentence of excommunication. They had even been compelled to receive into their castles arrogant priests set apart by the General Assembly to supervise their households, who, it may well be believed, were not slack in their work. Their whole order, in fact, had been forced to admit that there was in the land another order more powerful than themselves, whose support was in the classes whom they despised, informed with the sense of a century of spoliation, and possessing great courage and a rancorous tongue. We can well understand the exclamation of Bellenden years afterwards, when all fear of a Presbytery was removed, but when Churchmen of another sort were striving for power, '*Le fardeau d'un Prester est trop pissant pour mais époles.*' That the Kirk should have imagined her interests safe in the hands of her natural enemies, as she appeared to do when she sent three of them to Charles in the Isle of Wight in 1647, is a remarkable instance of political blindness. To us, at any rate, it is not
wonderful

wonderful that along with the formal 'Engagement' Lauderdale should at his return have had in his pocket a document of a very different sort. This was no less than that assent of the King to the demands of the nobles, which Burnet mentions as being in existence, but which he could not find. In it Charles pledges himself that for the future Scotchmen shall, equally with English, be employed in foreign negotiations; that Scotland shall be adequately represented upon the English Council, that at least a third part of the places of trust in the Royal households shall be filled by the Scotch nobility, and that as often as possible the King himself or the Prince of Wales shall reside on Scottish soil. The Kirk is not even alluded to.

In the third place, dire poverty was at the gates. The striking passages, in which Baillie describes the desperate condition of the nobility in 1654, are well known. So complete and remediless was their bankruptcy, that in May of the same year an ordinance was issued by Cromwell's Council, whereby personal execution for debt was forborne for six years. This darkness of poverty, which was universal throughout all ranks, deepened with succeeding years. Between the report made to Lauderdale in 1661, that 'munie there is none to be found,' and the lament of Jean Ramsay in 1668, that 'Trade is dead, and there is no vent for the labour of our hands,' few letters occur which do not contain emphatic notice on this point. Perhaps the most striking testimony to the state of things is the belief expressed in 1665 by Tweeddale, an unexceptionable witness, that a Dutch invasion would be a less evil than the slightest increase of taxation.

It is obvious that Scotland was in no case to make conditions with Charles. The tone of querulous hope which pervades the letters of the ministers, the assurances that pass between them that all will surely be well, mark the uneasiness which possessed the Kirk. The nobles, indeed, were eager to throw themselves at the King's feet. To them any change must bring good; the individual importance, of which the English rule and the power of the Kirk had deprived them, would be theirs again; they saw before them a way of escape from bankruptcy, and a share in forfeited estates and in places of consequence. They were at once eager in pressing forward to secure a good start in the general scramble for plunder, which they trusted was soon to begin. A few among them, however, took a higher tone. We have an undated letter, signed by Crawford, Lauderdale, and Sinclair, written from London, probably in March 1660, immediately after their release from nine years' imprisonment, which contains the views of the national party. They urge that

that at length the opportunity has come for regaining national freedom, and that to secure that main interest all 'factions and divisive motions' should be laid aside, all designs for places or employments banished. The Restoration is spoken of throughout as synonymous with disconnection from England. The Kirk, as we are prepared to find, does not receive even a passing mention.

In the struggle for office, which began before Charles left the Hague, the main question was whether the power should be with those who had openly broken with Presbyterianism, or with those who had nominally remained under her banner. In the end a compromise was effected. Middleton, a rude soldier of fortune who had done good service for Charles in Scotland, and who had been excommunicated by Guthrie during the triumph of the extreme section of the Kirk, was placed in the highest post; Glencairn, another hardened 'malignant,' was made Chancellor; Archibald Primrose, the ablest and most subtle of that party, received the influential post of Clerk-Register. On the other hand, Crawford, who was an earnest Presbyterian, was restored to the Treasurership; Rothes, the devoted friend of Lauderdale, became President of the Council; while Lauderdale himself, by far the clearest sighted and most capable of all, obtained the key of the position, the coveted Secretaryship. All who knew Charles felt that the real power would be with whosoever had the readiest access to the royal ear. Clarendon fought hard to place Newburgh in the post: but Lauderdale had so well used his opportunities in 1649, and more lately at the Hague, that he had established himself on terms of friendship with Charles sufficiently affectionate to enable him to overcome even this influence. How vehement were the efforts made to oust Lauderdale from his post of vantage, and with what courage and tenacity he held his own, we shall shortly show. Meanwhile a few words may fairly be devoted to the character of by far the most eminent Scotchman of the time.

To do justice to Lauderdale's early career, we must once more remember the state of Scotland since the signing of the National Covenant. From that time onwards, to be ill-affected to the Church meant political outlawry. Those nobles who wished to keep in the front of affairs had been obliged to have recourse to one of three methods. Some, like Montrose, had openly broken with the Kirk, and had taken the consequences; some had acquiesced, with a quaint mixture of humour and sullenness, like that old Earl of Eglinton who, having been forced to sit one Sunday in the penitential chair, was found there on the following Sunday, and refused to leave it, on the ground that
it

as the most comfortable seat in the church; some, like Lauderdale, had assumed a burning zeal, and had successfully twinkled the Kirk until the opportunity came for escaping her thralldom.

Her leaders were persuaded of his sincerity. In December 1643, Baillie professes 'the very great sufficiency and happiness of good Maitland' * as Commissioner to the Westminster Assembly; and Alexander Henderson speaks of him as indispensable; never is taken from them, he must remain, for 'no living man is fitter to do Scotland service against the plotting independent parties.' He had some difficulty in retaining this confidence when he brought back the 'Engagement' from the Earl of Wight, though he 'cast the wyte on others,' and (with secret terms mentioned above in his pocket) professed to lie 'how sore against his heart he went the way now he is in.' It was not, however, until the break-up of the Engagement party after Preston, that he felt it advisable to make peace with the Kirk, by publicly expressing, on December 23, 1650, before the Presbytery of St. Andrew's, his repentance for the 'late unlawful engagement.' In 1649 he was one of the Commissioners who were sent to the Hague to urge Charles II. to come to Scotland. From a letter of Henry Mynyn of March 10 we learn that he was even then playing the double game, and working secretly, but enthusiastically, in the interest of the Queen. He was Baillie's 'loving friend' in 1651, and during his imprisonment his language was that of Christian magnanimity and devotion to the Kirk. So completely had he worn the mask of personal piety, that in October 1659 Lord Carries from his death-bed expresses his joyful assurance that Lauderdale would 'go to the Saints.' The Restoration came. His policy, the natural outcome of the Presbyterian tyranny, had hitherto been a carefully-arranged hypocrisy. He had now full play for the art of what then formed the qualities of successful statecraft.

It was no common man who, crippled in fortune, and with natural disadvantages of person, could hold his own in a Court where the royal mistresses must be bribed as well as pleased, where to the dominant party he was an object of suspicion and dislike. The fact was, that he possessed in singular combination, and to an eminent degree, the qualities best adapted to stand the wear and tear of that strange time. He was emphatically a man of the Restoration, though of a rougher and more robust type than the place-seekers and hangers-on of the

It may be as well to remind our readers that John Maitland succeeded his father as second Earl of Lauderdale in 1645, that he was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester in 1651, and confined in the Tower of London for nine years.

Court. To an ample knowledge of affairs he joined firmness and readiness of resource, a strong will, a cool head, a courageous heart, and a selfishness which never slept. It will be seen what cynical patience he could lend himself to carry out policy to which he was opposed, but which was initiated by men who, for the time, were stronger than himself. Much of his success was due to his unceasing wakefulness, and to his dexterity in seizing the right moment to strike. But still much was due to the unfailing discernment with which he chose his agents and his tools. In his own words, he knew how to use of a knave as well as another. But men of honour and character were equally willing to do his bidding, and a man void of generous parts was ever more faithfully served. And, as he chose his servants well, so he discarded them as easily, as passion or policy dictated. He was completely free of a belief in generosity of character, and of the embarrassment of gratitude. He was equally free of any obligation to keep his word when he thought it to his advantage to break it, and was willing to swallow any oaths,—a cart-load of them, he said, which it was to his interest to take. A bold and unabashed liar, he was as eloquent against what he called ‘damned insipid lies’ as Hotspur was against women’s oaths.

With high scholastic cultivation he joined a coarse and sensual temperament. The necessity of keeping terms with the Church had thrown a veil of decency over his early life. As the comrade of Charles, he became notorious for the gross forms of vice. There is a French proverb, first applied to the Huguenot soldiers of Coligny, ‘Jeune hermite, vieux diable.’ In 1643, as may be seen from Baillie, Lauderdale was a ‘nobleman,’ ‘a gracious youth:’ in 1672, according to a bitter and sorrowful letter of remonstrance from Richard Baxter, he was that most terrible of all things—a dirty old man.

At the Restoration his power hung by a thread. For many years he was fully occupied in defending the ground he had seized. In 1667 he was ruler of a kingdom. During this interval his method had been a simple one. He had in some times made himself agreeable to Charles: he now, by his conduct, by ready compliance, and perhaps by base and shameful service, made himself indispensable. So long as Charles chose to busy himself with governing, he magnified the royal diligence, and posed as the devoted servant of the will, who placed, as he said, his commands above all human laws. When the royal debauchee tired, he relieved him of his burden. For business he was wellnigh as useful as Clarendon, and, unlike Clarendon, had no scruples about paying court

val mistresses; in drunkenness and filthy lewdness he participate as freely as Sedley or Rochester; his buff was probably as entertaining as Buckingham's; he was master of strong and caustic language, and his wit, though clumsy, was always pungent. Charles loved to have news about him; Lauderdale was at home in Latin, Italian, French, and Hebrew. It was soon noticed in London 'that my Lord Lauderdale is never from the King's ear nor council, and that he is a most cunning fellow.'

There is, as we might expect, but little in the MSS. which throws light upon Lauderdale's action in the re-establishment of Episcopacy. In that great treachery it behoved him to walk warily, and he doubtless put on paper as little as possible regarding it; the objects required that he should retain the sympathy of moderate men in Scotland, while by degrees he lulled the suspicions of Episcopalians in England, and avoided a rupture with the Middleton and Glencairn faction. Probably Burnet's view is correct, namely, that he privately urged Charles to take the step, but that he kept clear of all public opposition. He was, in fact, the chief of those things which Lauderdale would never have advised, but wisely forbore to curb.' That great step had been the subject of open conversation with Charles in the past, but that Lauderdale was not disposed to take the initiative, is clear from a remarkable letter of Moray, written from France a month after the Restoration, from which it appears that Moray's mission, a mission from his own account very successful, had no less an object than to gain a written promise from the leading French Presbyterian divines in favour of Episcopacy. And to show how vigilantly Lauderdale was watching the whole matter, we have a series of letters written by James Sharp during the maturing of the project, which form a most striking example of self-exposure with which we are acquainted. Of these letters the greater number were addressed to Patrick Drummond, a Presbyterian minister in London, who was in close communication with Lauderdale, and, while couched in a language which should not shock his nominal correspondent, was evidently meant for Lauderdale's ear. However that may be, they fell into his keeping, and from the marginal references and list of extracted passages, clearly made for some other person's convenience, it is more than probable that these are the letters which, as related by Burnet, Lauderdale laid before Charles in 1665, when it suited his purpose to expose the Earl's knavery.

It is with difficulty that we constrain ourselves for the present to keep our hands off James Sharp, the Judas of his Church.

Enough

Enough, however, will occur in the course of the narrative to make his position fairly clear. We will only say now, that the materials contained in these MSS. are sufficient to save future biographers from the temptation of endeavouring to palliate his conduct. The man was not wicked, on the grand scale; he was merely a cleverish man of base instincts. To retain the price of his treachery, he submitted, through long years of humiliation, to be flattered, cajoled, or threatened, by bolder men as served their turn. The last moments of his life, when he fell in his grey hairs miserably slain on the desolate moor, with none to look on but his only child, naturally raise a feeling of pity which almost causes us to forget his cruelty to the many men and women whom he had helped to drive from the Kirk to the hill side, from the hill side to the torture-chamber, the plantations, and the scaffold.

At present we wish to follow Lauderdale in his career against many difficulties. In England there was ranged against him the influence of Monk, Clarendon, and the bishops; while in Scotland, Middleton, Glencairn, Newburgh, Primrose, Tarbet, and the whole of the 'malignant' faction, were his eager and confident foes. In the face of such opposing forces, the remarkable gift which he possessed, and for which we are quite unable to account, of attracting men to his interests, was invaluable. With Robert Moray, the most illustrious of all his friends, the brilliant scholar, the polished gentleman, a man in every respect of a higher nature than Lauderdale himself, we shall have much to do. It is one of the frequent contradictions which meet us when we are considering the many-sidedness of this time, that this 'deare and excellent friend' of Evelyn should devote without stint, through many years, his best powers to the service of such a master. Rothés, a type of the brutal and illiterate nobility, who 'lyked sogerie above all other wayes of living,' had been Lauderdale's fellow-captive after Worcester, and had become, in his own language, 'Your unchangeabell Rothés.' Crawford, also his fellow-captive, and Tweeddale, his cousin, were equally devoted; William Sharp, brother of the Archbishop, was his private agent, and served him admirably. In November, 1660, Rothés managed to secure the important influence of the Burroughs; while in the following April, at the suggestion of his brother Charles Maitland, Lauderdale himself gained over Bellenden, the Deputy Treasurer, who in later years gave useful information regarding the designs of James Sharp. During 1662 and 1663 he succeeded in winning over a formidable opponent in Primrose, and by the bold espousal of Lorne's interests he secured a friend whose help was
at

the crisis of extreme value. He himself stayed close by the ear.

Notwithstanding all this, it seemed obvious that without an extraordinary turn in affairs the influences ranged against Lauderdale must prevail. Fortunately for him, however, his senses were filled with a blind confidence; and by a piece of folly drunken folly they now placed the game in the hands of a man who never, in these years at least, was drunk when it was in his interest to be sober.

He first suggested, as necessary for public employment, an office which it was thought Lauderdale must refuse, and which he then turned Crawford out of office. When Lauderdale replied that he would, if necessary, turn Turk to keep his place, they fell upon what they regarded as a masterpiece of policy. To the effect of the long-delayed Act of Indemnity Middleton attached, without Charles's approval, a clause for the incapacitating of twelve persons, not yet named, from public trust. This, he asserted, had been recommended by Parliament; and, on that express understanding, Charles signed it without farther examination. Previously, the proposal had never been before Parliament at all. Amazed at this first success, Middleton now represented

to Parliament that the King *desired* that such an Act should be passed. The next point to secure was that the King should not be subjected to this new ostracism. Middleton therefore managed to force upon Parliament, which had hitherto been carefully kept from all knowledge of the design, a plan which was declared to be the King's will, but which had never come before Charles in any shape. Each Member of Parliament was to write on a slip of paper, or Billet, the names of twelve whom he wished to incapacitate. To bribe, flatter, or cajole members by telling them 'this was the Commons' list, and would now be a test of their honestie,' so as to secure the ejection especially of Lauderdale, Moray, and Crawford, was the next step of the 'Conclave;' and for this, money and English influence were extensively used; and Lauderdale afterwards pointed out to the King that the spelling of the original billeting paper, Lord Halkerton's, which fell into his possession, and which is included in these MSS., showed that it was drawn up by an English hand.

Lauderdale was on his guard. As early as February, 1662, Middleton had warned him that the intention of the 'Conclave' was to render his position so untenable that he should be forced to resign; and the warning was repeated by Lady Balcarres afterwards. As soon as Parliament assembled in September, the attack was made. On the 10th or 11th of that month the vote was taken. 157.—No. 314. 2 E Lauderdale

Lauderdale received a letter from William Sharp, mentioning the passing of the Abjuration Act, but in other respects merely an agent's business communication. He noticed, however, that beneath the signature there was a thick black dash which did not occur in former letters. He therefore held the blank side to the fire, and was shortly able to read words which showed him how imminent the danger was. A 'spat,' Sharp said, was running highly which it would be difficult to stay; the billeting plan was to be put into execution at once. Two days later the vigilant servant again wrote in sympathetic ink that 'Viceroy has been roy in his word,' that Lauderdale and Robert Moray had both been excepted by a large majority, and that Crawford and Tweeddale had barely escaped. The matter, however, he said, was not hopeless, since it was to be kept secret until Charles had given his consent, and, if his master took his measures aright, that need never be.

The Conclave were in the best of spirits when they despatched Richmond, Dumfries, and Tarbet, with the Act for the King's signature. They little thought that before they were well set on their journey, Lauderdale had unfolded the whole scheme to Charles with every aggravation that his wit could supply. The method which he had adopted with the King made his task an easy one. He had always been careful to let Charles imagine that he was taking the initiative in all Scotch business. Here, then, was an outrage upon the royal independence of action, which called for the liveliest resentment. The deceit had been deliberate. Charles had been tricked by being made to believe that Parliament had asked for this Act of Seclusion. The Parliament had been tricked by being told that the King had desired it. He himself, he said, held his place because he was the King's choice; but this choice, it now appeared, was to be set aside for private grudge, and by methods unheard of in politics. His Majesty must expect no faithful service, if those most devoted to him were liable to such attacks. Charles was easily convinced. Clarendon himself was disgusted with the bungling folly of the proceeding. When the messengers of the Conclave arrived, Charles threw the Act, unopened, into his cabinet. Clarendon's support alone prevented the immediate disgrace of Middleton; and on the 27th of September Lauderdale was able to send an account to Scotland, which caused the faithful William Sharp to thank God that his master 'was above the wash of disgust from the trouble of lies and malice.'

The danger, however, was not yet over. Middleton and his friends had, they thought, another and a certain method of
ruining

ruining Lauderdale. He had been deeply implicated in the surrender of Charles I. to the English; and papers in proof of this were, it was said, in Middleton's hands. On October 16th, William Sharp wrote to put his master on his guard, and Bellenden soon afterwards reported that Sir John Chieslie had given up to Lauderdale's enemies the papers of all transactions betwixt the Scottish Commissioners and the Parliament of England. Mackenzie also asserts that Chieslie gave these papers to Middleton, that the latter handed them to Lauderdale in 1670, and that they were then burnt. Had they, however, been genuine, Middleton would doubtless have used them now against Lauderdale, for their effect would have been fatal. That Mackenzie is wrong is, moreover, conclusively shown by the fact that, along with Bellenden's disquieting statement, Lauderdale received from Sharp the welcome intelligence that Primrose had seen the papers in question, and had ascertained that they were but 'uncompared doubles.' And a second letter in January disposes finally of the whole scare.

The game was in Lauderdale's hands. It was his turn to strike, and he struck hard and well. Secure of Charles's partiality, he called for a full investigation. On September 7th, 1663, before the whole council, he attacked Middleton's administration from one end to the other. When he arrived at the Billeting affair, he drew out with great skill the various steps of the fraud committed both upon the King and upon his Parliament: then he dwelt upon the iniquity of the plan itself, whereby 'any man's honour, his life, his posterity, may be destroyed without the trouble of calling him, hearing his answer, nay without the trouble of accusing him.' Even Republics used the Ballot only in giving places; 'I never,' he went on, 'so much as read of anything like it as to punishment, except among the Athenians, who were governed by that cursed sovereign lord, the People.' For himself, he said, it was no new thing to be thus attacked. 'Six times I have been excepted; twice for life and estate; twice for my estate; and twice thus. Yet, I bless God, five of the times was during rebellion and by usurpers for serving your royal father and yourself.' He concluded a masterpiece of condensed invective by suggesting that if the King thought it worth while he might very easily discover 'every step for compassing this affront.'

Middleton was called upon to answer Lauderdale. His reply contained falsehoods so palpable, that even his supporters in England did not dare to own them. He was now in Lauderdale's power; his want of interest among the nobility

by blood or alliance, as well as his ill-success, dissipated his party; and another act of high-handed folly, by which he took upon himself to delay the issue of a royal proclamation, afforded a legitimate excuse for his disgrace. By the end of May he was forced to resign his Commissionership, and on the 4th of June Lauderdale's triumph was completed by being Secretary to the letter in which Charles insisted upon the rescinding of the Billeting Act. By February, 1664, he was so strong with the King, that he was able to pay back his debt to Clarendon: 'he scorned the Chancellor even to open affront before the King,' says Pepys, 'whereas the other day he was in a fair way to have his whole estate and honour and life voted away from him.'

Lauderdale, however, knew that if he were to be left in peace it was necessary for him to discredit, not Middleton alone, but the whole faction. The time had not indeed come, when he could with safety assume supreme power. As Secretary he would avoid responsibility which might at present prove troublesome. Rothes, whose coarse nature was easily directed by so skilful a master, was therefore made Lord High Commissioner; and in the end of May, 1663, it was known in Scotland that Lauderdale himself was coming down with the avowed purpose of unmasking the conspirators, small and great.

His designs, however, had a far wider scope than the mere satisfying of personal vengeance. What were the exact confidences that passed between him and Charles we cannot know: but there are many passages which prove that he was aware that the King was bent upon schemes which might lead to trouble in England, and that it was clearly understood between them that in such an event he was to reckon upon the devoted and unanimous support of Scotland. To this we shall have shortly to recur.

The brilliant correspondence with Robert Moray, by whose appointment as Deputy Secretary during his absence Lauderdale preserved his hold upon Charles, contains matters of deep interest. The notices of the King's habits and ways of speech, passing between the two men with whom he lived in closer intimacy than with any other members of his Court, are too numerous and too much bound up with their contexts to be inserted here. He was then in the prime of his manly vigour. Moray speaks of him as constantly in the saddle; on one day he cannot be got to sign despatches because he has just mounted his horse to ride fourteen miles to dine with Lord Herbert; on another day he covers sixty miles, rising at the dawn of a summer day, and returning to consult with Moray at midnight;
or,

or, again, he is fox-hunting, or riding to see foot-races on Banstead Downs. His keenness in the scientific movement of the time is illustrated by the fact, that many of Moray's letters describe his conversations in the royal laboratory. We feel from these letters how pleasant must have been the hours spent with him; how shrewd, with all his vagabond habits, he was in business, and how active and penetrating was his mind; how clearly he saw through the intrigues and jealousies which surrounded him; how alone he stood in his generous views of commercial affairs; how bright was his talk, how cheery his companionship; how cleverly he went through disagreeable work that had to be done; how resolute he was to do nothing disagreeable that he could avoid or postpone. We feel, as all other details of his life make us feel, that but for his insincerity, and for the settled and invincible bohemianism which he had acquired in exile, Charles would have stood high among the ablest of English sovereigns.

We are more concerned, however, with the picture afforded of the method by which Scotch affairs were managed at Whitehall. They were confined exclusively to three persons, Charles himself, Lauderdale, and Robert Moray. Lauderdale had successfully resisted the proposal to place Englishmen on the Scotch Privy Council. He meant to be the Vizier of an autocratic King, and for this purpose a policy of isolation was necessary. The English ministers were, therefore, to their chagrin, practically excluded from all participation in Scotch business. This was entirely congenial to Charles. On one occasion we hear from Moray that 'His M^y doeth the business of Scotland not only alone, but with pleasure;' and Lauderdale mentions 'that which I am ravisht, that you governe this poore kingdom yo^rself.' Such notices are continual throughout the correspondence.

Lauderdale's measures in Scotland were all taken with the same object, and they were taken upon what were distinctively Stuart principles. The constitutional machinery was to be used, but it was first to be corrupted. The Lords of the Articles, or, shortly, the Articles, possessed a negative voice as to measures which were to come before Parliament. The control of this body was evidently of the first importance. Until 1633 it had been to a large extent under the supervision of Parliament itself; but in that year it was by skilful management turned into a mere court of registry of the royal wishes. In 1639, however, it was of course remodelled, and in 1641 was altogether abolished. At the Restoration it was again constituted on the same plan as previous to 1633. Lauderdale
now

now determined to restore what he facetiously called the 'good old way' of 1633, and brought down the King's commands to that effect. The Parliament at their first meeting gave up their independence without a protest, and Rothes was able to tell Charles 'that the very first thing done by Parliament was so much to his Majesty's advantage, that he was now master both of the affirmative and negative, and he and his successors must for ever hereafter be absolute in all Scottish Parliaments.'

To establish the same absolutism over the Church was Lauderdale's next care. There is ample evidence that in England Charles felt himself powerless in the grip of the Anglican Church, to a serious rebuff from which his attempt at toleration had lately subjected him. He was all the more desirous to remove similar obstacles in Scotland. He was eagerly assisted by Lauderdale, to whom all forms of Church supremacy were alike hateful, and who saw before him an admirable opportunity of fixing his master's favour. As a blind to his real intentions, the Secretary first secured the passing of a Conventicle Bill, the severe penalties of which were specially directed against the Western Protesters, so as to conciliate as far as might be the 'moderates' of the Presbyterian party. It completely succeeded in its object. The Scotch Bishops, the saintly Leighton excepted, were beside themselves with delight. Their English brethren were no less excited; Sheldon made Moray read him the Act, and sent a message to Lauderdale, thanking him for the breakfast he had given him; Henry Bennet 'added his eulogies.' Charles himself saw, more clearly than any one else, the end which Lauderdale's action was calculated to gain. In conversation he expressed his satisfaction that henceforward no Churchman would be able to point to Lauderdale as a lukewarm friend. 'In a word,' says Moray, 'everybody that was heretofore apt to entertain jealousies of you do now say they were mistaken.'

The reputation for Churchmanship which Lauderdale thus acquired enabled him, almost without exciting remark, to pass a very different Act, that for a National Synod, whereby the Church was, like the Parliament, rendered absolutely subservient to the Crown. By it a Synod was composed of the hierarchy, whose discussions were confined to subjects proposed to it by the King or his Commissioners. No resolution could be considered unless passed by a majority and assented to by the Archbishop of St. Andrews; nor could it, however great the majority, have the power of an ecclesiastical law unless confirmed by the King. We are not surprised to hear that 'the King still magnifies the Act upon all occasions.'

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That beneath these and other striking manifestations of the absolutist spirit there was lying that body of ideas which formed the main subject of Lauderdale's impeachment in later years, cannot be doubted. That Charles ever put into definite shape in his own mind the idea of using Scotch force against England, is very improbable. His habit, even in these more vigorous days, was to act along the line of least resistance; he was a waiter on Providence; he toyed with ideas which well suited the views he had inherited, or had gained from watching the French manner of government. The matter had long been one of hint and allusion. Lauderdale had in later years, according to Clarendon, assured the King of Scotch support, and there is no doubt that the whole of the nobility and a large part of the people would gladly have upheld the King against his English subjects. If they would come for nothing else, Lauderdale said in 1669, they would come for the sake of spoil. In the private instructions sent to Robert Moray in July, nominally by Rothes but really by Lauderdale, he is told in the first paragraph to acquaint his Majesty that 'if his Maj^{ties} service in *any of his dominions* doe require the assistance of this kingdom, he may confidently promise to himself a more universal concurrence for maintenance of his authority either within Scotland or *in any other of his dominions*, when and wheresoever he shall command their service, than any of his predecessors could have done.' That there was a connection between these offers of Scotch support and designs of a far-reaching nature at home, is manifest from the weight which, as Moray tells us, Charles laid upon Lauderdale's communication as being 'significant to his service' in England.

Meanwhile Lauderdale carried through his campaign against the Billeting faction with untiring vigour. On this matter Charles and he were in perfect accord. From the first, all mention of it is in the half-joking language of complete confidence. Lauderdale heads one of his letters to the King, '10th of September, 1663, being the day after St. Billeting's day,' and adds, 'By yesterday's Act you will see that Billeting is dead, buried, and descended.' Charles, in the same tone of banter, declares that if Lauderdale writes not upon better paper, and with better pens, he will have him billeted again. All future examiners of these MSS. will be rejoiced to know that Lauderdale took the hint.

Within a week of his arrival in Scotland a Commission, practically nominated by Lauderdale, and including himself, had been appointed, and was meeting daily, with instructions for investigating the matter in all its details. The full reports,

reports, and the affidavits of members who had been bribed or threatened by Middleton to vote for the exclusion of Lauderdale and his friends, are given at length. They established the guilt of the chief conspirators so conclusively, that Lauderdale and Robert Moray had little difficulty in convincing the easy King that Middleton should at least be deprived of the command of the forces and of the castle of Edinburgh, and that Tarbet should be compelled to resign his seat on the Council and Exchequer Board. Newburgh ought also, they said, to be punished by the loss of his troop of guards; and, if Richmond were spared, it should be on condition only of his making a full confession.

Charles was willing enough to remove Middleton from the command of the forces, and the cause of his willingness is worthy of notice. Cromwell had chased him out of the kingdom by the power of the sword, and Monk had restored him by the power of the sword; he was determined, he told Moray, that no one should be in a position to succeed them. He would not, however, yield to Lauderdale's suggestion, that both Middleton and Tarbet should be paid in kind by being incapacitated from public trust; nor was Middleton compelled to disgorge the enormous sums which, under pretence of paying the troops, he had filched from the excise, the fines which he had extorted and had not accounted for, or the money which should have been applied to the repairs of Holyrood, but which Lady Middleton had appropriated to her own use. It seems to have been tacitly understood that the 'Proconsul' of Scotland for the time being was expected to make what he could out of his province.

One other episode of Lauderdale's stay in Scotland deserves remark. Sufficient attention has not been paid to the fact which excited the astonishment of Clarendon, that in a country where passions had been so vehemently roused, and where the checks upon reprisals were few, only four persons were judicially killed. Their death signalized but faintly the triumph of the moderate over the protesting, of the National over the Cromwellian, party. Argyle had been the great opponent of the Lords of the Engagement; he had led the western malcontents to Edinburgh after Preston; he had, by corresponding with Monk under the Protectorate, acknowledged the lawfulness of his rule; he had aspired to a royal alliance; he was a Campbell; and Middleton hoped for his estates. And yet Argyle would not have died but for the shameful surrender by Monk of the letters which had passed between them. Guthrie was the most uncompromising leader of the sternest section of the covenanting party; he represented the principles of Andrew Melville

Melville in their strictest application: he, too, had done his best against the 'Engagement,' and had reserved his fiercest denunciations for all who had assented to that sinful compliance. But probably Guthrie would have been allowed to live, had he not, in 1650, had the daring to excommunicate Middleton. William Govan had also been prominent among the Protesters, and, further, was accused of being closely concerned in the death of Charles I. Johnston of Warriston had sinned more deeply than any of these. He had been joint author with Alexander Henderson of the National Covenant; he had sat in the Westminster Assembly; he had been one of the over-zealous men who, rebuking the faint-heartedness of David Leslie, had urged him to swift destruction at Dunbar; he had himself presented the Western Remonstrance; he had taken service with Cromwell, had been one of his peers, had confirmed him in the Protectorate, and had been a member of the Committee of Safety. At the Restoration he escaped to Hamburg, and from thence to Rouen. While residing there he was betrayed to Charles by the French Government under circumstances of peculiar treachery, and was at once sent down to Scotland to suffer the retarded vengeance. By the time he was brought to trial his mind had given way. It was firmly believed that drugs had been used to destroy his faculties and memory. It is more probable that the wear and tension of twenty-five years of excitement, and the harassments of banishment, had overwrought a naturally nervous and enthusiastic brain. When he was brought up for examination, even the callous nature of Lauderdale was moved. Never, he declared, had he seen so miserable a spectacle. He had heard of men being feared out of their wits, but had never seen it before. Between outbursts of loud weeping Warriston read from a paper that his memory was so gone that he remembered neither matter of law nor matter of fact, nor a word of the Bible; and he pleaded for time, that ministers and physicians might prepare him to die. When brought up for sentence he had temporarily regained composure; 'he sate on his knees according to custom, and then prayed God to bless the King, to bless the Parliament, to keep every one from his condition; and without a word for himself he went out.' A half-hearted suggestion of mercy from the Parliament was coldly waived by the King, and the last we hear of Johnston of Warriston is that on Wednesday, July 25th, the disordered intellect having again given way, he was hanged, a raving madman, at the cross of Edinburgh.

Lauderdale was back at Whitehall in October. For the next three

three years the country was governed, if such a term may be applied to a system of vulgar violence, by Rothes and James Sharp. Rothes was intent only upon plunder; Sharp upon wreaking an almost feminine spite upon those who still clung to a persecuted Kirk. The Executive lived from hand to mouth; they were absolutely without a policy, and the discomfited adherents of the Middleton faction did all they could to hamper them. On the other hand, the Convention Act rapidly produced its natural fruit of resistance and disaffection; and there is good reason to believe from Argyle's letters that between these two parties there was some communication, that the religious discontent was fostered by the disappointed political section, partly to bring Lauderdale into discredit, partly, as Kincardine elsewhere expresses it, that they might fish in troubled waters. Robert Moray, indeed, at a later time declared that the rebellion of 1666 was purposely stimulated by Rothes himself, in league with Hamilton and others, in order that the power of the sword, with its facilities for extortion, might remain in their hands.

Alarming reports began to reach Lauderdale in the spring of 1664. On February 20th, Bellenden reported that great disorders were lurking in the Highlands and the West country. In September the people of Macklin, a place noted for its covenanting sympathies, refused to give the episcopal minister a lodging, or to have the church bells rung, and stayed away from service, scolding and threatening the minister instead. By December the 'fanatics' had become so confident, that they no longer concealed their conventicles, but held crowded meetings ostentatiously in the open fields. The Highlands, moreover, it is emphatically said, were 'broken.'

The disaffection pervaded all ranks. The people hated the Government with a bitter hatred, partly for its own oppressiveness, partly because it was in reality, though not in name, an English Government. England was indeed the great weight that pulled them down. Cromwell and Monk had left behind them a bitter sense of humiliation. The jealousy in matters of trade—a jealousy which Charles in vain sought to remove, whereby the ports of England were closed against Scotch vessels, and her two staple trades of corn and cattle effectually strangled—made the antipathy still deeper. A war sympathy with Holland, as the only country which offered an outlet for their trade, sprang up in the mass of the people. When the war with the States broke out, this sympathy expressed itself in open murmurs. There seems little doubt that a landing of the Dutch on the Scotch coast, or any disaster

to the English fleet, would have been the signal for revolt throughout the Western shires. The despatches of Rothes, and the private letters of Sharp to Sheldon, are full of this apprehension. The people of the Shetlands and Orkneys gave outspoken expression to the feeling, and forts were erected at Kirkwall as a protection against a hostile landing. Rothes implored Lauderdale to send down an express the moment that the fleets were known to be engaged, in order that, in case of a reverse, he might at once secure all the persons likely to head a revolt, of whom he had a long list. At the news of an English victory, the joy of the well-affected, we read, was even less noticeable than the trouble which others did not attempt to disguise; and, on the other hand, when a check occurred to the English fleet, Rothes had to lament the 'strange evil-affectedness of our people, who do rejoice that the Dutch are not overthrown, and who, I believe before the Lord, would join with Turks to fight against the King and his Government.' Scotland was watching the Dutch war, as in these present days discontented Ireland might watch the fortunes of any struggle in which England should engage herself. England's necessity was Scotland's opportunity.

Scotland and England, however, completely divided as they were in sympathies, had at least the bond of a common civilization. No such bond existed between the Lowlands and the Highlands. The Highlanders, when spoken of at all, are called 'the theeves,'—the 'theeving season,' we are told, had now begun. Rothes writes to complain of the 'shameless stealing' which had been going on during the dark winter nights of 1664, and tells how hard he has been working to secure something like order. Special arrangements have to be entered into with the great Highland chiefs. Argyle, appointed Justiciary of the Highlands with unlimited power, finds the evil beyond his strength. He cannot, however, forbear remonstrating at the language which is used about his people. He complains at length that, to hear some persons talk, one would imagine that they were 'outside Christendom.' To this extent it is certain that they were outside Christendom, that they were unable to use the modern muskets, and had therefore to be armed with 'Snapwoke' guns. In 1669, Kincardine, one of the most cultivated and most humane men of the time, made a suggestion, which illustrates so remarkably the light in which the Highlanders were regarded, that we give it in his own words:—

'A proposition,' he says, 'which I think will do the business to purpose is this; that there shall be a private gentleman found who shall

shall be bound to refund the theft or produce the thief; who shall be bound likewise to produce, *dead or alive*, all the theefs of the Highlands according to a list to be given him, which will easily be made exact; and who shall serve thus for one year without any condition but what the Council shall please after the proof of his service. By this means the country should be rid of that brood of theefs for a tyme; but last year the theefs were only quiet because they were employed to keep the rest from stealing, and for that had great liberties allowed them.'

Every reader of Macaulay will remember the motives to which he traces the massacre of Glencoe; and in the passage just quoted we have a perfect parallel to the cruel policy of Dalrymple.

It may readily be conceded that the government of a country in such a state would have taxed the patience and the wisdom of the ablest and most farseeing men. As it was, the dull brutality of Rothes and the knavish petulance of James Sharp united to take every measure that could be taken to increase the exasperation. Violence was the only method which their intelligence could clearly grasp. To bring the West into obedience a Church Commission was appointed, at Sharp's instance, with cruel and arbitrary power. It was, too, determined to disarm the Western shires, where the disaffection was most deeply rooted; while the oppressive system of quartering soldiers on suspected families was extensively resorted to. Cautyre especially, we are told, was a 'nest of knaves.' Whenever it was possible, the conventicles were dispersed by armed force. Those who attended them were sent to prison, where they speedily became an insupportable burden to the hard-pressed Exchequer; or to work at the forts in Shetland; or to Virginia and the Barbadoes, where, by the testimony of Governor Willoughby, they were the best workmen he had; and yet conventicles but multiplied the more. It was noticed, too, that they were beginning to change their character; at one conventicle in Galloway, in February 1666, there were present wellnigh a thousand fully armed men. Most of these meetings, however, were no doubt of the kind of which Tweeddale has left us a description. Men and women met in the darkness upon the open hill-sides for nine nights successively, to listen to Michael Bruce. When it snowed, they cast a cloak over pitchforks, and held it above his head. With clumsy pleasantry, Tweeddale adds that 'most of all that were at these rendezvouses catched violent colds, in so much as they may be tryed and found out by coughing.' 'I ne'er gat ony gude by his doctrine, as ye ca't,' says Cuddie Headrigg, 'but a sour fit o' the batts wi' sitting amang the wat moss-hags

cross-hags for four hours at a yoking.' Rothes, with unconscious humour, describes the influences against which all the force of the Government was being directed. Ejected ministers, he says, who have already been punished by the Council and Commission, go about disguised in masks and grey cloaks and long periwigs, inveighing against the authorities in Church and State: 'And these rogues stir up the women so as they are worse than devils; yea, I dare say if it were not for the women we should have little trouble with conventicles or such kind of stuff, but there are such a foolish generation of people in this country who are so influenced by their fanatic wives as I think will bring ruin upon them.'

The women, indeed, are frequently alluded to as playing an active part in these troubles. They were the terror of unpopular 'curates'; for they by no means confined their testimony for the Covenant to cursings and prophesyings, but were more than once foremost in attacks from which the objects of their displeasure had difficulty in escaping with life and limb. When at length Michael Bruce was taken, they organized an attempt to rescue him from the soldiers; and the touch of grandeur which is on the head of all who hold life cheap by the side of what to them is truth is not to be denied to the Calvinistic housewives of Scotland, who, by the testimony of Dalrymple, as the fugitives fled down the slopes of the Pentland Hills, 'Upbraden their husbands and childer for not dyen on the pleas.'

For at length the much oppressed people had taken up arms for Christ and His Covenant. The rising of 1666, which was begun prematurely and indeed, according to the statements of prisoners, almost accidentally, was crushed with ruthless ease. And now the dull hate of the apostate prelates, the sodden brutality of Rothes, the avarice of Hamilton, and the cool lust for slaughter of Dalrymple, were free to work their will. They were well seconded by the zeal of nobles like Airlie, Annandale, and Drumlanrig, who were glad to relieve their desperate fortunes by service however base. There is nothing sadder in the dreary record of these years, nothing which so distinctly marks the difference in the social relations existing in Scotland and England, as the absence of sympathy between the nobles and the middle classes. When Scott, writing of the second rising a few years later, introduced Lord Evandale into 'Old Mortality,' the wish was father to the thought. Evandales there may have been, but they are not in these terrible letters.

The prisons were soon filled to overflowing. Of the prisoners, says Bellenden, 'there be some of the most obstinate villains that

that ever I did see or heard of; the rest simple-minded poor people upon pretence of religion, maintaining of the Covenant, and outing of prelates: some of them will doubtless be put to the torture before they are execut.' 'The two,' writes Kin-cardine, 'that appeared were poor and simple fellows; both professed they had never been at any conventicle before, that they were sorry they had been at that, and that they were willing to engage themselves never to be at any conventicle for the future.' We are irresistibly reminded of Cuddie Headrigg before the Council, after the rout of Bothwell Brigg.

Religion should be made of sterner stuff. In Glasgow prison alone there were 120 'meane beggarlie fellowes—such miseribell beggarlie prisoners as has bein snapt up in this place—but stubborne in their wicked and rebeleous way.' When summoned before the Council, they had little to say but that they were ready to die before they disowned the Covenant. Nor was this an idle boast. By the testimony of Rothes himself, neither hope of life nor fear of death, not even the terrors of the torture chamber, were of avail. 'Robinson,' we read—or shall we call him Ephraim Macbriar?—'dyed yesterday most obstinat, and encouraging all to suffer upon that account.' Rothes, who has left on record a vivid account of the horrors of that Christmas week, declares that the 'Barbadoes does not in the least terrify them, damn'd ffulls.' The ruler of the country is indeed at his wit's end in the face of such irrational constancy. He declares in an injured tone that though he hangs everybody, 'using perfect severity, and sparing none,' yet in his face they say they will keep the Covenant. Extermination appears the only chance. And Dalrymple, whose every sentence scents of blood, tells in his letter of December 6th, how on the morrow he goes west with his troopers 'for satlen that cuntray, whith I am confedent is not posible to do without the inhabetens be remouet or destroiet.'

That Lauderdale cared in the least for the sufferings of the people, our knowledge of his character and aims forbid us to imagine. All his hopes were in Whitehall; he despised Scotland and he hated the name of the Covenant. But there was another aspect of the question which he had been watching with the keenest vigilance. His absence had left the field open to what Tweeddale calls the 'working head' of James Sharp. At the Archbishop's suggestion, the money which had been raised by fines, and which was intended for the relief of the broken nobility, had been applied to the support of a ruffianly soldiery commanded by two of the most cruel characters of

cruel time. The power of decreeing banishment, torture, and death, and the opportunities which this power afforded for extortion, cemented the natural alliance between clerical insolence and military force; and evidence was not wanting to show Lauderdale that this alliance was directed specially against himself. His new opponents, and especially the two archbishops, had long realized that he and Robert Moray were the great obstacle to the fulfilment of their hopes, and had more than once urged upon Sheldon the necessity of doing what he could at Court to counteract their influence with the King. In especial, they pointed out the advantage that would accrue if a representative of the Scotch Church were permanently settled at Whitehall.

Lauderdale at once set himself to break down this second combination against his power. As a Scotch noble, one form of Church domination was to him as hateful as another. As the Vizier of Charles, he was resolute that Episcopacy should never be in case to assume, face to face with the Crown, the old position of Presbyterianism. Least of all could he bear the thought, that a power rival to and independent of his own should be headed by the recreant priest whom he had trained to be his obedient though unwilling tool.

He conducted the struggle with his usual wariness and skill. It was now, doubtless, while the utmost efforts of his opponents were being exerted to obtain for Sharp the Chancellorship which was vacant by the death of Glencairn in 1665, that he handed to Charles the letters before alluded to, written by Sharp in 1660 and 1661, with the marginal marks calling attention to passages which placed his career in its worst light. The skill with which every blunder and falsity of the Archbishop was seized and made the most of, is described with sufficient accuracy by Burnet. The word, too, had evidently been given to Lauderdale's friends, that Sharp's life was to be made a burden to him. Bellenden was always eager to thwart him; and there are letters written by Kincardine, evidently at Lauderdale's suggestion, which, from their tone of mocking reverence and veiled contempt, must have caused him no little disquiet. Nor was Lauderdale's action confined to Sharp himself. He harassed the Archbishop's supports. So long as Rothes was in alliance with him, he too was liable to feel a pull of the check-string. A charge of drunkenness and impurity of life, hiccupped forth from the orgies of Whitehall, carries its own humour to us. But to Rothes it was serious from its truth. 'For God's sake,' he writes to Lauderdale once, 'do not let the King hear it!' and on more than one occasion he prays him to
assure

assure Charles that it is all a mistake, and that he will be more careful for the future. An attempt of Sharp to revive the Middleton influence by bringing about an alliance between Middleton and Rothes, gave the latter an opportunity of rejecting the overture and of returning to what he felt was the stronger side. To the author of the scheme it brought nothing but the charge, to which we have already referred, by Dumfries, that he had been the betrayer of the Billeting plot.

Pentland came, followed by the Western Commission, and for a few weeks Sharp revelled in oppression undisturbed. It was his last assumption of a will of his own. In January, 1667, Rothes gave him the lie direct; in the spring he was ordered by Charles to stay in his diocese and to refrain from meddling with politics, while the presidentship of the Convention was taken from him and given to Hamilton. He was reported to Lauderdale as 'strangely cast down, yeay lower than the dust.' By May he had been driven back, so far as opposition to Lauderdale was concerned, by means of threats, exposure, and ridicule, into his natural place.

The fear of a Church supremacy, however, was not over. Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, the 'Longifacies' or 'Nez Long' of these letters, was a bigoted Churchman, honest, pious, laborious, and a perfect hater of Dissent. To fashion the Church of Scotland upon the model of that in England was the cause which he honestly believed to be the true one; and to this cause he was faithful, even to the loss of his preferment. He now took the lead of the High Church party, and formed an intimate alliance with Hamilton and the military men.

Meanwhile the power of Clarendon, and with it the influence of the violent Episcopalians in England, were fast falling. The effect was at once felt in Scotland as well. Toleration was the new watchword. The Scotch Bishops, and those nobles who had most zealously joined the Church party, were greatly depressed. It seemed a propitious moment for Lauderdale to step into the field. The first move was made when he sent down Robert Moray, in June, 1667, to report to him on the state of the country and of parties. The work that had to be done could be done better by Moray than by himself; moreover, he had in February received a letter from Margaret Kennedy, in which she told him that discontent was universal, and that Rothes had taken such pains to throw the obloquy of all the late oppressions and other miscarriages upon himself, that his life would not be safe. It was known, however, to Lauderdale's friends that Moray was his forerunner, and Rothes was not too dull-witted to feel that his coming was the signal of his own fall.

The

despatches sent by each post from Tweeddale and Moray derdale are of extreme interest. Moray, in especial, wrote 'farlight stories,' vividly depicting the state of the country; that Rothes, Hamilton, Dalryel, Drummond, and under Burnet, were in cordial alliance; that Dalryel, in al, had 'had his mouth washed with holy water;' that this l 'conclave' was but a gang of extortioners; that, in order p up the belief in the necessity of a military force, the of the rebellion had been deliberately misrepresented; Dalryel had been heard to swear that 'the sword shall govern, ill, who will not,' and that Drummond was of the same; that Sharp had told him that he could prove that Rothes ly fostered the rebellion in order to secure the supreme and of the troops; and that the influence of Sheldon was back of all. As to the general condition of affairs, he es that Lauderdale can no more imagine it than one who ver walked among the ruins of London after the Fire can ehend the scene from description. The Exchequer has plundered; the country-folk impoverished; the chief es take the lead in misrule, while of the other ecclesiastics sorts it is impossible to imagine the wildness. If Episco- s to be maintained, a policy of conciliation must at once pted. To secure such a policy, to break up the Cabal, to re the universal misgovernment, the 'great buckler,' the missionership, must be taken from Rothes. Worlds of n things will then throng forth. Care must be taken to him from the King's presence until this be done. Charles be urged to send his dismissal in writing, for 'J. R. is a not easy to be twisted, and his arts would prevail.' dingly, the secret having been well kept meanwhile, Rothes eated exactly as Middleton had been treated. He was d to lay down the Commission and the Treasurership, owever, before he had wellnigh sacked the Exchequer; to avoid the appearance of disgrace, the long vacant ellorship, the office for which he was least fitted and in he could do least harm, was, to his extreme disgust, ed upon him. The Treasury was placed in commission. of Lauderdale's friends, Tweeddale, Moray, Kincardine, ellenden, forming a majority, were Commissioners, so n Tweeddale's words, Lauderdale was now both Secretary reasurer. For the first time, Scotland enjoyed a short al of something like decent government.

July, 1667, it was whispered among Lauderdale's opponents e had a still more drastic plan for breaking-up the Holy ce. The troops were to be disbanded. The very founda-
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tion of their power would be thus cut from beneath them. They prepared to meet the attack with uncompromising opposition. To render this opposition futile was, however, the simplest possible matter. It was precisely one of those cases where the peculiar meanness of Sharp's temper made him useful. He was at the time in great depression of spirits, and on July 6th Tweeddale told Lauderdale that a little flattery and encouragement would secure his services against his brethren and the rest of the military 'ring.' Lauderdale at once took the hint, and on the 23rd Tweeddale reported that Sharp was completely won over, and that, while Burnet and the clergy of the See of Glasgow were anxious to retain the troops, the Eastern clergy had, through their Archbishop's influence, ceased their opposition to the disbanding. By the middle of September his activity in this new treachery had been so successful that, in spite of the most desperate efforts of Burnet and the military party, the Bishops and the majority of the Council voted in accordance with Lauderdale's wish. The self-abasement through which Sharp willingly went may be seen in his letter to Lauderdale, acknowledging the receipt of a few careless lines which the Secretary had induced Charles to write, by way, as Moray expressed it, of 'lifting his heart out of his hose, where it was lodged.' 'His Majesty's hand,' he says, 'with the diamond seal, was to me as a resurrection from the dead.' And one short paragraph in a letter of Argyle may be quoted to illustrate how completely the capable men of the time had taken Sharp's measure. 'My Lord St. Andrews was never more contented than at present. Sir Robert has taken him down and made him up again, and now he has so fixed his gripe on your Lordship as that I think it will not easily be got loosed.'

Two other crops, to use Moray's phrase, had to be laid. Hamilton, whose great object was to raise the family into which he had married to its former consideration, and who for that purpose had displayed himself as the worst robber in the land, was in close correspondence with Burnet, and was in especial opposed to the policy of conciliation. To bring him to a better frame of mind, Moray urges that the 'Laird,' *i.e.* Charles, should 'speak a word or two to him about drinking:' he suggests, too, that a few pertinent questions should be put to him, whether, for instance, he privately took compositions for goods and movables from the Clydesdale Covenanters, who ought legally to have been fined. This gentle treatment, combined with the mortification of being excluded from command under the new militia arrangement, was entirely successful. By June 9th, 1668, he was 'better inclined'; by the next week he

was completely persuaded, the fitting instrument of conversion being James Sharp; and by July 21st he showed himself in cordial support of the new departure. The Duke, as Moray said, had become a tame Duke. Thus the world was made to dance to Lauderdale's tune. To get rid of Burnet was, however, a longer business, and could not be effected until events still to be described had taken place. But materials for attack were busily collected, and Charles was induced meanwhile to give him 'some mortification.'

With the view of carrying out the policy determined on by Lauderdale and his adherents, Moray had, in September, 1667, laid before the Council proposals which were accepted after heated debates. Briefly they were, that an indemnity should be accorded to all who would take a bond to live peaceably, and that a militia so raised as to cause the least possible burden to the country should take the place of the standing forces, those 'armed executioners of the law' to whom Tweeddale ascribed all discontent. The immediate effects were, to split up the covenanting party into two sections; those who saw no harm in taking the bond, and the irreconcilables; and to render the latter only the more bitter. Were it not that their numbers were small, Tweeddale writes, they would make work enough for the Government; as it was, only the most careful precautions had prevented another Whigamoor raid. Nor was this to be wondered at, for the clergy were losing their interest more and more, and falling lower in the esteem of all people. If only the prelates would attend to their proper business and leave meddling with the State, he declares, all might go well; but, though ten bishops have been residing in Edinburgh for two months past, not one during the whole time has so much as preached a single sermon. All they have done, and the people know it well, is to petition that the persecuting laws may be strictly enforced.

By the spring of 1669 the alarm had deepened. The West was seething with conventicles, and an unauthorized gathering was held even in the capital itself. A great hope had sprung up among the harassed people. Toleration was being tried elsewhere, and Scotland was instantaneously sympathetic. Tweeddale, who himself was thoroughly tolerant, wrote in the greatest alarm at the tide which he saw rising. His anxiety was shared by Kincardine, who declared that, if the reins were so much slackened in England and Ireland, it would be impossible to hold them among a people so 'ticklish' as the Scotch. He expressed his opinion for a qualified toleration, but insisted that nothing should be yielded to compulsion or

menace. In pursuance of this view, it was proposed to allow some of the soberest of the 'outed' ministers to preach in vacant churches by the tolerance of the magistrate, until these churches should be better provided, and only during good behaviour. It is difficult to ascertain to whom the authorship of this crafty scheme belongs. Gilbert Burnet claims it as his own; but it was arranged, in order that it might do as much as possible for reconciling the people to Episcopacy, that Sharp should have the credit.

At Lauderdale's desire, Charles wrote to the Council in July recommending the plan, and, in spite of the 'carping' of the Archbishops, whose authority over the Church it directly attacked, in so far as the ministers were to be appointed by the Council and to hold office at its will, it was carried out. A list of ministers who were willing to inaugurate the compromise, and thus lead the way in subjecting the Church of Scotland to a purely Erastian government, was drawn up by Hutcheson and sent to Lauderdale by Lady Margaret Kennedy, the most consistent, as well as the most influential representative of moderate Presbyterianism. On August 3rd they came before the Council and received their orders for their several parishes. Kincardine has given a lively description of the scene, of their unconventional bearing, half-defiant, half-mistrustful, and how 'it was a piece of pageantry to see them make their leg.' The indulgence, accompanied as it was by a fresh proclamation against conventicles, was, like the former proposal of Moray for a bond, entirely successful in one part of its aim, namely, still further to divide the covenanting party. The less enthusiastic sound in the appointment of these 'King's Curates' a good reason for abandoning an irreconcilable attitude, while the ever-diminishing remnant became more and more determined not to bow the knee to Baal. It increased, too, the feud between the Presbyterians of the East and those of the West; the former loudly complaining that by turbulence and insubordination the latter had gained an indulgence which they were denied.

There is, we think, little doubt that the policy of conciliation, taken as a whole, had a deeper aim than any yet mentioned. To a close observer of Charles's conduct it will appear most probable that, so far as he had a steady purpose at all, that purpose was to create and sustain by military force a despotic form of government, and that in face of the vast strength and uncompromising attitude of the Anglican Church he had determined, like his ancestor Henri IV. and like Cromwell, to rest upon the sympathy of Dissent. For this experiment Scotland offered him a freer field than England. But precisely
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the same phenomenon greeted him in the northern as in the southern kingdom. The Bishops and the episcopal clergy generally, who in ordinary times were wont to magnify the prerogative, now magnified the law. As in England they were careful to insist that Charles's attempt to suspend the persecuting Acts was bad because it was against the law, so in Scotland they opposed Tweeddale's measure on the ground that it violated the terms of the Act which restored Episcopacy. The real ground of discontent was, of course, that it struck a heavy blow at the autonomy of the Church. In the opposition Burnet took the lead, and he easily prevailed upon his clergy in their synod at Glasgow to draw up a strong remonstrance against the indulgence. But, as he was speedily to find, a remonstrance from a Scotch Synod was a different matter from a remonstrance from the Bishops of England. The warning that was conveyed in the latter Charles readily took to heart: but his 'new unchristened remonstrance, that looks so like the spirit of rebellion,' this 'mutinous libell against his Majesty's Government,' was, according to Moray, 'the greatest ignominy that our episcopal government fell under since the Reformation,' and showed that it must be 'much better managed.' Charles declared that he would take measures with Burnet which might make a noise, and he significantly added that he cared not what resistance the Church party made, since he was now in possession of a militia, a standing army, a magazine, and the treasure which had been stored in the castle.

Such was the condition of affairs when Lauderdale appeared in October 1669 as High Commissioner. He had come down to extend and to complete his former work, to give reality to the hints of six years before. He brought with him instructions to deal with five questions; union with England, the supremacy over the Church, the settlement of the Militia, the forfeitures, and conciliation. Which, we wonder, was 'the great business y^e Lordship is so particularly charged withal,' mentioned by Arlington in his letter of October 12th, with which he is urged to go steadily on? The first letter from Lauderdale to Charles probably supplies the answer. In little more than thirty miles, he wrote, he had seen six regiments of foot in very good order and well armed, and five troops of horse. He goes on to describe minutely their appearance and loyalty, taking special pride in the order of his own regiment, and finishing thus: 'Those six regiments you may depend on to be ready to march *when and whither you please*.' He adds that he intends to do his best to quicken the rest of the kingdom to equal efforts. He almost literally, in fact, repeats the language

guage he had formerly used. And as then, so now, he is the King's 'creature,' and assures him that his commands are to himself above all earthly laws. He had come down to carry things with a high hand. The militia, as it stood at present, had been raised in direct contravention of the law. To gain the consent of Parliament to these levies, and thus to establish them upon a sure basis, was his first business. Within a week from the opening of a carefully packed Parliament (at which he refused, he tells Charles, to allow 'the Presbyterian trick of bringing in ministers to pray and tell God Almighty news from the debate') he had passed his Militia Bill. That it was this to which Arlington was alluding, may be gathered from a letter of Oct. 26th. 'In one word, and without flattery, your Grace hath played your part well; nothing but the proverb of "*La mariée est trop belle*" can be said against it.' Charles himself was at no pains to conceal his satisfaction that *by Act of Parliament* an army of twenty thousand men at least was to march at his bidding to any place and on any service within his dominions that he might choose.

As in his former mission, so now, Lauderdale's next business was to teach the Church of Scotland that the airs of her haughty sister in England did not become her. This was a work thoroughly congenial to him. An Act for the more clear asserting of the King's power in ecclesiastical matters was ready for Parliament on October 28th, and on November 2nd Lauderdale sent Moray a brilliant account of the debates. 'The Archbishop of St. Andrews acquiesced, but I found the old spirit of Presbytery did remain with some of the Bishops, so unwilling are Churchmen, by what name or title soever they are dignified, to part with power.' At the end of it, he warns Moray not to let the English clergy know until the Bill is safe. By the Act of Supremacy it was declared that the external government of the Church was a right of the Crown; that all things relating to ecclesiastical meetings, matters, and persons, were to be ordered by the King's directions to the Privy Council, and that these directions, when published, should have the force of laws. It is no wonder that, by all who were in Charles's confidence, the Act was received with a chorus of approval. The King 'bragged' that now Scotland had the best laws in the world. The fulfilment of his design to make himself master of the Scotch Church was an encouragement to him to continue the struggle at home. How completely the contest had been the same, under different flags, as that waged by the Crown with Andrew Melville, may be judged from Moray's exclamation, 'What would King James have given for such an Act!'

By the 13th of November Lauderdale's real mission was accomplished. He almost shouts with exultation. 'The King,' he exclaims, 'is now master here in all causes and over all persons.' To secure that object is all he went to do, all he cared to do. Not one word of sympathy for Scotland, of a wish for good government because it is good government, escapes him. He had used his country, and had ably and successfully used her, for no nobler purpose than the gratification of his own ambition and personal enmities. He had regarded her merely as the means whereby he could best fix himself in his master's favour. To get back to that master is all that he desired now. 'Do but set me free,' he writes to Charles, 'and I shall make all the haste which an old unwieldy body can suffer. Oh, I am wearie of this grinning honour: faine would I be at Whitehall again!' This aptly expresses his position. He had played the Vizier long enough. He looked now for witty and heartless companionship; for the coarse buffoonery, the bestial revels, the pleasures of which it is a shame even to speak, but which, as the familiar of the English King, he might always hope to enjoy.

Here, for the present, we must leave the examination which, by the assistance of these MSS. we have instituted into a remarkable career. During the ten years dealt with in this paper, we have watched Lauderdale playing a part, in which his passions, coarse and brutal as they were, have, under the controlling influences of better men than himself, been subordinated to an ambition which, in some respects, has not injured his country. The next and last decade of his life receives, from the remainder of the MSS., illustrations as vivid and complete. The record is indeed a black one. Hitherto he has been a cool and masterful politician. Henceforward, under the ascendancy of an evil woman, he abandons himself even more and more to the worst vices of irresponsible despotism. At her jealous instigation he discards in turn Moray, Tweeddale, Kincardine, all the men who had guided and upheld him; and, to satisfy her greed, he treats with reckless barbarity the country which, but lately, had hoped to enjoy under his rule some measure of right. To trace the degradation of what might have been a noble career is always a wearisome task. But, in this instance, the examination throws so clear a light upon much that has been obscure, that it will be well worth the while of any student of Scottish history to investigate closely the remainder of these papers, the importance of which we have here endeavoured to describe.

- ART. VI.—1. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Ireland.*
2. *Emigration from Ireland ; being the Second Report of the Committee of Mr. Tuke's Fund : together with Statements by Mr. Tuke, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Major Gaskell, and Captain Rutledge-Fair.* Published by the National Press Agency, Limited. July, 1883.
3. *Supplementary Reports of the same Committee, September and December, 1883.*
4. *What Farmers say of their Personal Experience in the Canadian North-West.* Third Edition. Published by the Department of Agriculture of Canada.
5. *Reports of Tenant-Farmers' Delegates on the Dominion of Canada as a Field of Settlement.* Published by authority of the Government of Canada. 1883.
6. *Emigration Statistics for Ireland.* 1883.

IRISH problems are, like the Irish people, very bad to run away from ; and Irish administrators have had, as a rule, a measure of success varying directly with their firmness and patience in dealing with the difficulties cast in their way. Keen-eyed and quick-witted, the Irish peasantry have always been on the one hand able to detect weakness on the part of their rulers, and on the other hand ready to support courage, tempered with good-will. It would be an interesting task to trace the effect of this disposition on the history of those recent years, during which an attitude of good-will to Ireland has been habitual to the people and statesmen of Great Britain. But it would be a task requiring an examination of a far wider series of facts and motives than any we have before us at present ; though an allusion to this disposition is not, we think, out of place in treating the subject with which we propose to deal.

For in no sphere of public administration are weakness and impatience more immediately effective for evil in Ireland than in the conduct of the Poor-law. The institution itself of the Irish Poor-law is due to boldness. The Report of the Commissioners (for Ireland) of 1833 was followed by suggestions of many varieties of remedial measures, held by different persons more or less capable of judging, to be applicable to the unhappy state of poverty disclosed, and all more or less differing from the remedies eventually applied. The Government of the day were urged to take one or other of several hazardous courses : a system of out-door relief, unprotected by any test of destitution, by which the able-bodied, however urgent their distress, would be excluded ; loans for the improvement of private property ;
and

and an assumption of the theory that it is the duty of the State to find profitable employment for the people ;—these were among the recommendations made by the Commissioners themselves, and supported with more or less ability from outside. Happily, in dealing with these recommendations, and with the arguments in support of them, brought forward by men of the greatest position and influence, the Government had before them the success of the then new English Poor-law, and they were able to avoid those terrible evils which the admission of a right to relief without any adequate test of destitution had under the old Poor-law brought upon so many districts of England. ‘When,’ to quote the words of the Poor-law Union Inquiry Commissioners of 1879, ‘the Bill for the better Relief of the Poor of Ireland was introduced, it was seen, with apprehension no doubt by many, but with satisfaction by the majority, that Ministers had the courage to ground it upon the simple principle that destitution should give a right to relief.’ And after repeated discussions in Parliament, the Act was passed which admitted that right, and established the workhouse as the soundest, the fairest, and the most humane test of destitution.

That Act has now stood the trial of nearly half a century ; and though its assailants have never ceased the clamour which for a time impeded its introduction and later imperilled its success, each decade has added to its stability, and every onslaught made on it has but served to show its strength. It is not too much to say that the effect of this law has been weakened only by relaxations of it. The state of affairs produced by the famine of 1847–1849 was no doubt exceptional, but the wisest critics of the steps which were taken to meet it are doubtful whether the remedies applied did not to some extent aggravate the evil. Not only did the enormous interference with the labour-market, produced by the relief-works then undertaken by the Government, tend to the demoralization of the people, but an impulse was given to the opinion that it is the duty of the State to provide employment for all who seek it, which has never since been without its influence.

The exceptional pressure, however, passed away, and the average daily number of persons relieved gradually sank from

	Indoor.	Outdoor.
For the year ended April, 1849 ..	154,873	515,000
To the year ended February, 1860 ..	39,846	1,445,

the expenditure of the last year for all purposes connected with relief of the poor being not more than 11*d.* in the £ on the valuation of the country. There was no particular reason

reason why this reduction should not have continued, and the people have been taught more and more to rely on their own resources and not on extraneous aid. But for the last quarter of a century a spirit has arisen which, partly due to benevolence and partly to a toleration of exceptions, has fostered out-relief, and the average number of persons relieved out of the work-house has grown from 882 in 1856, to 112,968 in 1882, without any permanent material change in the classes applying for relief.

We say permanent, because in 1879 there was unquestionably another period of exceptional distress. The failure of the potato crop, which was less than half the average, both in quantity and quality; lack of fuel, owing to damp; and a succession of bad harvests, combined to produce severe want in Connaught and the western counties generally. Other causes, to which we need not here refer, aggravated the effect of the distress, and it was determined that the resources of the Poor-law required supplementing. A sum of a million and a half was allocated from the Church Fund, and of this, four-fifths were applied in a variety of ways to the encouragement of the employment of labourers by land-owners, Sanitary and Baronial Authorities, Arterial Drainage Commissioners, and Boards of Guardians. Besides this, nearly 600,000*l.* was advanced by Parliament, without interest, to the guardians of certain Unions for the purchase of seed-potatoes and oats, only to be sold to occupiers of land valued at less than 15*l.* per annum; and 45,000*l.* was spent in seven of the western counties on piers and harbours, also with the view of giving employment. Nor was this all. The Duchess of Marlborough, wife of the Viceroy, collected and expended in relief and supply of seed a sum of over 130,000*l.*, the application of which money was the subject of the greatest consideration and care; a Mansion House Committee spent about 174,000*l.* on the same object; and a Canadian Committee distributed in grants for piers, boats, and fishing gear, a sum of over 20,000*l.* voted by the Parliament of the Dominion. Lastly, the Guardians were for a limited time authorized to administer out-relief to poor persons in food and fuel, even though there might be accommodation in the work-house, and though the applicants might be in occupation of more than a quarter of an acre of land.

The effect of these measures was varied. The expenditure by landowners both benefited the properties of the borrowers, and afforded employment without much demoralization. The sanitary works did similar good in towns. Baronial works improved certain districts, but being carried out by contractors and

and their families, and not by the unemployed labourers of the locality, frequently failed to give the desired employment. The Seed Supply Act was not wholly beneficial in its results. It led to the distribution of a useful amount of valuable seed, and thereby to some extent contributed to the unusually good potato crops which followed; but it was in many places extravagantly administered. The hope was improperly encouraged that payment for the seed would not be pressed by the Government, and this hope led in many places to most reckless distribution. People who had no possible need for potato seed received it, and those who wanted it received more than they required. The ease with which it was obtainable formed the subject of a jest, and every idler who applied to certain Boards of Guardians was favourably considered. The law as to out-relief was scarcely more free from abuse. In one Union the number on out-relief rose in two short months from 421 to 9794. Debts were incurred, which it was hoped the Government would remit; and the poorer classes were once more taught to believe that, come what might, the State would find them either employment, or the means of living in their own homes.

Again the pressure passed away. The year 1881 was marked by a fairly good harvest and an extraordinarily good potato crop, the latter due partly to a continuance of fine weather, and partly to the produce of the new seed very generally sown throughout the poorer districts. The state of affairs in the winter of 1881-1882 was not such as to encourage an appeal *ad misericordiam* from the people of the South and West of Ireland, and no such appeal was made. But in 1882 there was another partial failure of the potato crop, owing chiefly to bad weather, but perhaps also to some extent to an improvident system of sowing. Fuel was also scarce, and the cereal harvest much below the average; while, in aggravation of the mischief, a violent storm destroyed the hay crops and peat-stacks over a large area of country. Consequently the approach of winter was signalized by a renewal of the clamour for exceptional supplementing of the Poor-law. Many appeals were made to the sympathy, and not a few to the fears, of the Government. The people were said to be starving. The most piteous representations were made of families living on seaweed. To the tearful eyes of the philanthropic, pictures were drawn of men, women, and children, eagerly searching the rocks at low tide, and greedily devouring a scanty and nauseous food. Boards of Guardians petitioned for power to grant unconditional out-relief. Certain Irish Members of Parliament, showing a vague and not too accurate appreciation both of the facts of the case and

and of their bearings, urged an assimilation of the law of Ireland and England, and thought thereby to obtain for Irish Guardians extended powers of dispensing with the workhouse test. Others loudly claimed a large scheme of relief works, and it was said to be the duty of the State to provide what was called remunerative employment for the people. The horrors of the emigration ship and of the workhouse were graphically portrayed. 'Who is to blame,'* it was asked, 'if the people are unable to procure for themselves the necessaries of life? Who but a system which has crushed out the national industries of the country, and with it the national spirit of energy and enterprise; that has made grazing plots of once prosperous and happy homesteads; that has depopulated the country, and rendered its condition one of chronic famine?' With a somewhat remarkable view of the case, Dr. Lyons, the junior Member for the city of Dublin, wrote that—

'for the Government to think of dealing with the vast problem before them for the next six months by reliance on the ordinary operations of the Poor-law, whether by indoor or outdoor relief, cannot but lead to demoralization and disaster. In this crisis I venture to call the attention of the Government and the leading men of the country to the urgent necessity for immediate, exceptional, and energetic action, by the institution forthwith of some form of reproductive work capable of being at once put in operation.'

For schemes,—reclamation, arterial drainage, the development of railways, the plantation of trees, the construction of piers and harbours, and the subsidizing of fishing operations, were put forward. By these, it was contended, the Government would be able very easily, safely, and economically, to grapple with the daily increasing difficulty of distress. And if such schemes, it was urged, were 'undertaken by a body of independent, experienced, and capable officials of sound statesman-like and sensible minds, whose action would not be cramped by parsimony or hampered by red tape, a vast deal of real and abiding good would be the happy result; little relievable suffering would be endured; the promise and potency of increased prosperity would be given to a sadly distressed country.'

In Parliament, during the Autumn Session of that year, questions were put upon the subject, though by the rules of the Session it could not be brought forward in debate. On November 20th, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, and Colonel Colthurst interrogated the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant on the matter, with the view of ascertaining what exceptional measures

* 'Freeman's Journal,' Dec. 14, 1882.

were in contemplation for meeting the distress. Mr. Trevelyan admitted the importance of the subject, but refused to allow that the distress was of such a character as to justify the belief that the aid which could be afforded under the Poor Law Acts would be insufficient to provide for the wants of the destitute poor for the winter. Before referring to the action taken by the Government upon these representations and complaints, it will be perhaps interesting if we glance briefly at the condition, as regards population and employment, of the districts in which the distress was alleged to exist.

The western portions of the counties of Donegal, Sligo, Mayo, and to some extent of Galway, consist of lands of little value for agricultural purposes, and of less value for any other. The traveller, who will ride in a circle from Stranorlar to Glenties, Carrick, and Donegal, in the first-named county, and in another from Ballaghaderreen to Ballina, Belmullet, Westport, and Ballinrobe, in Mayo, and then through the Unions of Sligo and Clifden in Galway, will pass through as weird and desolate a region as can be found in Great Britain. The land, where cultivable at all, is barely cultivable. Of the 1,360,731 acres in Mayo, 179,343 only are under tillage and 545,040 under pasture; while 560,711 are in waste and 56,935 under water. Donegal, which contains 1,197,154 acres, has slightly over 600,000 in tillage and pasture, and nearly 580,000 in water and waste; and in both these counties the western portions are by far the poorest. In them a population, too numerous for a far richer country and a far more energetic people, are crowded on farms which are wholly unable to support them. The most skilled tillage of the land would not provide a life of comfort for the tillers; the most unremitting labour would not result in adequate food. But the tillage is not skilled, and the labour is not unremitting. In a vast number of farms the rudest summer cultivation is all that is attempted. In the spring or autumn, the male members of the families occupying the badly-built cabins which lie along the hillside, hurry off to England to earn high wages as haymakers or harvestmen. From the county of Mayo alone, it is reported by the Registrar-General, 7918 labourers migrated in 1882 to seek temporary employment in England or Scotland; from Donegal, 1594. When their husbands or brothers are absent, the women and children scratch at the land as best they can; when the men return, they have, as a rule, enough ready money to tempt them to indolence, if not to the mischief which is its proverbial companion. The result is that the low maximum which the land could produce is frequently unattained, while
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this maximum is itself lessened by the thriftless habit of burning the land, which in too many districts the severe enactments of the Legislature have not sufficed to put down.

A very few figures will serve to show the poverty of the localities concerned. In the County of Mayo, the valuation of the Union of Newport, which has 170,413 acres, is 13,141*l.*; that of Belmullet, with 177,933 acres, is 10,907*l.* In Galway, the valuation of Clifden, with 192,965 acres, is 17,907*l.*; of Oughterard, with 172,289, is 15,009*l.* In Donegal, the valuation of Dunfanaghy, with 125,678, is 11,573*l.*; and of Glenties, with 257,479, is 20,425*l.* The year's expenditure of Poor-rates is in Glenties, 3*s.* 4½*d.* in the pound; in Clifden, 5*s.* 1½*d.* in the pound; and in Belmullet, 7*s.* 3¾*d.* in the pound. There is little to help out the agriculture. There are fish off the coast, but no system of catching them is carefully worked out. Spasmodically, and not without some skill, the fishermen will go out for a short spell of fishing; but there is little perseverance and little thrift, the people preferring reliance on the assistance of the State, and reiterated complaints of the supineness of the Government, to such determined and persistent efforts as might result in success. Nor are their difficulties lessened by the inaccessibility of markets.

It was with such a locality and such circumstances that the Government were asked, towards the end of 1882, to deal once more in an exceptional manner, and to apply one or other of the abnormal remedies referred to above. Their decision was communicated in a letter to Mr. Lea, one of the Members for Donegal, written by desire of the Viceroy on the 9th of December and explaining the views of the Executive with respect to the measures which should be taken for the relief of the destitute poor, not only in the Glenties Union, but also in other parts of the West where exceptional distress may prevail. 'Various measures,' it was said, 'have been submitted as to the means by which the distress should be met, the most prominent of these being the establishment of works to give employment to poor persons.' 'The Government are not,' it was stated, 'prepared to adopt any of them; but have determined to rely solely upon the administration of relief through the ordinary channel provided by law, viz. the Boards of Guardians, as they are satisfied that no machinery so efficient as that of the Guardians can be devised for the distribution of relief.'

In consequence of this decision circulars were issued through the proper departments, pointing out to the Guardians their duty; requiring first a careful limitation of each relief district so as to ensure the accessibility of the relieving officer, and
secondly

condly a careful and provident supervision of workhouse accommodation, so as to prepare for pressure in the workhouse yards; and finally, pointing out that 'it cannot be contended that persons who are unable to procure for themselves the necessaries of life should be allowed to determine the manner in which public relief is to be afforded, nor can any just ground of complaint exist if to every destitute person the means shall be readily accessible of obtaining effectual relief.' One important modification of the law, and one alone, was announced. Where the Poor-rates, which the Guardians might be able to make and levy during the year then current, should be proved to be insufficient to meet the exceptional expenditure thrown upon them, the Government stated that they would be prepared to empower Boards of Guardians to borrow at once such sums as might be requisite to meet the temporary pressure, and to apply afterwards for the necessary legislative sanction to such proceeding. This was communicated to Boards of Guardians on the 12th of December.

The decision was promptly and fiercely assailed. The statement was said to be insulting, the circular shortsighted and mistaken. By persons with no responsibility more violent adjectives were used. In a letter written to the '*Freeman's Journal*,' and published two days before Christmas, it was pointed out that the destitute people of the West, who would soon be seen dying down in the ditches and howling for bread, could neither emigrate nor accept the relief of the workhouse. Are they to be condemned because, either rightly or wrongly, they entertain these feelings? The question must be immediately and practically answered, and if not —.' The errors of the threat were left to the imagination.

Boards of Guardians passed resolutions of 'stern repudiation' of the circular and its arguments. Its authors were held up to execration, and were charged with responsibility for the starvation which would inevitably ensue. Finally it was urged, with advice which a writer in the '*Times*' justly characterized as inhuman, that the best way of meeting and defeating the instructions of the circular would be by filling the workhouses, so as to force the authorities to give outdoor relief.

The Irish Government did not run away from the problem. The most careful steps were taken to provide the two requisites pointed out in the circular;—the accessibility of the relieving officer, and an adequacy of workhouse accommodation; and with the former object a gun-boat was placed at the service of the inspector of the district in which there was most reason to fear distress, and in which are included several islands not easily and

and not always accessible from the mainland. The Guardians were fortified by the most careful advice. And then the course of events was awaited, until the time should come when the arrival of spring would enable the Government to attack the difficulty from another point.

It might have been reasonably expected that the monthly returns of the pauperism of the country would have shown considerable and steady increase, and that long ere the end of the spring the whole available workhouse accommodation would have been utilized. The inadequacy of the action of the Government was proclaimed by no less an authority than that of five Roman Catholic Bishops of the West of Ireland, who submitted their views to the Lord Lieutenant on the 9th of January, 1883. Relief in the workhouse was by them declared to be so revolting to the feelings of the people, that it would be rejected even at the risk of starvation; its enforcement by the refusal of any other form of acceptable relief was said to be attended with the gravest consequences; and inasmuch as 'great and widespread distress is fast approaching,' the Government were advised to institute without delay a comprehensive scheme of loans to tenants for the improvement of their holdings. Nor were they few who joined in the confident prediction, that thousands would sooner starve in a ditch than enter the workhouse. In a word, the gravest fears were very generally expressed.

The manner in which these predictions were verified was remarkable. The number of persons in receipt of relief rose slightly week by week from October to February. But the maximum limit attained was not 15 per cent. higher than the minimum reached in the summer of 1882. Thus:—

	Indoor.	Outdoor.	Total.
Week ended July 29, 1882 ..	47,956	60,255	108,211
Week ended February 24, 1883	56,572	65,998	122,570

Inasmuch as there was at the last-named date room for 90,000 in the workhouses of Ireland, the pressure upon the resources of the Poor-law could scarcely be called abnormal, and certainly was not extreme. From the week named, the time when, if the fears expressed so loudly had been justified, the period of distress would have begun to be acute, the numbers relieved sank steadily and even rapidly. There was no increase in the death rate; the people of the districts concerned set themselves to work; and after a debate in the House of Commons in April, to which we propose presently to refer a little further, nothing more was heard of the exceptional distress and the necessity for exceptional measures.

We have dealt at some length with this part of the question, because we think that the history of the winter of 1882-3 in Ireland affords an important lesson. We often hear it said in England, as well as Ireland, that the poor will die before going into the workhouse; that relief in the workhouse leads to the breaking up of homes, and utterly destroys the self-reliance and future independence of those who accept it; that what is called a judicious system of out-relief is not only cheaper to the rate-payers, but better for the poor than adherence to the test of the workhouse; that in times at least of pressure a relaxation of the ordinary law is expedient from every point of view, and that only the most hard-hearted doctrinaires would refuse to aid in their own homes the infirm, the aged, or those who, being willing to work, are unable to find employment.

These arguments have been refuted again and again, but rarely has their fallacy been so irresistibly proved by the stern logic of facts as in the case before us. The Irish of the West did not starve; those who were destitute, and those only, accepted relief in the workhouse; there was no great increase in the rates, but there was increase in self-reliance, exertion, and independence. In a word, the comparison of 1847 or 1879 with 1882 in Ireland adds very considerably to the evidence tending to show that the sufferings undergone, wherever and whenever a lavish system of out-relief is established, are enormously in excess of those made necessary where the only public relief bestowed is to be found in the wards of a properly managed and liberally administered workhouse.

We have no space to do more than glance at another theory upon which out-relief is supported. It is held by certain public men, that it is better to keep the proletariat quiet by doles of public money, than to teach them independence and endanger an exercise of their power. Such a view we believe to be founded upon an entirely mistaken estimate, both of the relations between the State and the people of this realm, and of the character of the latter. A policy of suppression by alms could lead to no satisfactory result, and might be provocative of great mischief. A system of continual State aid has done much to perpetuate the spirit of helplessness from which Irishmen in their own country so severely suffer.

We must not, however, be understood as saying that the poverty of certain districts of Ireland affords no problem for the Statesmanship of Great Britain. There is a wide difference between the position that the Poor-law will suffice to avert mine, and the position that the aversion of famine is all that is required. It is very hazardous at every cry of distress to

organize deliberately a departure from the provisions of a law which was most carefully established ; but it does not follow that the condition of the people may be with safety left solely to the action of the Guardians. The representations made of the poverty in the West during the winter of 1882 may have been too highly coloured, but that there is poverty, and that there are conditions leading to it for which a remedy should be sought, we are not prepared to deny. This is not a party question. The leaders of the Conservative party, as well as the Treasury Bench and the Home Rulers, have announced a desire to find a true and safe remedy for the ills admitted to exist, and an earnest desire to bring about some permanent improvement in the South and West of Ireland is not confined to those who so loudly proclaim themselves her only friends.

We are compelled to quote a few figures to illustrate our view of what these evils are. In Mayo, where no less than 94 per cent. of the population are rural, the mean value of all holdings of the county in 1881 was 8*l.*, the mean size of the holding thirty acres ; there were 58 per cent. of the agricultural holdings under fifteen acres, and of these the average annual value was less than 4*l.*, under which value there were 21,700 holdings in the county. In Galway, 89 per cent. of the population in the same year were rural, 59 per cent. of all the agricultural holdings were not exceeding fifteen acres, and the average value of these was considerably less than 5*l.*, while there were over 20,000 holdings under 4*l.* in value. In Sligo, with a similar proportion of rural to civic population, 54 per cent. of the agricultural holdings were under fifteen acres, and of these the average valuation was much under 7*l.* The average valuation of the county per acre was 9*s.* in Sligo, 6*s.* in Galway, and 5*s.* in Mayo. More than 30 per cent. of the population could not read in Sligo, more than 44 per cent. in Mayo, and more than 45 per cent. in Galway. In Donegal the conditions of affairs was very similar, and there were 21,330 holdings below 4*l.* valuation. In this last-named county there are practically no railways, except the line running along a portion of the eastern county border from Strabane towards Londonderry, with the branches to Stranorlar and Buncrana, and a line running along the southern boundary from Irvinestown to Bundoran. In Mayo, the large rectangle west of the line from Manulla to Ballina, and south of that from Manulla to Wexford, comprising, as it does, the great baronies of Tirawley, Erris, and Burrishoole, is without any railway accommodation whatever. Galway is slightly better off as far as Athenry, and beyond that there is nothing save the short branches to Tuam.

Galway. The roads are good, but the means of water-transport are not of much value for commercial purposes.

Occasionally there are patches of good pasture for cattle, but the majority of districts bog succeeds mountain, and mountain succeeds bog. Here, in miserable cabins, with scanty light and air, and with none of the external or internal comforts of a labourer's cottage in the better parts of England, live with their families the holders of wretched plots of ground, on which they allow to grow, rather than cultivate, an insufficient crop. The character of these men, as a class, presents to the close observer a series of shadows, and not a few contradictions. Cunning, rather than honest; generous, yet grasping; with much of the spirit of enterprise, yet capable of the meanest and most savage actions; with much of true courtesy, yet prone to deceit; with a great tendency to idleness, and yet capable of hard if not prolonged work; chaste, rather than moral; superstitious, rather than religious; fond of mystery, yet unable to keep a secret; they are not easily understood even by those who have great opportunities of watching them. They have the Celtic fondness for independence, but are shrewd enough to see the advantages offered them in other countries. They have an extraordinary love of property in land, and cherish a desire for subdivision of their holdings, against which many estate rules vainly contend. They are not without thrift, and yet are very apt to prefer the immediate sixpence to the prospective half-crown. They are not wholly without foresight, and yet take a terribly limited view of the future. Quiet, if left alone, they are capable of being roused to an enthusiasm which may do much good or harm, even though it is not lasting.

These men cannot support themselves and their families on their holdings, even when their earnings are supplemented by harvest wages acquired in England and by frequent gifts from friends in America. 'They cannot pay the rent,' it was once faintly observed, 'and if they got the land for nothing, they could not pay the rent.' The Member for Mayo, Mr. O'Connor, in a temperate and able speech on the question in April 1883, said that the main causes of the chronic distress were, first, overcrowding on small farms where the land was poor; secondly, unskilful husbandry; and thirdly, too much dependence on the potato as a staple of life. If this view is correct, and we believe it to be supported by all the wisest critics of the condition of the district, the one remedy which it is necessary to apply before any others can take effect, is a relief of the congestion of certain localities. Some of the superabundant cultivators of the soil must move from the districts, where there is not enough soil for

them all to cultivate, to places where there is enough. Unless there is some such relief of congestion, it is quite clear that periods of more or less approach to famine must recur, and that the demand for exceptional measures will be made with growing frequency.

The necessity for this remedy had become recognized before the appearance of that cry of distress to which we have referred in the opening portion of this article, and already steps had been taken for remedying it. The Government had, by the 20th Section of the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act, obtained the sanction of Parliament to the expenditure of 100,000*l.* for the purposes of aiding emigration for certain unions scheduled, or to be scheduled, the guardians of which were unable, without unduly burthening the ratepayers, to borrow money for the purpose. And a committee of philanthropic Englishmen, headed by Mr. Tuke, a gentleman well qualified to lead such a movement, had collected funds for the same object. The grants under the Acts were confined to five pounds to each person, and it was made a condition precedent that the Lord Lieutenant should be satisfied that proper arrangements had been made to secure the satisfactory emigration of the persons sent out. In order to carry out this condition, a committee was appointed to inspect the candidates for emigration, to select those qualified, and to direct and watch over the series of steps taken between the application of the intending emigrant and the deposit of himself and his family at the place chosen by him as his destination.

No report from this committee has yet, so far as we are aware, been published; but we have had, from notices in the Press, occasional publications in the 'Gazette,' and references in Parliamentary debate, an insight into their proceedings, which is not without its interest. Forty-four unions were scheduled under the Act—some wholly, some in part; and the grant was made applicable to a district with 832,184 inhabitants on a valuation of 1,163,186*l.*—figures which contribute not a little to our appreciation of the poverty of the country affected. In the poorest unions of all—unions in Mayo and Galway—where the rates were already so heavily burthened that no assistance could reasonably be expected from the Guardians, but where, nevertheless, emigration was sorely requisite, Mr. Tuke's committee were set to work. They, having no limit imposed upon them as to the amount to be given to each individual, were able, without asking the Guardians for anything, to ensure that every emigrant should be sent out with an equipment and a sum in hand sufficient to enable

nable him to start upon his new life with a reasonable prospect of success. The Government rules, which were published at an early stage of the proceedings, were framed with the same object.

Among the arguments most strongly used in attacks on State-aided emigration has been this, that the object being to get rid of a difficulty, and only to get rid of a difficulty, no care whatever has been bestowed on the emigrants after their embarkation. It has been stated that the emigrant-ship is a scene of horrors comparable to those of the Blackhole at Calcutta; that unfortunate beings are huddled together in insufficient space, and with insufficient food; and that, after a voyage in which the most abominable discomforts have to be compulsorily endured, wretched creatures, half-starved and wholly sick, are landed in a strange country, with no one to tell them where to go, what to do, or how to set about seeking a livelihood. Furthermore, it was proclaimed, mothers are torn from their daughters, fathers from their sons, husbands from their wives, and brothers from their sisters. Family ties of the closest were ruthlessly severed—

‘ And there were sudden partings such as press
The life from out young hearts, and choking sighs
Which ne’er might be repeated,’

between those that were to go and those that were to stay. The most heartrending farewells were said to take place at every embarkation, and the accounts of the miseries endured are sufficient to deter all who have any will of their own from the Government emigration scheme and its ships.

Let us see how far these objections applied to the system which was carried out last year, and which is, to a lesser extent, being carried out now. In the first place, the rules sanctioned provided that emigration should be by families; in exceptional cases single individuals being accepted, but only in exceptional cases. Then the families were not selected unless they were strong enough—that is to say, unless the earners were sufficient to support the non-earners. Elaborate conditions as to outfit were made, and no emigrant was accepted for State aid who was not provided with a thorough equipment, necessary not only for the voyage, but for the journey on the other side. The most vigilant supervision was exercised over the means of inland and transoceanic transit. Carefully selected and carefully prepared vessels were alone employed for the passage; agents were appointed to see that no hardships were endured pending or after embarkation. The discomforts of the sea-voyage

voyage were reduced to the lowest attainable degree, and in addition a sum of money was given to each emigrant on landing. Over and above this, means were taken to ensure a fair start on the other side of the water. No emigrants were sent to Canada without the approval of the High Commissioner of the Dominion. Every effort was made to counteract or annul the temptations to gravitate to the towns, naturally or designedly thrown into the way of strangers landing in a new country. The fares of the emigrants were in all cases paid to the selected places of their destination, and these places were invariably chosen with a view to the immediate employment of the wage-earners of each family, the trade or occupation of each emigrant having been made known beforehand. As regards Canada, the most elaborate preparations were made for the reception of the emigrants, and their distribution in those provinces where there was the greatest demand for their labour; while, as regards the United States, the sole available precaution was adopted, that no emigrant should be sent with Government assistance, who could not produce a letter from some friend or relative encouraging the journey and holding out a prospect of work.

As might have been expected, as soon as the conditions became known and appreciated the applications for Government assistance began to flow in. No persuasion whatever was needed. The difficulty seems to have been to select justly between many candidates, and not to cause disappointment to those not chosen. The people were quite keen enough, and quite clever enough, to understand the difference between the privations endured in their own homes and the prospects before them on the other side of the Atlantic. There was an ample sufficiency of information from friends who had gone before, to satisfy those who were thinking of going what these prospects were; and as soon as the circumstances of the voyage were known to be tolerably easy, the natural result followed, and far more candidates applied than could possibly be accepted. It is easy to imagine the satisfaction with which families hitherto miserably fed, and still more miserably clothed, found themselves, each one with an excellent suit of clothes, with a thoroughly adequate outfit, on board a vessel, the accommodation of which, limited as all ship-accommodation must be, greatly exceeded the cabin accommodation to which they had been used, and bound for a country where the opportunities for earning would, they were rightly assured, far exceed anything possible for them at home. Is it to be wondered at that the emigrants showed themselves delightedly to their friends, and that

that the sole ground of their complaint was that 'whisky was 6d. a glass!'

We have said enough to show that the objections to a system of State-aided emigration on the score of cruelty in transit are not applicable to the system as recently carried out. Indeed, we have noticed very few complaints on this score, a fact which, having regard to the readiness of Irishmen to complain, is no small compliment to the manner in which the rules were worked.

It is probably as yet too soon to judge of the success which has attended the placing of the Government emigrants in Canada. We require the full experience of the winter before it can be perfectly understood how the families placed in a position which would enable them to support themselves have made use of their opportunities. There have not been wanting signs that the opponents of the system will be only too ready to fasten upon any real or apparent failure. Statements have been made in the newspapers that, especially in Toronto, some of the emigrants have been found in a state of destitution. Possibly this may have been the case as regards a few individuals, although we have seen no proof of it. But even if it is so, nothing is thereby proved. It is highly probable that out of 5500 Irish emigrants there may have been some who would reject even highly paid work, or would leave it after a short trial; who would, in fact, prefer the old indolent life of trusting to aid from others, to a life of reliance on their own exertions. However carefully the selection of such a number may have been made, there would be a strong probability of the admission of one or two idlers into the list. These men would probably have failed anywhere; their failure in Ireland would have been greater than their failure in Canada, and more disastrous in its results. Their inability or unwillingness to avail themselves of their opportunities proves something as against themselves, nothing as against the system under which, or against the locality to which, they were sent out. Of work in the Dominion there is an abundance but those who take it cannot fold their hands and expect it to do itself. We shall not be surprised if the investigations of the Canadian Government result in the conclusion, that all but a very small percentage of the State-aided emigrants did well from the very moment of their arrival, and have every prospect of doing well still. Nor will any harm follow, if the gravitation of a few indolent *vauriens* to Toronto leads to even greater

* Report of the Chairman of the Emigration Committee to the Kenmare Board of Guardians.

precautions in the selection, for State aid to emigrate, of those only who honestly want work and will take it if offered.

The distinguishing feature of the experiment, for such we think it must be considered, is the alacrity with which the people of the districts affected supported it. Not only were they ready to go, but at the moment of their departure they were hopeful and happy, not sorrowful and despondent. This was apparent from first to last. In a letter to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, quoted in the debate on Irish Distress on April 10, 1883, to which reference has already been made, Mr. Tuke said: 'Our first detachment left Galway on Good Friday. There was not the slightest sign of regret on leaving—no shedding of tears. This must largely be attributed to the adoption of the family method of emigration in place of the single member of the family, as has usually been needful hitherto in the absence of any assisted passage.' And Mr. Trevelyan stated that since then a large contingent had gone from Belmullet in a spirit of hope and cheerfulness which excited the sympathy of all who witnessed it. This happy state of things was not reversed, but continued to the end.

Another point worthy of remark is, that the emigration of the year 1883 exceeded the emigration of the year 1882 by a little more than the number of State-aided emigrants; the numbers being, for 1882, 89,136; for 1883, 108,724. This shows that the normal emigration went on independently of the operations of the Government, and entirely disproves the allegation that the Government forced unwilling paupers into a distasteful and hated exile. It shows also that, as far as it is possible to judge yet, the Land Act has had no marked effect one way or another upon emigration; for the number of emigrants who left Ireland in 1882 and 1883, though higher than the number who left in 1881, and than the annual average of the preceding decade, is less than the number for 1880, and about the same as the average since 1851. And this is perhaps natural, for if on the one hand a tenant is encouraged to remain in Ireland by the extraordinary security of tenure which the Act has conferred upon him, on the other hand he is encouraged to go by the knowledge that the sale of his tenant right will enable him to start with a more or less substantial sum in hand. It may therefore not be unreasonable to expect, that the effect of the Act may be to encourage those tenants to go whose capital and energy are likely to find better scope elsewhere, while it leaves behind such as are likely to find a satisfactory sphere for their exertions in the cultivation of the property which the Act has given them.

The experiment is to be again repeated, though on a diminished scale. By the Tramways Act of last Session, a further £100,000 was set apart for the relief of congested districts; but in the later stages of the progress of the Bill through the House of Commons this sum was divided into two parts, one for the encouragement of emigration, the other for the encouragement of the transfer of tenants from one part of Ireland to another. Consequently only fifty thousand pounds were available for emigration. Even this grant has not been unassailed. Some of the Roman Catholic Prelates of the country have assumed an attitude of hostility to State-aided emigration in all its forms, and have been outwardly and to a certain extent supported by their priests. This hostility, however, is neither very deep nor very well founded. It will be able to withstand the persistent inclination of the people themselves to seek their livelihood in more favourable circumstances, and their application for the assistance of the Government in this object. Nor is it backed up by the action of the Boards of Guardians of the poorer Unions, who are ready and anxious to accept help in the relief of the congestion which both directly and indirectly burthens the rates. It is, however, fostered by a certain section of the followers of the Member for Cork in Parliament, who were successful in obtaining the postponement of the Parliamentary grant of last year. Their spokesman upon this subject twelve months ago was Mr. O'Connor (would he be their spokesman upon any subject now?), who urged upon the House the advantages of migration, and carried it so effectually that, though his motion was opposed by the Government and defeated in the House, the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland were authorized by the twelfth section of the Tramways Act to apply fifty thousand pounds for the purpose of paying for or assisting in the removal of persons or families from districts or places within the Unions to (scheduled under the previous Act) to other places in the country, whether in such Unions or not, and their settlement there.

His own proposal was for migration on a much larger scale.

As it has received some support, both during the recess and since the opening of the Session, and as a company has been started for promoting migration and taking advantage of Government grant, we propose briefly to glance both at this and the cognate schemes arising out of it.

O'Connor Power proposed to relieve the chronic distress of the crowded parts of the West of Ireland by setting up a local executive commission to carry out the emigration of 15,000 families at a cost of two millions and a half,

a half, and the migration of twenty-five thousand families at a cost of five millions. He proposed that both these sums should be provided in the first instance by the Imperial Exchequer, but that repayment should be made in a certain period of years. The first part of his scheme differed apparently from that of the Government only in degree. By the second, he contemplated the purchase of twenty acres per family, or half a million acres in all, of waste or semi-waste land, at a cost per twenty acres of 120*l.* for purchase, and 80*l.* for main drainage, main roads, and buildings. Upon each of these plots of twenty acres a family would be settled. No rent would be paid for the first two years, but the wage-earners of the family would be employed by the Commission in the necessary works of improvement. The money advanced by the State would be repaid, principal and interest, by a series of instalments, on the completion of which the land would vest in the tenant. In addition, schools of agriculture would be established in each colony of any new settlers, and facilities would be given for hiring horses and ploughs. The State would have the security, first of the holdings upon which the money was advanced, and secondly of the whole of the assessable property of Ireland. Such a scheme as this, if energetically worked out, would be, in Mr. O'Connor Power's opinion, absolutely free from risk to the Exchequer. A contented tenantry, safe in the enjoyment of their holdings, and looking forward to the time when they should be absolutely their own landlords, would derive profit from the land which had never been even imagined before, and would be a bulwark and support, instead of a source of anxiety and fear, to the Ministers of the Crown.

We can easily imagine the readiness with which, if such a plan were feasible, and if the facts and arguments in support of it were sound, it would be adopted by the constituencies and by Parliament. But a very little examination of its principle and details raises doubts which may well make us pause. In the first place, where are the half-million acres to be found? *Ex hypothesi*, every acre of this large whole must be such that the difference between the energetic and skilled cultivation of a tenant looking forward to possession, and the cultivation now attempted by the tenant to be removed, would suffice for the payment of an enhanced rent, and yet leave a margin of comfort for the rent-payer. In the possibility of reclamation of waste land in Ireland, we have no inclination to disbelieve. That is to say, we think that much bog or mountain land may, by judicious expenditure of capital, be made to pay two or even three per cent. upon the outlay. But that there is so large an
extent

extent of land admitting of so high a scale of improvement in cultivation as Mr. O'Connor Power's proposal would necessitate, has never yet been proved. If there had been, private enterprise would have found it out long ago. Either tenants, or landlords, or companies, would have brought such a scheme to success. For it is probably one of the truest axioms of political economy that, except perhaps in undertakings extending over a very large area, and of an intricate nature, such as the Post-office and the Railways, an undertaking is far more likely to be made profitable by private enterprise than by State supervision. Where individual energy has failed, a Government Department is not likely to succeed.

The scheme provides for the displacement of a considerable number of tenants who are to be bought out, but in no way deals with the future of these men and their families. What is to become of them? Are they to emigrate or to migrate? If it is necessary to borrow of Peter to pay Paul, where is the process to end? Is the displacement to be compulsory? If so, a grievance is set up at once; if not, there will be a failure to obtain land in places where the expediency of getting it is greatest. A tenant would object every whit as much to being compulsorily bought out for the good of another tenant, as for the good of his landlord.

There is another objection. The security upon which the Imperial Exchequer would be invited to lend would practically be only the purchased lands. The collateral security of the rates, first of the county, and secondly, the whole of Ireland, sounds very well, but of what value would it be? What would be the result of an attempt to make one part of a county pay for the default of another? What that of trying to make one county pay for another? Fancy the effect of calling upon Donegal to pay the government rent of Kerry. Any failure to pay the annual instalments could be met by eviction only. That there would be failure, no one who knows the eagerness with which the Irish plead any excuse for inability to pay can for a moment doubt. The least pressure of bad seasons, the least pressure of individual difficulty, would be made a reason for asking the Government to forego its rent, and in eviction would be found the only means of compelling payment. Moreover, and this argument applies, we think, with enormous force to any system of State advances for the purchase of land, the setting up of a Government Department as a rent-charger in Ireland would be fraught with the greatest danger. The payment of rent to a resident landlord is unpopular, even when that resident landlord is known, respected, and beloved. What would

would be the case with reference to payment to a department, distant, impersonal, unknown, and credited with unlimited command of money, and therefore unlimited power of making reductions or permitting arrears? We have seen rents refused to individuals against whom no ill-will is felt. The temptation to refuse payment to a department would be doubly as strong, and in times of excitement or depression would inevitably prevail. So too the enforcement of payment by eviction, hateful in the case of a landlord, more hateful in the case of a company, would be doubly detested in the case of a Government Department. In fact such a Commission as Mr. O'Connor Power proposed would be much in the position of a huge absentee landlord, in whose case all the evils of absenteeism would be exaggerated.

The House of Commons had no difficulty in rejecting Mr. O'Connor Power's scheme, but later in the session the Government, as we have said, resolved to give an opportunity for a trial on a small scale of the system of migration, and 50,000*l.* was voted for the purpose. We believe that a company has been formed for carrying a plan into practical effect. Land is to be bought and families settled on it. At present no details are forthcoming, and we know not where or when operations will be commenced, in what district land will be acquired, or from whence settlers will be removed. We have thought it right to point out the considerations which lead to the anticipation that the experiment will not succeed. But it can only be a subject of general congratulation if the difficulties are overcome and it does succeed. Such success would be gratifying from every point of view. It would prove, that more can be done with the land and greater profits be made from it than is now the case, and it would lead to the keeping at home of many Irishmen and Irishwomen who can find no livelihood in Ireland now. Such a result would give nothing but pleasure both to the Parliament and the people of Great Britain. Nothing is further from the truth than that Englishmen wish to see Irishmen expatriated, sent away from their homes, or forced or even lured to involuntary exile. What they object to is, to see a false sentiment stand in the way of the acquisition of prosperity elsewhere by persons who can never prosper at home. A love of home and its belongings is one of the holiest and best feelings implanted in the human breast, but if it leads to a dogged adherence to conditions which must end in poverty, sickness, and even death, it becomes *corruptio optimi pessima*. It is a law of life, to ignore which is folly, that a home will not support all those who are reared in it. In every condition and in every

every class of society the younger members of a household have, as they reach man's estate, to go away and earn their own living. The agricultural classes are the least of all able to resist this law. They who advise such resistance are not true friends of the peasantry. Unhappily in times past they have had too much influence, and have contributed not a little to the congestion in the West, which so loudly calls for remedy. Their motives may be interested, or may be mistaken, but they have assuredly been disastrous in their effect. Unless the promoters of migration recognize that it is so, they too will be productive of harm. If the result of their operations is the establishment of a series of holdings which will never be reduced, they will have done much to counteract the evil teaching of past times. But if the migrants are allowed to encourage their unwillingness to move, or to allow their children to move, if they are permitted to partition their holdings among their descendants as personal property is partitioned, the result can but be a perpetuation of the evil for which a remedy is sought. A body of squatters will be moved from one part of Ireland, and in less than a generation will become a body of squatters in another. Long ere the instalments of debt are paid, the mischief will be as great as ever it was.

Economists who complain of the decrease in the population of the western districts in Ireland forget that decreasing population has been for the last quarter of a century the normal condition of all agricultural counties in England. Industries rise and fall, and the industry of Agriculture, which ten and twenty years ago was in a flourishing condition, has from many causes had a reverse, which has reduced it to a very low level. The census returns show a very large falling-off in the population of the rural districts of nearly every agricultural county in England. The prospects of employment have been lessened, and in obedience to a law, of which no amount of vituperation can affect the influence, the people have sought elsewhere the prosperity and comforts ever attainable somewhere by those who will work.

What are the arguments against State aid to so natural a movement? We search for them in vain. In a recent Lenten pastoral of a Roman Catholic bishop of the West of Ireland, we find language which is violent rather than strong—

'I am decidedly of opinion that emigration should be discouraged by all lawful means, and that the clergy of the West should keep a watchful eye upon the movements of those birds of ill omen who are occasionally seen hovering about Union Board-rooms. Where the carrion is, there the vulture is seen on the wing.'

Is Mr. Tuke, we wonder, a bird of ill-omen, on the wing over carrion?

'Harrowing accounts of the misery of the State-aided emigrants have been written to friends at home. What must be the feelings of these poor people, far away from their country and kindred, and suffering the pangs of want in a foreign land! How could the Connaught peasant be prosperous, who was driven from the rich land of the province and obliged to settle on the barren bog or bleak mountainside? Why not transplant the surplus population of poor districts to these lands at our doors rather than transport them to the swamps of Manitoba or to the snows of Canada?'

This is a fair sample of the language and the logic used against emigration. The swamps of Manitoba and the snows of Canada! It would be just as reasonable, and just as geographical, to speak of the swamps of Connemara and the rains of Ireland. Settlement on barren bog and bleak mountainside is exactly what is not attempted. *From* the barren bog and bleak mountainside the unhappy peasant of the overworked and impoverished land of Connaught will go, and therefore should be helped to go, to the rich lands of Canada, where the cultivation of virgin soil will repay him tenfold what he can earn at home. His enemy is he who would bid him stay, at all costs, to linger in hopeless insolvency and perennial discontent. His friend is he who would facilitate his progress to large earnings and an easy life. To rail against the swamps of Manitoba—one of the driest climates in the British Empire—is as unreasonable as to foster the belief which, in the Kenmare Union, for a time operated to deter emigrants from Canada, that those who went there would be sold to the blacks or eaten by wild beasts! We may well leave those who impose so much on the ignorance of the Irish peasant to their own consciences. Happily their influence is not very great, and is unable to stand against the stern logic of facts and the dissemination of knowledge of what is really the state of the case. Those who have gone cannot be prevented from writing to those who will wish to go; and for every letter of dissuasion we may be assured that ten will point out the advantages of a change of scene and the prospects of life in a land where there is a great demand for labour.

We have said that it is as yet too soon to judge fully and completely of the success which has attended the placing of the Government emigrants in Canada. But this applies with less truth to the case of those emigrants who went out under the auspices of Mr. Tuke's Committee. The investigations of the members of that Committee have thrown some useful light upon

on this part of the question, and enable us to test, with some amount of certainty, the truth and accuracy of the criticisms to which we have referred. Not content with careful enquiries by Mr. Tuke and his colleagues determined to send out to Canada two of their own body to make careful personal investigation. Mr. Hodgkin and Captain Rutledge-Fair were selected for the task, and their report has been printed and published in the leading Irish newspapers. They had not time, they said, to visit all the emigrants placed in Canada, but

their personal inquiries extended to a very considerable proportion of them, and we can report very favourably of these. It is not to be supposed that all were doing equally well, or that out of so large a number there were not some exceptions to the rule.' But they add: 'We have no hesitation in saying that all the Canadian emigrants were well cared for in one way or another on their arrival; and indeed many of them spoke to us in glowing terms of the kindness which had been shown to them.'

The report goes on to refer to the condition of the emigrants sent to Manitoba, which portion of the Dominion, perhaps because it is distant, has been most unreasonably abused; and the inspectors say that they found among the emigrants who had been sent to the so-called 'frozen wastes of Manitoba' the greatest satisfaction and contentment with the place, and that in Ontario two emigrants, earning five shillings a day where they were, asked to be sent on to the North-West. The climate of Canada is briefly criticized in the report. The winters in the North-West are, of course, long and cold, but the general opinion of those who have experienced them is that they are enjoyable and healthy. The air is dry, and the cold is not so much felt as might be expected.

But the committee were not content with sending two of their members to see for themselves the state of affairs. They have collected and published a series of letters written by emigrants, and giving an account of their progress, which are well worth the reading of those who have any doubts on the subject. Thus, from Ontario, J. S. says: 'This is a good country; we like it good; any man can earn money in it; we are all working for the same man for 8 dols. per month each, food of us, and board. Canada is a great place; if all the people in Ireland would come here there would be lots of room for them.' A. T. says: 'I was only twenty minutes at the hotel before I was engaged on a farm; wages are big here!' T.: 'Me and M. F. is just getting 12 dollars a month each, and Owen is getting 10 dollars and board for the whole family.'

M. C.

M. C. writes from Toronto: 'I will be going to work to-morrow; 5*l.* a month and my board. Ye need not be a bit uneasy about me.' P. C., also from Toronto: 'I am working in a large bridge-factory at five shillings a day; the work I am at is a steady job for both winter and summer. I have only ten hours a day to work here, and when that is done I walk through the city; I could not describe it to you; it is more like a Paradise.' P. M., at Ottawa: 'I am very thankful to all for sending me out of poverty.' M. C., at Winnipeg: 'Tell Mary McKinerly that if she were here she would make 100 dollars a month knitting.' D. B., in Ontario, is perhaps less jubilant: 'I got a job in a Blacksmith's jobbing shop at seven and sixpence a day, but must work for 10 hours a day very hard.' These are the unprompted and unfeigned comments of men and women who have had practical experience of the 'horrors' of emigration and the 'misery' of snow-capped Canada. Not only are they more convincing than the thunders of the most eminent and most disinterested hierarchs, but they will have more effect upon the minds and actions of the people than all the Lenten pastorals that were ever penned. But there is further evidence forthcoming as to the eligibility of the North-West of Canada as a field for emigrants. The Department of Agriculture for Canada, knowing that Great Britain and Europe are inundated at the present time with pamphlets which in too many cases are not trustworthy, and wishing to give as clear and straightforward a description of that portion of the Dominion as is possible, have published in a terse but useful paper not only the best critical opinion of the district, but details from the practical experience of farmers who have settled in it. And they have also printed the reports of tenant farmers' delegates from England, Scotland, and Ireland, who have examined the advantages offered to settlers in the Dominion generally. Between two and three millions of square miles of as fine land as can be found in the world lie between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains, fertile, luxuriant, and accessible by the extension of the Canadian Pacific Railway. That the climate is healthy, the testimony of over 130 settlers is printed to show. Epidemics are not prevalent; there are no diseases peculiar to the country; in spring the weather is uniformly pleasant; the summer cool, with refreshing nights; and the winter, owing to the dryness of the atmosphere, particularly healthy and bracing. Animals and men thrive well in the cold season. The dryness of the atmosphere neutralizes the cold. Though the cold is sometimes intense, the weather is generally calm and clear when it is so. The average of a series
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of returns, extending from 1877 to 1880, shows a yield of over twenty-six bushels of wheat and over forty bushels of barley per acre. Green crops do equally well, and potato-planting is especially successful. That extension of the Canadian Pacific Railway which is already accomplished has done much to open out the district, and in a few years still more will be done in this direction.

A certain amount of allowance ought perhaps to be made, in reading those descriptions, for the natural predisposition of the Government of the Dominion in favour of their own country. But there can be no doubt that the prospects of agriculture in the North-West are very favourable, and therefore the opportunities of the farmer and farm labourer very great. There may be, it is only natural that there should be, portions of this large extent which are wet and ill-suited for cultivation; but to speak of Manitoba as a swamp is about as reasonable as it would be to describe Norfolk as an arid desert or Cambridge-shire as a sickly marsh. Unquestionably both Manitoba and the more eastern provinces will be soon even more formidable competitors with the agricultural counties of Great Britain than they are now.

With the development of the means of carrying corn and the conveyance of cattle, we may expect an increase in the exports of grain and dead meat from Canada as well as from the United States. And against such competition the small farmers of the West of Ireland cannot stand. 'Even if they had no rent to pay,' says a Kerry farmer in his report, 'they must succumb.' That this is so, the farmers themselves will the more clearly understand, the more true information is brought within their reach. Attempts to keep them in ignorance, from however eminent quarters they come, will assuredly not succeed. We may therefore expect that, even if the seasons are fairly favourable, and the paralysis of all enterprise produced by the late mischievous agitation in Ireland passes away, the western farmers will be found more and more inclined to emigrate. And it remains to be decided to what extent private organizations such as that of Mr. Tuke, and to what extent the Government, can and ought to assist them.

Lord Derby, than whom there is no better judge of this class of economic questions, recently stated that he would be prepared to support the spending of some millions on Irish emigration. Others, of less position, have advocated a large scheme of colonization rather than emigration. Such a scheme would have for its basis the transplantation of whole families from the poorer parts of Ireland to allotments in Canada. If it

were properly carried out, means would be taken to ensure to each family, not only a farm area of adequate size, but buildings, machines, and a year's seed. The initial difficulties of all farm operations in a new country would be made as light as possible. The fairest possible start would be given to the new farmer and the new farm. The ties of neighbourhood and of clanship would be regarded. Where possible, the priest of the Irish parish would be taken with his parishioners to their western home. Where this could not be, the most careful means would be taken to provide for the religious requirements of the settlers. And lastly, such means of instruction would be afforded as would enable the occupier of even the smaller holdings in Mayo and Donegal to adapt themselves to their change of circumstances, and become fitted for the increased responsibilities and risks, as well as the increased facilities, of the much larger area placed at their disposal. Under such a plan very great opportunities would be given for those who would work; and inasmuch as the Irish have a great natural aptitude for agriculture, and seem to lay aside their indolence with a change of scene (it might be said '*cælum et animum*' in their case), of those opportunities we may expect full advantage would be taken. Such a plan has more than once been referred to in Parliament, though, for reasons not wholly clear, any practical attention to it seems to have been, for the time at least, abandoned.

One consideration in favour of such a real colonization should not be lost sight of. There is gradually growing up on the other side of the Atlantic a large Irish population, whose indirect influence on the affairs of the empire is of some moment. We do not speak of such persons as Messrs. Egan, O'Donovan Rossa, or Ford, of the '*Irish World*.' Of such men the criminal malice against Great Britain can never be appeased. They and their followers have only one object at heart—to do as much harm to the Government and people of Great Britain as they possibly can. They must be regarded as outside the pale of conciliation; as to be won over to the side of good government by no means which any statesman could support. As foes to the Constitution, the Sovereign, and the Realm, their machinations must be thwarted by every method which the vigilance of the police can suggest. Their ideas and their feelings are thoroughly known, and the only influence which can be exercised over them is the taking of the most elaborate precautions to ensure that their wishes shall not be carried into effect. But there are others whose feelings towards Ireland are not unworthy of notice. In the
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United States the followers of Rossa and Ford are noisy but few. There are thousands of Irishmen, or the descendants of Irishmen, who have the true welfare of their fellow-countrymen at heart, who are ready to help them, and continually make considerable personal sacrifices with this object. Such men would regard with very different eyes a good and a bad emigration scheme. If State-aided emigration were what some of its unreasoning enemies describe it to be—a mere thrusting from the shores of Ireland of her inhabitants who are troublesome; if even it were an ill-considered plan, by which voluntary emigrants were forced to endure hardships, and were set down in a country with no fair prospects before them, and no fair start in their new life; discontent and ill-will would be produced in the minds not only of themselves, but of their compatriots in America, which it were better to avoid. For though the direct harm which Irish Americans can do is probably now limited, and must for a long time be limited, to the devilries which a few unscrupulous ruffians seek to perpetuate by dynamite and daggers, yet we would far rather see the settlers both in Canada and the United States actuated by a feeling of goodwill to the British Empire, than by a feeling of discontent and an idea that Irishmen are wronged. The establishment of the small farmers of the West of Ireland in comfortable and happy homes in Canada would be the establishment of a source of strength to the Empire. The home-sickness of early years would soon yield to gratitude for improvement in circumstances. There would be no wild yearnings for what is called national independence, but the true independence which Ireland enjoys, and the freedom which she has, a freedom really greater than that of any other country in the world, would become more and more thoroughly understood.

Further than this, the condition of those who stay behind would be improved by the elaboration of any large and well-organized scheme. Holdings would be consolidated, farm operations would be conducted on a scale more likely to be remunerative, principally to the farmer but secondarily to the landlord. The price of labour would not be abnormally reduced by excessive competition. And the only sufferers would be the mischievous agitators who prey upon the ignorance and evil passions of the people.

Such a plan would, of course, require a very considerable outlay from the State, perhaps three or four millions. But even if this were provided as a gift, and with no expectation of a return, it would not be thrown away, and we question if it would be grudged by the tax-payers. More has frequently been spent on

a profitless and unpopular war. Far more has been frittered away on various small schemes in Ireland, which have but served to alleviate the lighter symptoms of the disease they were intended to remedy. If the expenditure could be so conducted as to produce the satisfaction which we think might be produced, it would be money well spent, and might even result in an ultimate saving to the exchequer. It would be welcomed by all Irishmen except those who trade on discontent, and not an iota of persuasion, still less of compulsion, would be necessary to induce the people to take advantage of its provisions. Nor is it necessary that the money should be provided unconditionally. Those settlers who succeeded, and the majority would succeed, would soon, though perhaps not in the first few years, be enabled to repay a portion, if not all the cost of their holdings. There might be difficulties in collection and difficulties in guarantee, but none that need be insuperable, and none so large as to be a practical veto on the scheme.

If such a plan as this be considered too large for a Parliament in the last few years of its existence to sanction, or for the Government to undertake, the lesser scheme based on the experiment of last year may well be continued until a new Parliament can take up the greater work. The opposition to it we believe to be unreal and hollow, based on no solid foundation, and contrary to the wishes of the people concerned. Provided that the conditions at which we have glanced are carefully carried out, and especial precautions are taken to ensure the comfort and employment of the emigrants on their arrival at their new home, all reasonable criticism will be disarmed, and the opponents of the scheme will be limited to men who care less for the interests of Ireland than for their own.

We have dwelt at some length on the methods by which the State can help emigration, because it is to emigration that we must chiefly look for relief of the congestion from which the western districts of Ireland suffer. But there are other methods of relieving the poverty of the people and increasing their opportunities of helping themselves, well worthy the attention of the friends of Ireland, whether statesmen or philanthropists. The first of these is the opening of means of communication, not only between the western seaboard and the great centres of industry, but in those parts even of central Ireland where railways provide a not wholly adequate means of transit. The roads of Ireland are good enough, even in the west; but roads are unsatisfactory as a means of transit in these days of rapid locomotion, and conveyance by road is of little value in the case of commodities of a perishable nature. The advantages of
tramways,

tramways, and especially of steam tramways, have become greatly appreciated, and their applicability to the more remote districts of Ireland was recognized by the Tramways Act of last session, to which we have already referred. The intentions of the framers of that Act were undoubtedly good. It was contemplated that the State should guarantee half of a dividend up to 4 per cent., and on a capital up to two millions, for schemes for the provision of steam tramways, sanctioned in the first instance by the Grand Jury of the county, and in the next by the Privy Council. It was believed that large advantage would be taken of this new departure in State guarantee. The cost of steam tramways being considerably less than that of railways, it would pay to make tramways where it would not pay to make railways. Speed amply sufficient for country districts is obtainable. Along many high-roads steam tramways can run with perfect safety and ample convenience; and where land has to be acquired far less is wanted, and under far less severe conditions, than is the case with a railway. If railways are the arteries of a country, steam tramways may be called the veins. They return the blood to the heart. If, then, as there appears some reason to fear, the intentions of the framers of the Act cannot be adequately carried out in consequence of defects in the details of the measure, the sooner those details are amended the better. The Grand Juries have recently, during the spring assizes, had before them the schemes proposed by many promoters. Although we cannot yet judge of the full results of that consideration, it is clear that the indirectness of the guarantee has influenced financiers against the schemes. The Chief Secretary for Ireland, when introducing the measure, alluded to a danger that companies would be found to get desirable stock at 4 per cent., which would sell at over 10 per cent. premium, and that this would operate as an inducement to promoters to withdraw their interest as soon as the company was floated, and not to work the tramway. As far as it is possible as yet to judge, this danger has not proved real. Promoters have declared that it is impossible to place a 4 per cent. stock at a higher price than 80. Consequently allowance has to be made for discount, or the price has to be raised to 5 per cent. The representatives of the Treasury have declared in the House of Commons that, in estimating the capital upon which Imperial guarantee will be given, no allowance can be made for discount. Consequently the Grand Juries have been asked to authorize a baronial guarantee on a 5 per cent. stock, or in other words, to undertake, if necessary, to furnish a 3 per cent. dividend from the baronial rates. Of this they have in some places shown themselves shy.

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Furthermore they have been frightened by the provision that, in case of the default of a company, the liabilities as well as the property of the company become *ipso facto* vested in the Grand Juries. These difficulties, and another as to the guarantee in the case of a tramway passing through two counties, have proved to some extent a deterrent.

The Act was so well received on its introduction, and its object is approved by so many classes in Ireland, that it is to be hoped the difficulties in its way may be removed; especially as there rises before us, dim and indistinct indeed, but not unreal, the possibility of a substitution of other motive power for steam. The electric tramway opened last year in the North of Ireland, if not an unqualified success, is very far indeed from being a failure. The death of Dr. Siemens is a severe disaster to the development of electricity as a motive power. But the impress of his genius remains, and he has left behind him a legacy of great value in the establishment of a company in Ireland by which electricity is used with a full promise of success, pecuniary and otherwise, for the propulsion of tramcars. Ireland presents a most advantageous field for the extension of the principle. There is abundance of water-power for the working of dynamos: and if the difficulties which, in the case of the line from Portrush to Bushmill, for the moment stand in the way of thoroughly satisfactory results, can be overcome, we may hope to see an extension of the experiment speedily carried out in other parts of Ireland. In that country tramways, whether worked by electricity or steam, have an unquestioned future before them. Their effect on the Western districts would be very great. The benefits, for instance, which a good system of tramway communication would confer on the fishing industries of Mayo and Galway, are quite clear. The price of fish in Dublin is very high, and yet the fish caught off the West Coast cannot be brought to the Irish metropolis at a remunerative price. In their report for 1882 the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries make more than one reference to this point. In the Belmullet division, the drawback to the fishery is the want of means of transit. In the Clifden division, which extends for 260 miles from Mason Island to Doaghbeg, the coastguard officers consider that the fisheries will never be properly worked by the people until there is some better means of disposing of the fish when caught; in fact some better means of transit to market. A steam tramway from Clifden to Galway would afford such means, and would open up the markets of the centre of Ireland to the Connemara fishermen. At present they have no such advantage, and consequently we are not surprised to find that, although

though the division is a much larger one than that of Galway, there are fourteen first-class vessels and ninety-two second-class vessels employed solely in fishing in the latter division, against only six second-class vessels employed in the former.

And this leads us to the second point in which we venture to think that means could be found for relieving to some extent the poverty of the West. There can be no doubt that the sea shery off the coasts of Donegal, Sligo, Mayo, and Galway, is not fully cultivated. Many things lead to this. The people who ought to fish are poor and ignorant. They have suffered from the fatal teaching to rely on extraneous aid rather than on their own exertions. They have shown no capacity for building up from small foundations, for beginning little things and increasing them to great things. If they have a good catch, they are too apt to eat up the proceeds, and to thank the fates for what they have instead of using it as a means for getting more. If helped with boats and gear, they are apt to use them in a desultory manner for a while, and to pawn or sell them in times of distress. They have no adequate means for fishing, and no thorough knowledge of how to use them if they had. They want teachers and they want leaders. Bold at times, they lack persistence. By no means unable to bear hardships, their hardness is not of that sort which elsewhere leads fishermen to prosperity in spite of wind and weather. Consequently much that ought to be done is not done. The Connemara boats can go to catch lobsters off Mayo hundreds of miles away, but cannot catch the large shoals of mackerel which appear close to their own shore in the autumn. Herring and mackerel are known to be in great quantities off Belmullet, but are not caught. In 1882 about thirty thousand herrings of large size were caught off Dooega Head, but a much larger quantity might have been caught had the fishermen been able to engage in the fishing. Off Sligo and Donegal herring and mackerel appear, but insufficient means exist for their capture. The same statement is true of other parts. A very large source of profit is thus left untapped. The Irish Reproductive Loan Fund has done some good, over 21,000*l.* having been advanced to the five western counties in eight years, and repaid with very few arrears. But something more is wanting than the advance of money, or the gift of fishing gear. Instruction, practical and persistent, in fishing is required. The men of the coast need to be trained to fishing. They want, in a word, leaders and employers; the personal guidance of men of experience who will encourage them to persevere, and will eventually enable them to set up for themselves. Such an undertaking need not
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be unremunerative. Such an undertaking, therefore, we believe to be worthy the consideration, not only of capitalists who have a desire to help Ireland, but of capitalists who seek a favourable investment for their money.

There remains the relief of the West by helping tenants to improve their holdings. On this head something has been done, and more remains to do. The 31st Section of the Land Act authorizes the advance of money to occupiers for the purpose of the reclamation of waste or uncultivated land or foreshore, drainage of land, or for building labourers' dwellings, or any other works of agricultural improvement. Under this section considerably over 140,000*l.* has been applied for, and the rate of issue is even now between fifteen and twenty thousand pounds per month. We may expect that this rate will grow, for Irish tenants do not always at once take advantage of the opportunities put within their reach; and in this, as in other matters, they wait to see the result of the earlier applications. Should this anticipation prove well founded, a large encouragement will be given to draining, fencing, building, and even—but in a lesser degree—reclamation. Habits of thrift will be fostered, and the interest of occupiers in their holdings will be increased. Inasmuch as loans are not issued to the occupiers of very small extent, squatting and subdivision will not be encouraged. The larger farmers will be led to improve their farms, but consolidation will be in no way impeded.

To sum up. One of the most fertile sources of Irish discontent is the clinging of a poor population to land which will not support them. The removal of this evil should therefore be steadily kept in view. But in dealing with it regard must be had to sound principles, and not to the clamour of an ignorant or interested few. The future effect must be considered, and not the influence of a mere temporary palliative. If, as we would fain hope, we have reached something like finality in land legislation on a large scale, and we are to have no more interference with either property or contract, statesmen and capitalists may uninterruptedly turn their attention to such measures as those to which we have referred; and we may hope to see things tend to the establishment in the West of Ireland, not of an army of small occupiers always on the verge of starvation and always angry with their lot, but of a peasantry perfectly able to live in comfort where they are; not striving after the impossible, but making the best of what is within their reach, and secure in the enjoyment of a home worthy of their love and the approval of others.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs of James Robert Hope-Scott, of Abbotsford.*
By Robert Ornsby, M.A. In 2 vols. London, 1884.

THE writer of these volumes begins them with a short preface of apology, in which he has thought it his duty to explain to the public why Mr. Hope-Scott's life should be worth writing at all. We do not ourselves see that any such apology was necessary; and the diffidence which the biographer has felt about the interest of his subject, he had far better have reserved for his own manner of treating it. In saying this of Mr. Ornsby, we mean no sort of disrespect to him. He has had ample materials for his work; he has used his materials conscientiously; his style of writing is that of a scholar and a gentleman. The only faults we find with him imply no personal blame. They arise from an utter absence of any faculty for arrangement; and from a tendency, which in his position is equally natural, to regard his subject too exclusively from a Roman Catholic point of view. We are far more inclined, therefore, to thank him for what he has done, than to blame him for what he has been unable to do; and it will be our endeavour, in the course of the present article, to remedy his defects, rather than to dwell upon them.

We propose, accordingly, to set before the reader our own views of Mr. Hope-Scott's life and character, and, so far as is possible, to give a living picture of him; and instead of quarrelling with Mr. Ornsby over the way in which he has arranged his facts, we thank him cordially, at starting, for the laborious care with which he has recorded them.

Mr. Hope-Scott, in the popular sense of the words, can hardly be said to have been a very famous man; though his name, for various reasons, was much before the public. But there are many men whose fame has been far greater, and whose names are associated for ever with the destinies and the literature of nations, whose private lives have far less significance, and throw far less light on the times which their public actions have influenced. Of these men it may be said that their lives are written in history. Of Mr. Hope-Scott it may be said, with equal truth, that history is written in his. In following, so far as we are able, the growth of his inner nature—the balance or the conflict in it of temperament, feelings, and principles, the thoughts that led to action, the action that led to thought, the consistent though troubled devotion to what is not of this world, together with a wide knowledge of, and a constant connection with, the world, both
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of affairs and of society, his close intimacy with many of the greatest men of the age, his influence on them, and their influence on him—in following all this in Mr. Hope-Scott's life, we seem to be looking into a kind of camera, which, in the circle of a single mind, shows us some of the greatest figures, and some of the greatest movements, of an epoch.

In our opinion, however, Mr. Hope-Scott's life supplies us not only with a study of general interest, but with a personal example of a singularly elevating kind; and we are particularly anxious, at starting, to record this opinion plainly, because, unless we did so, we are perfectly well aware that a large part of our readers might very naturally disagree with us. Our meaning lies on the surface. The innermost history of Mr. Hope-Scott's mind is the history of his progress from the Protestant faith to Romanism; and we can hardly wonder if the English public at large should find at first sight but little with which to sympathize, in the spectacle of what cannot but seem to them as a lapse from sense into superstition, and from intellectual day into intellectual twilight. We venture to think, however, that this natural view of the case need be in no way opposed to ours. We hold that for our sympathies to be enlisted by a man's spiritual life, we need by no means agree absolutely with the formal conclusions reached by him. When we happen to do this, no doubt our interest is deeper; but an interest and a sympathy can exist independent of all such agreement. We say this from no sectarian point of view; we are waiving, for the time being, all theological prejudice. We are appealing merely to those moral convictions and perceptions, which all religious men cherish, and which all intellectual men respect. If man be a spiritual being at all, any attempt which is made honestly to follow the higher life amongst the calls and cares of the lower, to raise the latter to be a rational part of the former, and to find for such a union a theological or intellectual basis, is right so far as it goes, independent of the theological issue. We propose accordingly in what follows to treat all questions of faith, wholly without reference to our personal views regarding them; not to argue whether they are true or untrue, but merely to record the attitude of a certain mind with regard to them, and to show the steps by which they came to be to it symbols severally of truth or falsehood. We shall endeavour, in a word, to treat Mr. Hope-Scott's religious history, not, as Mr. Ormsby does, like a controversialist, but with the studied impartiality of the merely ethical student; and we conceive that we are making no unreasonable demand, if we ask the reader to approach it in the same spirit.

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We trust, then, that our meaning will not be mistaken, if we speak of a man who was notorious as a convert to Romanism, and who stands before us as one of the most prominent secular figures which have illustrated, during the last half century, the religious life of England. We say *secular* figures, and we lay stress on the word, because it is mainly to the fact of his secular character that this prominence we attribute to Mr. Hope Scott belongs. Within the ranks of the clergy it is, of course, needless to say that there are many others of more importance than he, such as Pusey, Hurrell Froude, Charles Kingsley, and Cardinal Newman; but Mr. Hope-Scott differs from these in having been essentially an active man of the world; and amongst men of the world we can name no one whose life is marked so deeply and distinctly with the traces of the religious struggles and the religious aspirations of his epoch.

At the point of birth, he possessed what is perhaps the greatest advantage possible for a man of such powers as his. He was the son of a distinguished family, and he was not the heir to fortune; and thus to the best qualities produced by a sense of inherited position he united the sense that, personally, he had no position to make. His father, the Hon. Sir Alexander Hope, one of the bravest and most intelligent amongst all the peers of his time, was a younger son of the second Earl of Petfou. Having entered the army in 1786, and having early won the esteem and praise of his superiors, he was only twenty-six when, in the action with the French at Albufera, he received a wound which left him partially lame for ever, and by which his right arm was completely paralysed. The young man's services, however, had been of so signal a nature, that even his disablement marked for him a new departure in his promotion. He was appointed successively, during the following years, Governor of Tynemouth and of Clifford's Tower, Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and Deputy-Adjutant to the Forces under the Duke of York. Some years after he became Deputy-Quartermaster-General, and about 1812 Governor of the Royal Military College, which was first established temporarily at Marlow, and shortly afterwards removed to Sandhurst, at which place it was organized under his sole superintendence.

It was during Sir Alexander's short residence at Marlow that his third son was born—James Robert Hope, afterwards Hope-Scott. He was a child of singular beauty, much of which he inherited from his mother, especially—as is narrated by one who had seen him in his childhood—‘the entire blackness of his hair, and the depth of his dark eyes.’ But more characteristic

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even than the child's face itself, was the expression it wore at times. The same observer, who knew all the family well, said that the looks of none of them remained in after years in her mind so vividly as that of the little James at church, with 'his eyes never lifted during the service, and his young head bent in reverential devotion.'

He was not sent to school till he was nearly eleven years of age, but one of the most valuable parts of his education began when he was between seven and eight. Sir Alexander at that time retired from his post at Sandhurst (though he resumed it subsequently at the Duke of York's request), and removed his family for two years to the Continent—for the first year to Dresden, and for the last to Florence. During this period James developed one talent at least—a singular talent as a linguist; and when at Florence he was delirious from typhoid fever, he surprised his attendants, whether French, German or Italian, by instinctively speaking to each in his or her own language.

Returning home the boy saw a new phase of life. He was taken with his family to Hopetoun House, and was present at an entertainment, in its own way memorable, which his uncle Lord Hopetoun, gave to George IV. A few months later he was sent to a school near Durham; in the following year he was transferred to another, at Greenfield, with a special view to his being prepared for Eton; and in the year following he entered Eton itself. In his Eton career, so far as his studies went, there was nothing very remarkable. He acquitted himself fairly well, but his scholarship was not brilliant; and before he was leaving Eton for Christ Church his tutor, who was much attached to him, was forced to own reluctantly that his construing was inaccurate, and that his composition was in poor taste, and confused. But though in point of academic distinction he was far surpassed by many of his inferiors, not only were there signs even in his unsatisfactory scholarship, which showed as his tutor said, that there was something out of the common in him; but in other points, apart from the merits of the school-boy, he was already a distinguished, and even a commanding figure. 'His first appearance,' said his tutor, 'won my heart for added to great beauty of face and person, was remarkable sweetness of expression, and more than usual grace of manner. At the time of his entrance he spoke Italian freely, and German with a peculiarly good accent; and even then evinced a niceness and correctness of taste in matters of art, for which was so conspicuous in after life.' Nor was this all. Not only did he thus exhibit in his boyhood the tastes and accomplish-

ments, the charm and the self-possession, which are found as a rule only in the matured man of the world; but he had betrayed also, in his careless intercourse with his friends, such a quickness in argument, and such a fluency in speaking, that he earned upon one occasion the name of 'Jem the lawyer.'

Leaving Eton when he was about sixteen, he at once matriculated at Christ Church; but did not go into residence till some time later. He was something, as we have seen, of a man of the world already; and now, in the interval between school and college, the events of his life tended to make him more so. In company with his mother, and with his aunt, Lady Hampden, he went to Paris on a visit to the Duchesse de Gontaut, who was at that time honoured with the care of the two royal children—the then heir to the throne, since called Henri Cinq (Comte de Chambord), and his sister Louise de Bourbon, afterwards Duchess of Parma. The Duchesse de Gontaut had private apartments in the Tuileries; and young Hope, who at once became her favourite, was constantly there received by her in company with her royal charges. Through her means he was presented at Court, and became acquainted with the Court circle; and there are some, we believe, still alive, who remember the sensation caused by the graceful boy from Scotland, in his antique Court dress, and ruff—a costume now, as Mr. Ornsby says regretfully, known only in pictures and at the Vatican. Thus when the Etonian returned to England, and began his life at Oxford, he went to Christ Church as a freshman, with his memory enriched and with his manners polished by an experience, that now is no longer possible to any of us, of the last days of the *ancien régime* in France.

His career at Christ Church began with a marked social success. His first year at Eton had been a time of great misery to him; and the art of living with his school-fellows he seems to have learnt but gradually. Before he left, however, he had become highly popular, and on entering Christ Church he was at once surrounded and welcomed by the most brilliant circle which that brilliant College could boast. Amongst his special friends, the following may be mentioned: James Ramsay, subsequently Marquis of Dalhousie; James Bruce, subsequently Earl of Elgin; and the Hon. G. Canning, subsequently Lord Canning; all three of whom, by-and-by, were to be Governors-General of India; Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, afterwards Professor of Poetry at Oxford, and many others. There was another undergraduate whom Mr. Hope knew then but slightly, but with whom, eventually, he was to be memorably intimate. That undergraduate was Mr. Gladstone. The foregoing

going were all Christ Church men. We may add to the number a few from other colleges: Samuel Wood, a brother of the present Lord Halifax; Sidney Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Lea; Sir Frederick Rogers, now Lord Blachford and Roundell Palmer, now Earl of Selborne.

Such was the society into which, in his eighteenth year James Hope was launched; and with a light heart he gave himself up to the pleasures of it. The strong religious feeling which had marked him in his childhood, seems during his Eton days to have sunk somewhat into abeyance, and when he came to Christ Church to have no longer distinguished him. The delightful independence of his own position, the possession of his own rooms, and the excitement of his success in society, no unnaturally made the cup of life sparkle for him, and his bright nature was for a time satisfied with the succession of careless triumphs which the world so freely offered him. This state of happy exhilaration is vividly expressed by him in his letters of that date to his sister. 'I know no luxury,' he writes to her, 'equal to the independence of "one's own rooms," except falling asleep after dinner, and one or two other similar indulgences. I can absolutely hardly sit still in them, but must needs go pacing up and down, and sitting on every chair in turn, to satisfy myself that I am actually lord and master.' A few weeks later, in the same buoyant spirit, not untouched with something of a mundane cynicism, he gives us the following glimpse of his studies, and how he took to them:—

'Mr. Mills,' he writes, 'has been pounding away at the origin of ideas, sensations, impressions, subjective and objective qualities, till he has thoroughly mystified all my undergraduate friends, who are, however, in general very much delighted with anything they can't understand. In his first public lecture he enumerated the advantages attending the study of philosophy, and from thence proceeded to give advice to those of his hearers who might early be called to the exercise of offices connected with their own blessed Constitution, and told them very impressively that, unless they applied themselves to useful knowledge, the lower classes would get over their heads; in short, that the scouts would become gentlemen commoners and the bed-makers countesses, unless they could keep that start of education which they had gained by rank and affluence. He then proceeded to recommend a course of study, consisting of some hard Dutch authors, and wound up by a thorough knowledge of Blackstone's "Commentaries." His language is very beautiful, and I take his word for the philosophy being sound.'

Of what his own reading was during his first year at Christ Church, and how far he put in practice Mr. Mills's beautiful philosophy

phy, there are no traces left us; and we think it highly probable that there were not many to leave. During the following year, however, the case is different. Records then begin of his course of study; and we have many evidences, as Mr. Leader justly points out, that his deeper nature was coming to the surface again. The world had satisfied him a little more than a year, and he began to be conscious of desires and longings beyond and apart from anything that he could find in it able to offer him. Sir Francis Doyle describes his transition as follows: 'A change came over him, and he passed into a condition of gloomy thought and self-introspection, the result of which was that he separated himself a good deal from his acquaintances, and lived with only a few men. I was one of these few; Charles Wordsworth, the Scotch Bishop, was another; Mr. Leader, the *ci-devant* Member for Westminster, was a third; Robert Curzon, the late Lord de la Zouche, was a fourth; and there may have been one or two more.' Sir Francis goes on to observe 'that this disquiet and dissatisfaction with life had not at that time assumed a distinctly religious character'; and there is evidence collected by Mr. Leader which would have led us to the same conclusion. It was the spirit of the philosopher rather than the spirit of the mystic that was beginning to trouble his mind with its sad and obstinate questionings, and bringing him face to face with deeper problems of existence. The following verses, which I found in one of his note-books, not only display considerable literary merit, but form a singular fragment of moral autobiography. Their subject is the reality or the non-reality of the soul, and though avowedly suggested by a chapter in Plato's *Republic*, yet the thoughts contained in them were just as truly a part of the young writer's own spiritual life:—

'If in the fulness of satiety

I do obey the still small voice within,
 And make my heart the altar of just thoughts,
 What cometh, prithee, of this excellence?
 For though the inward lining of my cloak
 Be fair and honest, yet the outward show
 May lie in seeming of iniquity,
 And wrong its owner with the jealous world.
 But if, refining one injustice, I
 Can bear the semblance of what men should be
 And yet be what they are—with either hand
 Grasp the sweet private benefit of vice
 And open meed of bold hypocrisy—
 Who shall gainsay me? True, the mask may fall
 And leave me naked. But who hopes the prize

Must

Must meet the struggle, and unflinchingly
 Face that which makes or mars him. To this end
 We will raise up academies of vice,
 And form us guilds of corporate deceit—
 Our tongues with oily smoothness shall betray;
 Our hands be ready when our cunning fails,
 And force redress our bluntness. But the Gods—
 Their purest nature of unsoiled truth
 Knows not deceit. Their all-eternal frames
 May not be harmed by earthly violence—
 Nor need they. Oxen buy immunity
 And blood of goats atones for human gore.
 Out of the portion of our wickedness
 Will we frame spells of golden influence,
 And cast them o'er their vengeance; and when Death
 Drags us unwilling to his empty Hall,
 Not one but oft-repeated hecatombs
 Shall still the clamour of hell's angry jaw,
 And win us from its impotent control.'

During the same period to which these verses belong, there are other records which point to a similar story. His friends began to urge him to fix upon some profession. His mother was anxious that he should take orders in the Church of England; and in a letter which he wrote, though he did not send to her, he expresses himself upon this subject thus. If he took to the law, he said, which was the alternative present to him, he would be obliged to be either something or nothing; action of some sort would be forced upon him;

'but in the Church,' he went on, 'I may, if I feel so inclined (and I am afraid I should), spend a life which, without being positively bad, would be neither useful to others nor honourable to myself. On the other hand, if I should seriously bend my mind to the requisite perseverance, how much more severe must be that discipline which fits me for the Church than what is needed at the Bar. Not only the intellect, which is concerned in this profession, but the heart also, must be brought in obedience to right principles, and all the feelings of the individual regulated according to the duties of his ministry. How difficult a task this is I am daily made more sensible of, by the exertion which is necessary to combat even the weakest inclination. At the law, on the other hand, I feel an immediate necessity for application from the very nature of the pursuit. If I make any advance in it, to become idle and careless is impossible without losing the ground I have gained, which fact success renders galling, and which ambition will not for a moment admit.'

A few months later, however, an event occurred which helped to bring him to a more vigorous condition of mind. Whilst
 he

was staying alone at home, during the long vacation, to aid, an old nurse of his, to whom he was much attached, as dying in the house of a painful and lingering illness. His heart was touched by this in a deep and unexpected manner; day by day he watched by the bedside of the sufferer, and rendered her every service that a son would have rendered to a mother. Such a close familiarity with the most solemn aspects of life had, as he said afterwards, a profound effect upon him, and forced him to reflect on the practical importance of religion, which of late, as he said also, had impressed him only as a theory. But his period of doubt and dejection was not ended yet. A few months later we find his friend, Mr. Leader, approaching him with 'having made up his mind to a state (for the present at least) of lethargy and apathy,' and with regarding his life as a something 'with which he hardly knew what to do.' It is possibly owing to this unsettled and unhappy condition, that, much against the advice and the hopes of his friends, he decided the following summer not to read for his class. He settled this just at the end of term; and the moment the long vacation began he went abroad with his friend, Mr. Leader, who apparently hoped to rouse him by new scenes and society. The tour was not wanting either in pleasure or instruction; but if the aim of it was the cure of Hope's melancholy, so far as we can judge, it was only partly successful; and he himself concludes the short journal which he kept of it, with the regretful wish that he had travelled 'to a better purpose.'

On his return to Oxford he did as he had resolved to do. He went in for the pass examination only, and took his B.A. degree in November 1832. He was now a little over twenty. The world was all before him; but he was still doubtful what part he would take in it. He again retired into himself, passing his days in solitude; and he beguiled his time with the study of various questions, beginning with homœopathy and ending with modern miracles. He had been thus situated for some three or four months, when the influence of his family, and his own personal popularity, combined to secure for him a fellowship then vacant at Merton. This piece of good fortune roused him into temporary good spirits. 'The college,' he wrote to his father, 'is one of the prettiest; its gardens have a terrace, which for meditation and smoking a cigar beats any I ever saw. The society is the best in Oxford, and so is the cook. The income averages 200*l*.' His father, in answering this letter, promised him that, considering how college revenues varied, his income should not fall below 300*l*., but at the same time

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reminded him that he would find this sum but small; that his position as a Fellow obliged him to celibacy; and he urged him, on grounds alike of duty and prudence, not to yield himself to the pleasure of meditative idleness, but to nerve himself for exertion, and at once to choose a profession. The son answered that he knew his father's advice to be sound; that he felt it his duty by any 'honest means' in his power to do something towards increasing his own livelihood; that he now chose definitely the law as his profession; that he would as soon as possible begin to study it under some special pleader in London; and that meanwhile at Oxford he would 'attack Blackstone' by himself.

Excellent, however, as these resolutions were, during the next three years their practical results were small. It is true that he placed himself under an accomplished law-tutor, who, besides being eminent in his profession, was admirable in his private life; but though he won the respect and affection of this excellent gentleman, and displayed considerable diligence in the study of college statutes, his legal studies, as a whole, were fitful and unmethodical. Sometimes he would leave London to do some kindness for a friend; once he did so for the sake of a tour in Holland; and somewhat later, invited by his relative, Lord Haddington, he went off to Dublin on a visit to the Vice-Regal Court. Meanwhile, through all these vicissitudes, his religious anxiety was steadily growing upon him. This was due to various causes. One was the restless working of his own mind; one, which we have mentioned already, was the thought of his old nurse's death-bed; another was the stir caused by the Tractarian movement, which, at the exact period we speak of, was beginning to trouble Oxford; and again, another was his mother's severe illness, and more particularly his eldest brother's death.

One result of this condition of things was, that his resolution to study for the Bar was constantly crossed and paralysed by doubts as to whether, after all, his real vocation might be not the Bar but the Church. Then again, his desire to enter the Church was in its turn often paralysed by fits of lassitude, the result of physical weakness; and then again, his mind would be stirred and stimulated by dreams of such ambition as only the Bar would satisfy. Thus moved this way and that, he often felt, as he said in a pathetic letter to his father, "as an unprofitable and unhappy idler on the earth;" nor was it till after three years' wandering in this valley of doubtful shadows, that he finally decided as to what course he would take. Then, at last, after a long and doubtful struggle, and moved in part by reasons which we are not at liberty to
glance

lance at, he felt himself called to relinquish what he had cherished as his highest aspiration. He gave up all thoughts of the Christian ministry, as a career that Providence had not intended for him; and at last, with a steadiness which he had not known before, he began to give his attention once again to the Law.

His life now began to assume a new complexion. In the summer of 1835 he accepted the office of Deputy-Marshall, offered him by Judge Patteson, who was then going on the Welsh Circuit. It is true that his experience in the above capacity disappointed him, and he pronounced the Welsh Circuit to have been merely an idle jaunt; but no sooner was he once more settled in London, than he resumed attendance on his former legal tutor, and was soon prosecuting his studies, not with diligence only, but with interest. We soon find him writing that 'his law was going on amazingly well'; that 'he was acquiring a relish for it which he had once thought quite impossible'; that he dreaded a day which took him away from 'beyond all other inflictions'; that his only fear, in fact, was that he was 'getting too fond of it'; that the charms of his work were making society seem vapid to him, and that he wished he was never obliged 'to dine anywhere but at "The Travellers."'

This growing ardour in his professional pursuits, this exhilarating discovery of his own practical powers, did nothing to rob his mind of its deep religious character. Misgivings, indeed, for a time continued to haunt him that after all the Church was his true vocation, and that the present course he had chosen was not the better part. These scruples, however, were gradually set at rest. The conviction grew on him that the life of the professional man might, in its own degree, be consecrated as truly as the life of the priest; and indeed, though the Church of England recognized no such position, that he might, as it were, be morally in minor orders, separated from the world by a certain unacknowledged line, and cherishing an intention, if registering no vow, of celibacy. His theological opinions as yet were not fully formed. In his early life he had been brought up amongst Evangelicals; but there are plain indications in what we have just recorded of how deeply his sympathies had been touched by the developing notions of the Tractarians.

During the two or three years of which we are speaking, he resided, when in London, first in Stratton Street with Mr. Leader; and then with his parents at Chelsea Hospital, of which Sir Alexander was by this time Governor; and on Sir Alexander's

death, in 1837, at his brother's house in Curzon Street. *A 71* this while, though not yet called to the Bar, and having won no laurels publicly, he was already acquiring a kind of prophetic reputation, and his judgment began to be asked upon certain legal questions by men far older and of far more experience than himself. Moreover, as occasion allowed, he was, on principle, mixing in general society, and was extending his circle of friends and of acquaintances, including some whom he had met, though he had hardly known, at Oxford. Amongst these last was one who had formerly been a student at Christ Church, and had now blossomed into a Tory member of Parliament. He, meeting Mr. Hope, on some ground or other asked to be allowed to call upon him. Accordingly, one morning at Chelsea Hospital, whilst Mr. Hope was sitting surrounded by a litter of volumes, mostly 'folios and books of grave appearance,' the door was opened and his new friend entered. He was a young man, with marked and regular features, with a glow on his cheeks of health and abounding energy, with beautiful jet black hair slightly shading his forehead, and clear and restless eyes glancing under protruding eyebrows. This visitor, in years long after, thus recorded his recollection of that visit:—

'Hope opened a conversation on the controversies which then agitated the Church of England, and which had Oxford for their centre. I do not think I had paid them much attention; but I was an ardent student of Dante, and likewise of St. Augustine; both of them had acted powerfully on my mind, and this was, in truth, the only preparation I had for anything like mental communion with a person of his elevation. He then told me that he had been seriously studying the controversy, and that, in his opinion, the Oxford authors were right. He spoke not only with seriousness, but with solemnity, as if this was for him a great epoch; not merely the adoption of a speculative opinion, but the reception of a profound and powerful religious impulse.'

The writer of these words was none other than Mr. Gladstone; and such is the account given by him of his first visit to James Hope-Scott.

This visit was the beginning of an intimacy between these two distinguished men, which was broken, in one sense, only by the death of one of them; and Mr. Hope's life, for some time after this, was closely associated with that of Mr. Gladstone. In 1838 he was called to the Bar; and he began to appear almost immediately before the Committees of the Houses of Parliament. At the same time he began to be actively interested in various charitable and missionary societies; he assisted in the organization of some; he gave his money to many; and he endeavoured

endeavoured to enlist in behalf of one the countenance of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But his 'main occupation,' as Mr. Gladstone records, lay at this time in another field—not in his work before committees, not in connection with societies for the Propagation of the Gospel, but in a scheme for reforming a certain other society which seemed to him, under Providence, to have the first claim on his care. This society was his own college of Merton. The same year in which he was called to the Bar, the governing body of that college showed themselves, in a singular way, to have been touched by the religious revival around them. The Warden and the Fellows had become penetrated by a feeling that the spirit of the College statutes had been gradually lost sight of in the change of modern manners, and they resolved therefore that they would at least attempt some reform which should put their lives more in accordance with the intentions of their founder. For this purpose the first thing necessary was a thorough examination of the ancient College documents; and the task by unanimous consent was committed to Mr. Hope. Here at last was a work that exactly suited him; he at once entered on it with enthusiasm, and 'without doubt,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'he found in it at that period the peculiar work of his life.' His work in London, to quote his own words, was 'his kitchen-garden; his work at Oxford, his flower-garden. The first was to feed the last.' For such a feeling there was indeed a particular reason. Having failed to convince himself that the Church was his true vocation, he found consolation in the sense that his present professional labours were in a special way consecrated by being devoted to the service of his college.

It is probable also that his spiritual life was being affected in a way of which he was then unconscious. His profound investigations into the medieval collegiate system, and the admiration for that system that sprang up in his mind as he meditated over it during the intervals of his work, pacing the terrace in the Fellows' Garden at Merton, and watching the spring grow green in the Oxford elm-trees, seems to have given his mind an unperceived bent towards Rome, and, without disturbing his thoughts, to have silently converted his sympathies. Nothing of this, however, was then perceived by himself. He was a Tractarian of the staunchest and most genuine kind, and all his dreams of the future were bound up with the Church of England.

We say he was sanguine, and we say he had dreams; but he was very different from most sanguine dreamers. Through his enthusiasm, and through all his devotion, he was constantly

stantly remarkable for his sound and sober sense; and there is one remarkable occasion in which he showed this to the full. Whilst Mr. Hope was busy with his Oxford researches, Mr. Gladstone was busy in a somewhat kindred way. He was composing his disquisition, which Macaulay has made immortal, on 'The State in its Relation to the Church;' and that work, which passed through various stages, was in each stage submitted to Mr. Hope's judgment. The correspondence between the two upon this subject is from certain points of view very interesting; and were Mr. Gladstone, not Mr. Hope, the main subject of our discussion, there are many passages in it which we should be disposed to quote. With regard to Mr. Hope, however, it will be enough to observe that, sympathize though he thus did with Mr. Gladstone's views in general, and with his aim in composing this treatise in particular, not a single loose argument eluded his notice, nor a single false analogy; and though offering his strictures with an exquisite tact and gentleness, he was as merciless a critic with a view to improving the work as Macaulay himself was with a view to discrediting it.

Shortly after its publication, Mr. Hope wrote to Mr. Gladstone thus:—

'The intercourse which I have had with you on this occasion, and the tone of mind in which your work has been conceived, carried on, and finally prepared for the world, and which I have had an opportunity of considering more closely than my previous acquaintanceship with you had allowed, have given me feelings towards you which are either not generally natural to me, or which have found few objects on which to rest; and I do not scruple to say that, in looking forward into that confused and dangerous period upon which we appear to be entering, there is no one upon whom I so much rely for guidance and encouragement, no one with whom I would so gladly act or suffer, as yourself.'

What follows, again, is interesting as part of his autobiography:—

'My own plans of life are in their details uncertain, and liable to continual change; but in their principal design they are pointed towards one object—the service of the Church. To it I am bound by ties as a member of it, which is common to many; as a member too of one of its endowed institutions, which is a more particular obligation. Whenever, therefore, or wherever you may think that a willing labourer may be of use, you may reckon upon finding one in me.'

The time, however, was now arriving when he was to make acquaintance with another friend, who was to influence his destinies far more powerfully than Mr. Gladstone, and who, as
Mr. Gladstone

Mr. Gladstone himself has said, was the 'one personal influence which alone ever seriously affected his career.' In the year 1838, the time of which we are now speaking, there was published '*The Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude.*' This book affected Mr. Hope so powerfully that he began, after its perusal, certain new habits of self-discipline. He made from it a collection of thoughts and ejaculations for his own devotional use, and was finally led by it to seek the acquaintance and counsel of the closest friend of its deceased author—John Henry Newman. Mr. Hope asked permission to call on Mr. Newman in his rooms at Oriel, and the latter has since recorded his impressions of that visit. 'I was,' he says, 'many years older [when he thus came to see me, unasked, unsought], yet he had that about him, even when a young man, which invited and inspired confidence;' and though those who saw him 'but once, or at a distance,' might be perplexed by 'the lofty fastidiousness and keen wit which were natural to him,' on those who saw him nearer there was no such effect produced; and Cardinal Newman adds, speaking from his own experience, that 'his very presence' was almost irresistible.

This friendship, once begun, began soon to bear practical fruit. Mr. Hope and Mr. Newman had not been long acquainted, before they had started a plan of publishing a series of ecclesiastical articles in the columns of the '*Morning Post*,' which had then Tractarian leanings; and a year later, at Mr. Newman's request, Mr. Hope wrote in the '*British Critic*' a brilliant review of Mr. C. R. Ward's translation of the '*Magdalene College Statutes.*' The two, meanwhile, had been further in active correspondence on a point which Mr. Hope had at that time much at heart—that the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford should be filled by an ecclesiastical person. This, as Mr. Ornsby observes, was part of a line of policy which for a long time troubled the life of the University, 'academical questions as they successively arose being all made by the Tractarians to turn upon their ecclesiastical bearings.' 'With this great current now in motion,' he continues, 'the stream of Mr. Hope's thought began perceptibly to mingle—the result of those studies in the University and College statutes, and in medieval Oxford generally, to which he had now for two years at least so ardently devoted himself.'

His life during this period was passed between Oxford and London; he was still, to a certain extent, practising at the Parliamentary Bar, and his letters are sometimes dated from the Travellers' Club, as well as from the quiet of Merton. It was at Merton, however, latterly that most of his time was spent,

spent, and a quasi-monastic life was getting an increasing hold upon him, when an event occurred which called him suddenly to a conspicuous place before the world. Ever since the year 1831 there had been going on in England a certain amount of agitation, due in great part though not entirely to the Dissenters, with reference to the revenues of the Church and the manner of their employment. As Mr. Ornsby well puts it, 'the splendour of the Cathedral services, subdued though it was in comparison with the Catholic Ritual, the elaborate music, the wax candles, the stately architecture, the ample revenues, and the haughty exclusiveness of the great functionaries—all these things caused jealousy in a large section of the community outside the Anglican pale;' and even inside it there were some, urged by worthier feelings, who thought that the Cathedral endowments might be plundered with advantage, and the spoils used to endow an increased number of clergy. Accordingly in the year 1840 there was brought forward in Parliament the *Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill*, the object of which was to reduce the Cathedral establishments to a minimum, and employ the money saved on work in neglected parishes. For this measure, which was eventually passed, there was, no doubt, much to be said. There was at the same time much to be said against it; and many excellent and unprejudiced men thought the good which it promised quite incommensurate with the evil. The Committee of Cathedral Chapters naturally did all they could to save themselves; and they paid a striking tribute to Mr. Hope's reputation by summoning him from the seclusion of Merton, to plead their cause as Junior Counsel before the House of Lords.

Mr. Hope was at the time only twenty-eight; and a sudden call to fulfil a task so important as this, at first almost overwhelmed him. His whole sympathies, however, were with the cause he was asked to defend; and putting behind him all feelings of nervousness, he set to work at Merton, to prepare his case with all the fulness possible. Few men, if any, in England, could have done what he did, or have brought such a wealth of learning to bear upon the subject; but his speech, when he came to deliver it, was characterized by far more than learning. It was lucid in arrangement, it was dignified in language, it was eloquent in utterance. Men who knew him well, and who always admired his abilities, suddenly saw him revealed in a new light; and discovered that they were listening to an orator. In the House of Lords the impression made was extraordinary. Mr. Gladstone, who was present on the occasion, has said that, though since then he has
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had forty years' experience of speeches, he has never heard one 'which by its solid as well as by its winning qualities more powerfully impressed him than this first speech of Mr. Hope's;' and Lord Brougham, not waiting to record his feelings as a memory, exclaimed aloud, the moment Mr. Hope ended, 'That young man's fortune is made!'

A month had hardly passed after this prediction, when he was raised to one of the highest Ecclesiastical positions which can be held in this country by a layman. He was appointed Chancellor of the Diocese of Salisbury; and though his Parliamentary business was beginning fast to increase, he found time for the fulfilment not only of the duties which the post imposed on him, but of others far more onerous which it only suggested.

At this time also he gave another proof of his energy. The proposed reforms at Merton, which he had worked so hard to forward, had for various reasons not come to much: but his old idea of what a college ought to be, still haunted his mind; and though he found that it was not to be realized at Oxford, an opportunity now occurred to him of realizing it somewhere else. The Episcopal Church in Scotland had early engaged the attention and the sympathy of the Tractarians, partly because its contrast to the surrounding Presbyterianism served to throw round it a certain semblance of Catholicity; and partly because, such being its situation, it was so miserably poor that it could scarcely support its clergy, and had little or no means of specially training men for its ministry. This condition of things was a frequent subject of conversation between Mr. Hope and Mr. Gladstone; and shortly after the appointment of the former to his Chancellorship, the plan occurred to one or to the other of them of establishing in Scotland an Episcopalian College, in which a secular education should indeed be given, but the chief object should be the education of a Scotch priesthood.

This scheme, which was conceived in most serious earnest, resulted in the establishment of Trinity College, Glenalmond, an institution which Mr. Hope at first fondly dreamed might embody in these latter days the high monastic spirit of the early Oxford founders. Amongst others, Mr. Gladstone's father warmly sympathized with the project, and when matters had so far taken shape that it was necessary to select a site on which the future college should be built, he, his son, and Mr. Hope, set out together on a tour of inspection to compare several that had been suggested in the Midland Counties of Scotland. Mr. Gladstone relates that he has never forgotten the expedition—

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'As we rolled along,' he writes, 'wedged into one of the post-chaises of those days, through various kinds of country, and especially through the mountains between Perth, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, it was a perpetual play—I might almost say roar—of fun and laughter. The result was the selection of the spot where the College now stands. I am ashamed to recollect that we were, I do not say assisted in reaching this conclusion, but cheered up in fastening on it, by a luncheon which Mr. Polton, the proprietor, gave us of grouse newly killed, roasted by an apparatus for the purpose on the moment, and bedewed with what I think is called partridge-eye champagne.'

This passage, together with several others already quoted, is from a letter of Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Hope's daughter, the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott, which forms an appendix to Mr. Ormsby's *Memoirs*, and he proceeds presently, in a few brief words, to give the sequel of the story, so far as Mr. Hope is concerned in it:—

'He laboured much,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'for the college; and had, if my memory serves, a great hand in framing the constitution, with respect to which his academic learning gave him a just authority. He laboured for it at first in love and enthusiasm, afterwards in duty, at last perhaps in honour; but after a few years it necessarily vanished from his thoughts, and he became unable to share in facing difficulties through which it had to pass.'

The meaning of this last foreboding sentence the reader will of course divine. It refers to that great change in Mr. Hope's religious opinions, which, though it did not fully declare itself till ten years later, was very soon to receive its first important stimulus. Such being the case, it is a matter of no small interest that circumstances brought him at this precise period face to face with that Church as a critic, which by-and-by he was to enter humbly as a convert, and that he has plainly recorded the impressions which, as a critic, he formed of it.

Shortly after his return from his Scotch journey with the Gladstones, he began to suffer from the pressure of overwork. Some sort of holiday being absolutely necessary, he went abroad for a time with his friend Mr. Badeley, and the two, after some stay in Germany, finally settled themselves at Rome. The idea of himself becoming a Roman Catholic had never as yet entered Mr. Hope's head. It is true he regarded Romanism with none of the steadfast jealousy which was the attitude of Pusey and other High Churchmen. On the contrary, he approached it as a friend meeting a friend whom he admired cordially in spite of profound differences; and he showed a sympathetic interest in the Jesuits, and in especial he sought the acquaintance of the Father-General of the Society. But though from his interview
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with this distinguished man, as well as with others of the leading minds at Rome, he derived a sense that there was in the Roman system something of that wisdom and coherence of purpose which so powerfully affected the imagination of Macaulay, yet the material aspect and incidents of the religion he saw there produced an impression on him of a very different nature:—

‘The exterior [of Roman Catholicism],’ he writes, ‘is most repulsive to me; and the good opinion with which Roman Catholics had elsewhere inspired me, has been considerably lowered at Rome. The mixture of secular and spiritual power is an evil which to a great degree will account for this, but still it must have its weight. Had I found Rome to be what it ought to be—to be equal to its pretensions, and such as its many fine institutions would enable it to be—I feel certain it would have made a very deep impression on me, even in spite of its doctrine. But as it is, I am half angry with it for looking so very like what Protestants describe it to be, and at the same time am glad that no greater goodness has been put in the way to tempt me.’

To this we may add the witness of a friend who was in Rome at this time with him—Lord Blachford (then Mr. Rogers):—

‘Though he had a fine taste in painting, and a cultivated pleasure in music and architecture, he was not, I think, much affected by the external magnificence of the Roman Church—rather the contrary. But what did affect him was the coherent system and organization of Rome, the exactness of law and doctrine, the completeness of theory, the careful adjustment of details, and the steady adherence to what was laid down. With these it made him dissatisfied to compare the loose “rule of thumb” procedure, which is characteristic of everything English.’

We are grateful to Mr. Ornsby for having supplied us with this passage, because in a few and authoritative words it gives us the key to Mr. Hope’s subsequent religious history. How it does so we shall see almost immediately. When Mr. Hope returned from Rome to England, events were occurring in connection with the English Church which, though now almost forgotten, were at the time causing the utmost interest and excitement, and which, to use Mr. Gladstone’s words, ‘sensibly affected in its religious aspects the history of this country, nay, even the history of Western Christendom.’ We mean the attempts made to establish the Bishopric of Jerusalem. Of these, and of their bearing on Mr. Hope’s life, we cannot do better than let Mr. Gladstone himself speak. The following is from the letter, which we have already quoted, to Mrs. Maxwell Scott:—

‘Events were now (that is at about the time of Mr. Hope’s return from Rome), events were now impending, which profoundly agitated not only what

what is termed the religious world, but the general mind of the country. I need not here refer to the unwise proceedings of great and ardent Churchmen, which darkened the skies over their heads, and brought their cause from calm and peaceful progress to storm, and in some cases to shipwreck. I do not think that, with his solid judgment, he was a party to any of those proceedings. They seem to have gradually brought about an opinion on the part of the ruling authorities of the English Church that some effort should be made to arrest the excesses of the party, and to confront the tendencies, or supposed tendencies now first disclosed, towards the Church of Rome, by presenting to the public mind a telling idea of Catholicity under some other form. . . . About this time Baron Bunsen became the representative of Prussia at the British Court. I remember that your father used to strike me by his suspicion and apprehensions of particular persons; and Bunsen, if I recollect right, was among them. That distinguished person felt an intense interest in England; he was of a pious and an enthusiastic mind, a mind of almost preternatural activity, vivacity, and rapidity, a bright imagination, and a wide rather than a deep range of knowledge. He was in the strongest sympathy with the then reigning King of Prussia, who visited England in the autumn of, I think, 1841. Sir Robert Peel, however loyal to the *entente* with France, had a strong desire for close relations of friendship with Germany; and the marriage of the Queen, then recent, told in the same sense. All these circumstances opened the way for the singular project of the Anglican Bishopric of Jerusalem, which I believe to have been the child of Bunsen's fertile and energetic brain, and which received at this particular juncture a welcome, due, I think, to special circumstances such as those which I have enumerated.'

Of the details of this project it will be well if we say a few words. The idea at the bottom of it, apart from secular politics, was this. The compact organization of the Roman and the Greek Churches was seen by statesmen to be of very great advantage to the members of those Churches in the Levant and the Turkish empire generally; the idea accordingly suggested itself, that it would be a great advantage to the Protestants in those parts if they too could be united under some similar organization, and thus form a community which Turkey could recognize and respect. Accordingly the project entertained by the Governments of England and of Prussia was, in its main points, as follows. There was to be a Bishop at Jerusalem, alternately nominated by the two Crowns, England paying half the cost of the foundation. This Bishop was to preside over a Church composed mainly of English and German Protestants, but it was to include any others who were willing to join it. Candidates for ordination were, however, to sign the Thirty-Nine Articles, and those destined for German congregations had to prove, besides, their signature to the Augsburg Confession.

Confession. German subjects were to be allowed their own Liturgy, and the whole body was to be under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Curious as such a programme now sounds to us, a Bill was actually passed in Parliament with a view of getting over certain technical difficulties that beset it; and what Mr. Gladstone has since called 'this thoroughly fantastic scheme,' was not only welcomed at first by politicians like Mr. Gladstone himself, but even met with the countenance, for a time, of theologians like Dr. Pusey; and Mr. Hope, owing to Dr. Pusey's influence, was induced to take part professionally in the preparation of some of the preliminaries, when an interview which he had with the Archbishop of Canterbury completely changed his views. That interview is thus described by himself in a letter to Sir Robert Inglis:—

'On the 18th you took me to Lambeth, where we had an interview with the Archbishop. In the course of the conversation you will doubtless remember these points to have occurred. . . . That I strongly urged his Grace to alter the second clause of the Bill, so as to free the Church of England from being styled "Protestant," a title which I said did not belong to it; that I also pointed out the great vagueness of the provisions in that clause as to the relations of the proposed bishop to the various denominations included under the word "Protestant;" that his Grace, in reply to the former objection, maintained that the use of the term "Protestant" was applicable to our Church; that, with reference to the second, he spoke of Jerusalem as a place in which the holders of all kinds of Protestant opinions might, he hoped, exist amicably together under the *protection* of the proposed bishop. Upon which I asked whether his Grace meant that, if a sectarian congregation were to desire to place itself under the protection of the bishop at Jerusalem, this would be permitted! To which (as nearly as I can remember) he replied, "Such a case is not likely to occur; but, if it did, I should say, Yes!" Upon which both you and I exclaimed almost simultaneously that this was a more fitting office for a consul than a bishop.'

We might follow Mr. Hope's narrative further; but what we have quoted will be, we think, sufficient. In it, especially in the last portion of it, is his whole religious history at this crisis in outline. What his connection with the scheme of the Jerusalem Bishopric brought home to him, was the want in the English system of what he had so much admired in the Roman—a coherent authority in matters of organization; an authority which spoke with no uncertain sound, which upheld certain doctrines, and would lend no sanction to any others opposing them; an organization in which the bishops were the guardians of one set of opinions, not Consular 'Gallios,' securing
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a free existence for all. How far it is reasonable to expect in any church such an absolute authority as Mr. Hope's mind longed for, it is not our business to enquire. As we have said once before, we are waiving all such questions.

But it must not be supposed that the affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric destroyed his faith in the Anglican position immediately. It gave that faith its first shock, it is true; but the shock was one whose full effects years of mental trouble were required to make him realize. He had one friend, however, who, judging him by the standard which they both afterwards adopted, was more quick-sighted than himself. The objections to the Jerusalem Bishopric, which struck Mr. Hope generally, struck Mr. Newman's mind with a greater and more concentrated force; and they presently drew forth from him a public protest, in which, having declared that 'the authority of the Church of England rested only on her being a branch of the Catholic Church,' that 'the recognition of heresy on her part would go far to destroy her claim to Catholicity,' and that the Primate of England, in consecrating a Bishop of Jerusalem, would be consecrating a bishop to recognize and to preside over heretics; he wound up as follows: 'On these grounds, I in my place, being a priest of the English Church, and Vicar of St. Mary-the-Virgin's, Oxford, do hereby solemnly protest against the measures aforesaid, as removing the English Church from her present ground, and tending to her disorganization.'

Not many months after this, Mr. Newman took occasion to make a public retractation of certain arguments he had used against the Church of Rome; and again, some months later, he resigned the vicarage of St. Mary's, and retired to Littlemore. Meanwhile, he was busy with the preparation of the '*Lives of the English Saints*,' the volumes of which showed for the first time openly that there were many members of the Anglican Communion in sympathy with some of the most unpopular of the Roman ideas and doctrines—such as Monasticism, the Papal supremacy, and the continuance of miraculous powers in the Church.

All through this period Mr. Newman was in close correspondence with Mr. Hope, and the letters of the latter throw a curious light upon his history. We can see that he was, mentally following in the steps of Mr. Newman, but he was following him at a distance; and he seems always, with a voice of painful anxiety, to be whispering to his friend not to go too far. The '*Lives of the Saints*,' he suggests, might be so toned down as not to give offence to English Churchmen at large; in especial, a lighter touch might be used with regard to any beliefs or feelings

ings on the saints' part, which were undeniably and exclusively Roman. Mr. Newman replied, however, with the characteristic question, 'What! cannot the Church of England bear the lives of her saints?' Two years later, he had become a Catholic.

Why, since they started from such very similar premisses, Mr. Hope's Rome-ward development was so much slower than Mr. Newman's, it is not possible to say. One thing, however, is certain. The cause was not indifference. We mention this, and we do so with special emphasis, because the superficial observer might be tempted to an opposite conclusion. It is no doubt true, and it was observed by Mr. Hope's friends, that after the affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric, his zeal for the Anglican Church, and his high hopes for its future, began to decline. He became reserved in speaking of such subjects; when a friend asked him something about his projected reforms for Merton, he replied that he had ceased to pretend to know what was good or what was bad for a college; and he gave presently a proof more important still of the changed way in which he was coming to regard his own position. At the same time he began to apply himself, with an ardour unknown before, to his business as a Parliamentary Barrister, and it was precisely with the beginnings of his religious doubts, that we must date the beginning of his solid success professionally.

From these facts it would be easy to draw two inferences, either that doubt as to the Anglican position had made him indifferent to religion, or that the growing excitement of a brilliant and lucrative career had made him forget his doubts. Both are equally false. His increased application to business was so far from making him forget his doubts, that it was largely stimulated by a desire to seek relief from the anxiety which these doubts caused him—an anxiety so deep and so constant that, according to Mr. Gladstone, it seemed 'to have weighed heavily on even his bodily health.' Further—and in these days of so much complete scepticism, it is well to note the fact—this anxiety as to his own religious position never for a moment made his devotion lukewarm. His correspondence with Mr. Newman was as close as ever; he was one of the first to know the event of Mr. Newman's conversion; he was a constant communicant; and a careful and sympathetic observer has remarked how striking, when in church, was his simple but intense earnestness. Meanwhile, many of his friends, besides Mr. Newman, had gone over to the Roman Church; and the project of following them was daily presenting itself to his mind; but still he confessed he was wholly unable to decide whether that was the right course, or 'a return to Anglicanism.'

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This last phrase is very significant. It occurs in a letter of his, dated in 1846; and it shows how far he had moved during the last few years. We have already alluded to some other phrase he gave of the same fact. We must now explain our meaning. He had, as we have seen, during the days of his enthusiastic Anglicanism, come to conceive of himself as a semi-monastic character—vowed in some special way to the service of the English Church, bound to some rule of life stricter than that of an ordinary layman, and in particular to a state of celibacy. But now a change became apparent. His doubts of Anglicanism had been preying upon him for five years, and at the close of that period he surprised some of his friends, scandalized several, and delighted others, by the announcement of his engagement to Charlotte Harriet Lockhart, daughter of John Gibson Lockhart, and granddaughter of Sir Walter Scott. Writing to his sister, Lady Henry Kerr, he said that he had been contemplating such a step as this; but that until he met Charlotte Lockhart, he had many doubts whether he should ever marry a wife that would suit him. His young bride did more than dispel all these; and his brief married life with her, though marked with many sorrows, and ending early, brought to him the sunshine and happiness which he had never known before. Nor was he fortunate merely in these strictly personal relations. Much else combined to mark him as a fortunate man. He was now in the very prime of life; he was thirty-five years old; he was already making a magnificent income; there was every prospect of its continuing year by year; and he was fast rising to be the most prominent, respected, and admired member of his branch of the profession.

Even now, however, he was not really at ease. The comfort found in marriage had done nothing to allay the religious anxiety that was still the canker of his peace; and, studiously reserved as he now became upon the subject, it was widely conjectured what direction his thoughts were taking. Mr. Gladstone in particular seems to have divined this; and there are several letters of his which, if we read between the lines, are not only but continued attempts to arrest his friend's course. But Gladstone was not alone in his discernment. Mr. Hope's presumed tendencies were matter of such notoriety that, when the final arrangements with regard to the college at Glenalton were approaching, his name was left out of the Council by the Edinburgh Committee, and one of his closest ties to the university was so soon to be cut for him by his departure before he had himself left it. In his case, as in so many others, the lookers-on saw most of the game; for when on the eve

his marriage Mr. Lockhart, whose aversion to Rome was strong, questioned his future son-in-law as to his real opinion of that communion; he was solemnly assured by Mr. Hope that he had no intention of quitting the Church of England; and it was not till the excitement about 'Papal aggression,' which arose in England in 1850, coupled with the judgment given the same year in the Gorham case, that all the thoughts and arguments that had been for nine years accumulating in Mr. Hope's mind suddenly assumed their final and compelling force, and made him see them, to use his own simile, 'as though a veil had fallen from his eyes.'

With regard to his conversion, which took place some three years after his marriage, Mr. Ornsby has preserved some very interesting letters, in especial one which Mr. Hope wrote to Mr. Gladstone, and to which Mr. Gladstone has touchingly alluded as 'the epitaph of our friendship;' and one which he received from his father-in-law, Mr. Lockhart, full of regret, yet without one word of reproach in it. Regret, indeed, is a word too mild to express Mr. Lockhart's feelings. His son-in-law's conduct, says Mr. Ornsby, caused him a 'deep sense of humiliation.' Such being the case, it is a singular tribute to Mr. Hope's character that Mr. Lockhart wrote to him thus:—

'I am not so presumptuous as to say a word more on that step as respects yourself, who have not certainly assumed so heavy a responsibility without much study and reflection. As concerns others, I am thoroughly aware that they may count upon any mitigation which the purest intention and the most generous and tender feelings on your part can bring. And I trust that this, the only part of your conduct that has given me pain, need not, now or ever, disturb the confidence in which it has of late been a principal consolation to me to live with my son-in-law.'

Nor do these sentiments seem to have undergone the smallest alteration, when his daughter shortly afterwards followed in the footsteps of her husband, though it caused him the most acute pain, and darkened the remaining years of his life.

Mr. Hope at the time of his marriage found Abbotsford, the home of Sir Walter Scott, in possession of his brother-in-law, Walter Lockhart Scott; and since the young man had no inclination to live there, Mr. Hope shortly afterwards rented it from him. A few years later, on Lockhart Scott's death, it passed, in right of his wife, into his own possession, and he assumed the name of Scott in addition to his own. From that time forward it became his principal residence; and whenever he was released from his increasing labours in London, he spent there the larger part of his time.

And now, though many of his early dreams had been shattered, one, which had seemed the least likely of all, was actually fulfilled. In a letter written during his undergraduate days, when he was first seriously contemplating taking orders, he expressed his conviction that the two positions in which a man could be most useful were that of the clergyman and that of the country gentleman; and 'therefore,' he added, 'as the Hall is beyond my reach,' the best thing would be to attempt 'the Rectory.' Subsequent events proved a curious comment on these words. The Hall was his; and the rectory was for ever an impossibility. But, in one respect at least, the views of his youth were verified by him. His own life as a country gentleman showed that he had not exaggerated the power for good which that position can give a man. Admirable, however, as was his life at Abbotsford, and wide-spread as were the effects there of his constant and solicitous kindness, if we would see him as a landlord in his most remarkable light, we must turn to another locality. In 1854 Mrs. Hope-Scott lost her father, who died at Abbotsford. Far from strong as she was, the event preyed upon her spirits, and some change of scene for her began to be eminently desirable. At about this juncture it came to Mr. Hope-Scott's knowledge that a certain estate was for sale in the Western Highlands; and partly with the view of providing his wife with a change of scene, partly owing to a fact connected with the estate itself, he became the purchaser. A more beautiful and attractive place it would be hard to find in Scotland. Even now, so far as communication goes, the district in which it lies is one of the remotest in Britain. Oban, the nearest railway station, is fifty miles distant; and the village of Salen on Loch Sunart, which is, as it were, its port, is even now approached by a steamboat only three times a week. We know no part of the Highlands where the scenery is so wild and beautiful, and which so deeply impresses and dwells so long in the imagination. Its endless alternation of wood, of mountains, and of moorland, its constant surprises of wide and tortuous water, of rocky rivers, of sleeping fresh-water lochs, and of creeks carrying far inland the salt and the sound of the sea, all this makes most even of Scotch scenery seem monotonous by comparison. But even more attractive than the scenery are the traditions and the character of the people. Opposite the house which Mr. Hope-Scott built on the property, stands the ruined castle of the last Clanranald of the Isles; at the head of Loch Shiel, by which the property was bordered, a tower marks the spot where Charles Edward unfurled his banner; and a few miles away, amongst the woods of Kinloch Moidart, an old house is approached by an avenue under which the Young Pretender

tender walked maturing his plans of battle. In this district, if anywhere, there still lingered something of the traditional Highland spirit. The whole population was Catholic, having never known the Reformation; and the priest, whose name was a household word in every cottage, was connected not remotely with men who fell at Culloden.

It was this fact of the population being Catholic that finally decided Mr. Hope-Scott on making the purchase; and he was thus already in sympathy with his tenantry before he came to know them. On arriving amongst them, however, he found them wretchedly poor and neglected. In many parts there was a total absence of roads; the crofts were small; agriculture was but little understood; a bare subsistence was often very difficult to procure; the cottages were nothing but miserable turf cabins; and even the building that did duty for a church was roofed with dilapidated thatch. Mr. Hope-Scott, with the happiest mixture of judgment and energy, at once set himself to the work of improvement. He began by constructing a system of roads, which brought to numbers of the tenantry an immediate increase of wages. He then gave his attention to their own condition; endeavouring by every means to raise their standard of comfort, and doing all he could to help them to realize it practically. It was impossible at once to build new houses for every one; though this even he seems at first to have contemplated; but to all who were willing to build for themselves, he offered not only the materials free of charge, but some 10*l.* or 12*l.* to assist in paying the masons. Thus much he did for all; for the poorest tenants he did still more. He lent them money to increase their stock of cattle, or to tide over losses caused by illness or accident; and though, to encourage amongst them a spirit of independence, he invariably *lent* the money, and never professed to give it, yet when at the end of a successful season the borrowers came to repay it to him, it was his invariable custom also, either to return it to those who brought it, or to desire that it should be passed on to some other poor person in difficulties. This system of active and thoughtful benevolence continued till towards the close of his life, when, not without deep regret, he saw reasons for parting with the property. The regret, however, was modified by one circumstance. The purchaser was his friend and connection, the late Lord Howard of Glossop, who not only shared in his judgment and benevolence, but so emulated him in the exercise of them, that shortly before his lamented death last year, he had the satisfaction to

hear that, in the opinion of the Crofters' Commission, this estate, on which there had been such wretchedness, was one of the best managed in the Highlands.

As is the case with so many other men, the main incidents of Mr. Hope Scott's career, though not its main usefulness, are to be found in the period prior to his having, as is said, settled in life. By the time, or shortly after the time, of his marriage with Miss Lockhart, he had chosen his part both in religion and in the world; and in a certain sense his course thenceforward was a straight one. Still even here there are incidents left to chronicle, which either show his matured character, or else helped to mature it. His sunniest years were those which he first spent at Abbotsford, in spite of the shadows thrown over them by the death of Mr. Lockhart, and the fact of his first child being still-born. The success of his career as a barrister in London, the perfect sympathy and deep attachment of his wife, and the birth by-and-by of a daughter, all combined to make those years a period of true happiness. Unfortunately, however, it was not to continue long; and the end was really begun at the very moment when it seemed completest. One of the dearest wishes of Mr. and Mrs. Hope-Scott had been for a son, who should bear the name and perpetuate the line of Sir Walter Scott. In 1857 such a son was born; and the year afterwards a second daughter. Neither of the children, however, had proved strong; Mrs. Hope-Scott had never really recovered from the effects of the first confinement; and three months had hardly elapsed after the last, before the mother and both infants were gone, and Mr. Hope-Scott was at Abbotsford a widower, alone with his eldest daughter, then a fragile little girl of six, but in whom and her children the line of the great Sir Walter is now happily continued.

This sudden desolation that fell on him, for a time completely stunned him. He gave up all his business as a barrister, and sought seclusion and sympathy, partly with the Duke of Norfolk at Arundel, partly with his brother-in-law and his sister, Lord and Lady Henry Kerr, who were then living at Tours. Gradually, however, by a persistent moral effort, he recovered his self-possession and tranquillity. We have already spoken of him as a poet, and have quoted some of his early verses. The same mode of expression which he was driven to by the doubts of his youth, he again had recourse to, to chronicle the sorrows of his manhood: and the following lines in memory of his two children form the best record we can have of his dejection and of how he conquered it:—

‘My

‘My babes, why were you born,
Since in life’s early morn
Death overtook you, and before
I could half love you, you were mine no more?’

‘Walter, my own bright boy,
Hailed as the hope and joy
Of those who told thy grandsire’s fame,
And looking, loved thee, even for thy name.

‘And thou, my Margaret dear,
Come as if sent to cheer
A widowed heart, ye both have fled,
And, life scarce tasted, lie amongst the dead.

* * * *

‘Then oh, why were you born?
Was it to make forlorn
A father who had happier been
If your sweet infant smiles he ne’er had seen?’

* * * *

‘Yes, you were born to die;
Then shall I grudging sigh
Because to you are sooner given
The crown, the palm, the angel-joy of Heaven?’

‘Rather, O Lord, bestow
On me the grace to bow
Childlike to Thee, and since above
Thou keep’st my treasures, there to keep my love.’

Fortified by the spirit which these verses breathe, a year after his bereavement Mr. Hope-Scott returned to his work, and he was soon again in the full swing of business—a figure at the bar as brilliant and as commanding as ever. Three years later he married a second time. The bride was Lady Victoria Fitzalan Howard, eldest daughter of the late, and sister of the present, Duke of Norfolk. By her he had several children, and under her influence his former spirits revived again; but with regard to this union, which concerns so many persons still living, it is beyond our province to speak except in the slightest way. Mr. Ornsby on this point has shown extreme taste and delicacy; and we feel ourselves bound to an even greater reticence.

Shortly after his second marriage, the health of his eldest daughter, never strong, began to give great anxiety: and it being thought necessary that she should spend every winter in the South, Mr. Hope-Scott bought an estate at Hyères, where as regularly as possible, during the next seven years, he resided with his family, while the cold season lasted in England.

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Many men, when living out of their own country, think they have left their duties to their poorer neighbours behind them. Mr. Hope-Scott was not one of these. He was no less active on his French estate than he was in the Highlands or at Abbotsford; he took the most practical interest in the details of his Provençal farm—in the culture of the olive, the fig, the vine, and the almond, in the manufacture of oil and wine, and in the rearing of rabbits and poultry. His singular facility as a linguist here stood him in good stead; and in addition to winning the hearts of the peasantry by his kindness, he astonished them also by the ease and the correctness with which he spoke to them, in their vernacular, each on his own industry.

These winter retreats to Hyères were not only successful as regards his daughter's health, but were of great service to Mr. Hope-Scott himself, and comparatively short as his life was, it can hardly be doubted that they did much towards prolonging it. Ever since he began his career at the Bar in earnest, his great temptation had been to overwork himself. His early indolence, which he had so bravely conquered, had been succeeded by a passion for labour, which urged him to the other extreme, and with which he did not find himself so able or willing to combat. His friends, amongst them Cardinal Manning, often and earnestly warned him of the danger of such excessive application; and they represented to him exercise and relaxation as a duty; but in vain. On reaching home when his day's pleading was over, he would often drop into a chair, as though almost dead with weariness, and fall then and there into the most profound sleep. Sometimes at dinner, in the midst of uttering a sentence, his voice would fail him, and his eyes close suddenly; sometimes he was carried to bed, almost torpid with exhaustion. Such being the case, had it not been for his periods of enforced quiet, his health would almost certainly have broken down sooner even than it actually did. This was early enough. The loss between 1868 and 1870 of two dear and very early friends, hastened an illness that was in progress from other causes. By the beginning of the latter year, Mr. Hope-Scott could no longer conceal from himself the fact that his condition was becoming critical; and he at last learnt from his physicians that he had functional disease of the heart; though he was told at the same time that any sudden ending to it was very far from probable. He now began seriously to think of retiring, and actually did give up a certain number of causes; but the difficulty he felt in proceeding with this step throws a strong light on his character
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in his mature manhood. 'I own,' he said to a friend, 'I dread giving up. It is almost like the excitement of racing, and the reaction would be so strong, and life so flat, when such an interest is lost, and the stimulus is over.'

Events, however, soon forced on him the decision which he was himself so unwilling to arrive at. Just at this crisis in his life a son, the blessing he had so long wished for, was given to him; but Lady Victoria, whose health had for years been feeble, never recovered from her confinement, and in a few days she died. Mr. Hope-Scott, who was of a sanguine nature that could never realize danger till the calamity had actually fallen on him, received a shock on this occasion from which he never rallied. The morning after his wife's funeral he told a friend that 'his disease had made a stride.' On that very night he sent for his confidential clerk, he altered his will, he destroyed quantities of his papers, and set his house in order, as though he were a dying man.

He now definitely retired from business, and said good-bye to an active life for ever. Most of his time thenceforward, which was indeed not long, he spent at Abbotsford, and found occupation for a year or so in preparing for the press an edition of Lockhart's abridgment of his own *Life of Scott*. Connected with this there is one interesting incident. We have seen how strong, in earlier life, had been Mr. Hope's friendship for Mr. Gladstone. We have seen how Mr. Hope's letter to him, in which he announced his conversion to Catholicism, had been felt by Mr. Gladstone to be the 'epitaph' of that friendship; and though some years back, when he was in the height of his fame and vigour, Mr. Gladstone had made affectionate overtures to him to become his fellow-worker in politics, the only result had been that Mr. Hope-Scott had regretfully declared his inability to be the political partner of one, who was choosing associates with aims different from his own, who would not look beyond the demands of the moment, and who was deliberately closing his eyes to the 'paulo-post-futurum.' But now, preparing this life of Scott, it was to Mr. Gladstone that his thoughts reverted; and to the friend whom he had so loved in his youth, and from whom he had so separated in his middle age, he dedicated what was practically the last work of his life.

During the whole time he was engaged upon it, his health had been steadily failing. In the spring that followed its completion, it became necessary to take him to Bournemouth, where for a short while he rallied. In the July following he came to Abbotsford, where he had the great pleasure of a fortnight's

fortnight's visit from Dr. Newman; and during that happy period of intercourse between the two friends, there was little to suggest how near was their final separation. Dr. Newman, however, had hardly left for a day, when Mr. Hope-Scott began once more to droop. In October the heart-affection became so much worse, that he seemed for a time to be in immediate danger; and though still very weak, he was, as soon as possible, removed with the utmost care, and by easy stages, to London.

There he lingered for some months longer, sometimes apparently on the point of death, sometimes well enough to sit in the library with his little children, and to see his more intimate friends; and it is recorded of him that through all this trying time, pain never for a moment made him irritable, nor did the solemn prospect before him for a moment cloud his cheerfulness. This state of things lasted till the end of April, 1873. On the 28th of that month there was a sudden change for the worse. Sir William Jenner, Sir William Gull, and Mr. Sims, held a consultation, and gave but little hope. The following morning he received the last Sacraments; and that evening at seven he died.

Mr. Ornsby, writing as a Roman Catholic and for Roman Catholics, naturally dwells much on the intensity of Mr. Hope-Scott's faith, and of his absolute reliance on the Church in whose arms he had found a refuge. On this fact, so far as it is connected with Roman Catholicism, it is obviously not our part to dwell. But setting aside all theological differences by which men of one religion are separated from men of another, we cannot better conclude this necessarily imperfect notice, than by recording how, after death, his whole features underwent a curious transformation; how it seemed as though all the beauty of his early youth had returned to them; and how on the worn man's face, as the lid of the coffin darkened it, was the same expression that had been noticed so long ago on the young child's, kneeling in Sandhurst Chapel.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Report of the Localization Committee*, 1872.
 2. *Report of General Lysons's Committee on Brigade Depôts*, 1876.
 3. *Report of General Taylor's Committee on Recruiting*, 1875.
 4. *Report of Lord Airey's Committee on Army Re-organization*, 1881.
 5. *Formation of Territorial Regiments*. 1881.

[T has been proposed in some quarters, as one means of escape from our military difficulties, to re-establish a local European army for India, much stronger in point of numbers than that which served the old East India Company, but organized on the same principle, and subject to the same conditions of service. But such a plan, we have reason to believe, has not commended itself to the approval of certain high military authorities. Their objections to it rest upon various grounds, of which two of the most prominent are,—that soldiers deteriorate rapidly, both physically and morally, after a few years' exposure to an Indian climate, and that an army, isolated as the old Company's used to be, might sooner or later become a danger, rather than a security, to the State. In this latter objection we are unable to discover any force. Twice, indeed, it is true, under the old régime, the Indian Government had some trouble with its army. But besides, that the émeute, if it deserve so to be called, came in either case to nothing, the causes in which it originated were peculiar, and are never likely to occur again. The first took place under Clive's administration, when native regiments were officered entirely by native gentlemen, having two Europeans attached to each—rather as Commissioners than regimental officers—or, if the parallel be more exact, just as a brigadier and his aide-de-camp are connected with regiments under their control. Some of the Commissioners were dissatisfied with the regulations affecting their pay and position, and assumed a threatening attitude, which Clive, without the smallest difficulty, treated as it deserved. The other case occurred when Lord Cornwallis was Governor-General, and that change in the organization of native regiments took place, which, while in outward appearance it brought them into greater conformity with King's regiments, gave a blow to their efficiency from which it never recovered. Native commandants and captains, many of them of long standing, and gentlemen by birth, were little likely to be pleased when they found themselves regimentally placed under the orders of young English captains and even subalterns. They did not, however,

however, mutiny; they only retired one after another from the service, and were replaced by men raised from the ranks. How rapidly the native army deteriorated under the new system, we need not stay to point out. But this much we are bound to add, that we can discover no trace of the spirit of discontent having extended to the European regiments, through which then, and for some time afterwards, all cadets were required to pass, and in which they were expected to acquire some knowledge of the native languages before they could be transferred to native battalions. It seems therefore to us unreasonable to imagine that 40,000 or 50,000 British troops, commanded by British officers, and surrounded by 250 millions of people, differing from themselves in religion, language, and habits, would ever waver in their duty to a Government which dealt liberally with them, and committed to their charge the maintenance of order in its great dependency. And from this conviction we are certainly not to be moved by reference to the affair of 1858, wherein not the Company's European soldiers, but the Queen's Government which grossly ill-used them, was entirely to blame.

We are not, however, prepared to deny that European constitutions suffer from long and continuous exposure to the climate of the great plains of India. And forasmuch as considerable portions of the Indian garrison must spend a good deal of their time in the plains, it is very desirable that the numbers exposed to this risk, and whose services may at any moment be required elsewhere, should be kept as small as possible. This admission, however, so far from militating against the principle of the plan suggested elsewhere, speaks decidedly in its favour, though it may lead to a different process in carrying into effect the measure proposed. Instead of a local army for India, we might have certain regiments better paid than the rest, into which only recruits willing to engage for twelve years with the colours should be admitted. The foreign service of these regiments might, under ordinary circumstances, be limited to India and the adjacent islands, though in the event of war in Europe or elsewhere they would be at the free disposal of the Government. This idea has been thrown out in the House of Commons, and is not without plausibility, but it is open to grave objections. Two armies, in all respects distinct, would act, as they did before, harmoniously within a limited sphere. To place one portion of the same army on a footing of advantage, as regards pay, over the other, could lead only to discord. We say nothing of
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the jealousies which would probably arise between the officers serving with the different sections of this army. He who fared worse than his neighbour, in the matter of pay, would console himself by regarding his social position as superior, while the determination not to be treated as a local might deter the richer man from respecting the prejudices, and cultivating the languages, of the natives. If therefore a special army for India is to be formed at all, it must take, in the main, the shape of the old army, though the absolute charge of India and the adjacent islands need not, in our opinion, be entrusted to it.

The resuscitation of a local European army for India will not however, if it stand alone, bring order out of the confusion into which our military system has fallen. To effect that most desirable end, nothing short of a radical change in the organization of the home army, and especially of the Infantry, will suffice. The double-battalion formation, resting on a common *dépôt*, has broken down. The distribution of battalions into eight companies offers no advantages over the old distribution into ten. It has proved on the contrary less elastic, and therefore less suited to the conditions of battalions so peculiarly circumstanced as ours. So also the accumulation of field officers, though perhaps necessary as a counterpoise to the abolition of purchase, is at once a cumbersome and an expensive scheme; and even the reserved pay, for which so much can be said in theory, seems in practice to operate disadvantageously to the public service. In a word, the machine, in spite of all that is said to the contrary in Parliament, in after-dinner speeches, and in the press, is thoroughly out of gear, and will soon become practically useless, unless steps be taken at once, and in earnest, to avert the calamity. Where are we to turn for a competent adviser in such a strait, and a model on which to construct our improvements?

We regret to say that it has become the fashion, in quarters where we should little expect to find it, to speak slightly of the administrative abilities of the most perfect military administrator this country ever produced. Venture to quote the opinion of the great Duke of Wellington on any subject connected with the army, and you are met with the assurance that his authority goes for nothing; that, clear as his judgment may have been for the age in which he lived, both his opinions and his practices are out of date. Such a revolution has taken place within the last twenty years in all military matters, in the size of armies, in their composition, in their armament, and so forth, that we might as well look into *Cæsar's Commentaries* for instruction in the art of war, as follow the course pursued by

by the Duke in the organization of a modern army. Now, apologizing humbly for the use of so unmannerly an expression, we are constrained to say that this is sheer nonsense. It is, moreover, uncandid nonsense. The Duke's system of organization had no necessary connection either with the size of armies or the weapons which they carry. It touched only the order in which troops, whether few or many, should be told off in an empire circumstanced as no other is on the earth's surface. Neither is it affected one way or another by the conditions of long or short service. The Duke preferred long service, and made no secret of his regret in partially parting with it. But the campaigns of Sadowa and Sedan had not been fought when he consented to exchange twenty-one for twelve years' service; and long before the policy of creating a paid reserve suggested itself, he had passed away. It is not therefore in dealing with this part of our subject that we turn for instruction to his views. What alone we are called upon to examine is, the arrangements he made for furnishing the country, at the least possible expense, with an army adequate to the demands that were likely to be made upon it then, and to consider how far, if adopted now, they might be found equal to the requirements of the present time. For, open as we feel ourselves to be to the charge of old-fogeyism, we confess to the weakness of considering the Duke of Wellington and his system to be the only safe guides which it becomes any English army reformer to follow.

But here, at the outset, we must request the reader to distinguish between the system which prevailed prior to the death of the Duke of York, and that which took its place after the Duke of Wellington became Commander-in-chief. The old system gave to most of our infantry regiments two battalions, to some even more. The 60th, now the King's Rifle Regiment, had six battalions; the 95th, now the Prince Consort's Rifle Brigade, three; and, if our memory do not play us false, the First or Royal Regiment, three likewise; the remainder, with a few exceptions, consisted severally of two, the mode of dealing with which was as follows:—

With but one short interval between 1793 and 1815, England, we must remember, was carrying on war in every quarter of the globe. She had armies in the field on the continent of Europe, in India, in America, and in Africa, all of them, more or less numerous, and all equally fed from home. The infantry regiments which took part in these wars were represented in the field, if consisting of two battalions, by one of these; if of three, by two battalions; if of more, as was the case with the 60th, we cannot say exactly by how many, because the 60th was made

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up largely of foreigners, and recruited principally from among our prisoners of war. We had besides these in our service corps avowedly foreign, such as the German Legion, the Brunswickers, the Chasseurs Britanniques, and others, of which it is unnecessary to say anything, because, though very good troops, especially the German Legion and the Brunswickers, they managed their internal affairs, as well as their recruiting, each on its own system.

It followed as a necessary result from this organization, that the second battalions, or those left at home, were made up almost entirely of very old or very young soldiers. All men, as soon as they became matured and had mastered their drill, were sent off in drafts to the battalions abroad, leaving their places to be filled up with recruits and volunteers from the militia. The single-battalion regiments, on the other hand, depended for being kept complete upon an eleventh company, created for *depôt* purposes, and liable to be suppressed on the return of the regiment from foreign service.

Had the defence of the realm from invasion depended in those days on its home army, our condition would have been even more unsatisfactory than it is now. This was not, however, the case. Behind the regular forces stood a militia, numerous, well trained, and constantly under arms. Next came Pitt's army of reserve, represented by thirteen garrison battalions; after them, fourteen veteran battalions, none of them so completely worn out as to be unfit for garrison duty; and, last of all, a local militia, the successors of the volunteers, stout men, to be counted by tens of thousands, but without much discipline, because rarely embodied, and only for short intervals. But above all and before all, we had a navy, which had so entirely established its supremacy that, during the last three years of the great French war, no enemy's craft would venture out to sea, except at the risk of being sunk or captured. Whether our navy of the present day is equally to be relied on, is for the Government to determine. If it be not, we may find ourselves, when we least expect it, more dependent for the defence of London upon the native valour of our volunteers and militia than on the steady discipline of our regular army.

In 1815 England so far disarmed, that her militia returned to their homes, the foreign corps were broken up, the garrison and veteran battalions disbanded, and the local militia dissolved. The necessity of providing a contingent to the army of occupation in France prevented, however, for two or three years, any large reduction in the strength of the regular army. During this interval, and further on till the Duke of York died, the organization

organization of the home army continued to be in all essential respects exactly what it was prior to the cessation of hostilities. But, on the accession of the Duke of Wellington to the chief command of the army, those changes of system were introduced, of which, and of the results to which they led, we shall now give some account.

Into the arrangements previously made for the safeguarding of India, he introduced few changes. All that he insisted on was, that the regiments, both of horse and foot, employed on that service, should be of a certain given strength, and if the arrangements which he sanctioned for keeping them complete were less perfect than they might have been, the fault rested less with him than with the East India Company. A regiment showing on parade 600 mounted troopers can be sufficiently fed, no doubt, from a *depôt* starting with 100; a battalion, which puts in line 1000 bayonets, ought to have a more fruitful source of recruiting to draw upon than a single company. The Duke, as a letter of his presently to be quoted shows, was fully aware of this fact, yet the Company insisted on arranging the matter in their own way, and the Company sixty years ago was a power in the State. We accordingly find that up to 1852—and we select that year because it was the last of the great Duke's life—the arrangements with the India House were these. The Company consented to borrow from the Crown only cavalry and infantry. They had an adequate force of their own in artillery and engineers, as well as nine regiments of European infantry; and even of Queen's cavalry and infantry, they stipulated that not too many should be thrust upon them. We accordingly find that in 1852 only five regiments of British cavalry and twenty-four battalions of infantry did duty in India, of which the aggregate strength was—of cavalry, 146 officers and 3450 non-commissioned officers and men; and of infantry, 862 officers, and 23,866 non-commissioned officers and men. This shows a total force of 28,324 British soldiers on whom the climate of India must, for good or for ill, exercise its influence; and that too at a time when much less attention was paid, both in civil and military life, than is paid now, to the principles of hygiene.

We have said that the Duke required every cavalry regiment in the country to be kept up at 600 sabres, and every infantry battalion at 1000 bayonets. The extra troops and companies, on which these corps were severally to rest, he gathered together, the former in the first instance at Maidstone, by-and-by, we believe, at Canterbury, the latter at Chatham; where, under commanders usually selected with great care, the recruits learned as
much

of their soldiery duties as it was possible to learn in , though, for obvious reasons, open to serious objections. ing thus provided for India, the Duke set himself to e a system which should as much as possible lessen pense of keeping up the rest of the army without ing its efficiency. That in dealing with both cavalry tillery he allowed considerations of economy to carry o far, his most ardent admirers will allow. The first he wn below what was necessary by disbanding one regiment 18th Hussars—and fixing the peace establishment of all t at a very low figure. The artillery he crippled by ing it of its special corps of drivers, and discharging too gunners. There is no denying that, had England been upon under such circumstances to play again a great t Europe, the army which she sent into the field would at, in these arms, a rather sorry figure. But the Duke d on a long continuance of peace, towards the maintenance ich the prestige of his great name largely contributed, had besides been dragged away from continued attention affairs of the army into the arena of party politics, for he possessed neither inclination nor aptitude. From this e artillery and cavalry of the British army suffered. It t so with the infantry, on the organization of which, as especially for England, the most important arm of the , he bestowed great care. Of the objects which he kept v while devising his plan, and of his continued belief in ellency, we have proof in the following extract from a which he addressed in 1839 to the present Earl Grey—ord Howick, and Colonial Secretary :—

elieve that I was the person who originally suggested the on of the peace establishment of the infantry of the line of y, each battalion into two bodies, one of six companies for abroad, the other of four companies called the depôt. The ns were, as well as I can recollect, at that time 740 men, numbers were divided as follows: six service companies, each en, 516 men; four depôt companies, 224. The objects of the ation were to provide for service abroad efficient battalions, the same time, in some degree for the service of the United m; to utilise for the service of the public the recruiting and establishments of the regiments abroad, which must have ed within the United Kingdom; to provide for keeping com- n numbers and efficiency the service companies of each n employed abroad, by aiding in recruiting; by training to ipline of the regiment, arming, clothing, and equipping the which should be raised; by sending them periodically as d to join the service companies abroad, each detachment of them

them under the command of officers and non-commissioned officers to be embarked with them. In order to provide for the service, and that each of these depôts might be able to render efficient service according to its numbers, not only were the officers belonging to the several companies left complete, but it has been the practice, and it was originally intended, that all officers at home and not employed on particular duty should be considered as belonging to, and liable to be called upon to join, the depôt. Thus the depôt system, as originally established, provided for keeping the battalions abroad complete in good, efficient, and well-trained men. It secured for the service of the State the services of officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers while employed, and that to the amount in late years of not less than fifty-six organized, well-trained, well-disciplined, and well-commanded military bodies, each capable of performing all the services that might be required from the numbers of which it was composed. It was besides thought that the establishment of the depôt system would enable the Government at any time to augment the numbers of the infantry of the army, or any part thereof, without any immediate addition to the number of officers or non-commissioned officers, or increase of expense except for the additional men raised.'

It will be seen from the above extract that, severe as the strain on our infantry may be in 1884, it was even more severe in 1839. We have now on foot 141 battalions; we had then only 103. With 50 battalions in India, and 20 scattered through the colonies and foreign garrisons, we ought to have 71 at home. At the period to which the Duke's letter refers we had 80 battalions abroad and only 23 at home. But the difference between our position now and then is, that now our home battalions are of unequal strength, and all depleted by the necessity of feeding those which are abroad, whereas our 23 battalions in 1839 were of a uniform strength and composed entirely of trained men. Behind them, moreover, stood 56 depôts, each a compact though small body, fully officered, carefully trained, and admirably adapted for the occupation of the many minor but not unimportant military posts with which Great Britain, and still more Ireland, abounds. But this is not all. In process of time the strength of the service companies was raised to 600 rank and file, while the depôts, which when first thrown off mustered 220 respectively, grew larger from day to day till many of them reached 300, and some even more. We thus find that in 1852, after providing for all our foreign possessions, in which, be it remembered, were included Canada, Australia, and the Ionian Islands, we had disposable at home 38 mature battalions, of which 34 were on an establishment of 850, and the four others, making up among them our only two-battalion regiments, two of 660, and two of 600.

600. If we bring these items into one sum, we shall see that the trustworthy force of infantry at that time, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Channel Islands, amounted to 29,260, backed up by 7520 younger soldiers, all of them under careful training, many quite fit to take their places in the ranks. Can we make such a boast now, or anything like it? Nor is this all that can be said for these diminutive military bodies. There was not one among them but was capable of rapid expansion whenever the occasion arose. Should one of the little wars have broken out, to which we always have been and always must be liable, and five or six or even ten infantry regiments been ordered abroad, their places at home could soon have been filled by the simple and inexpensive process of adding 150 or 200 recruits to each depôt. If a great European war impended, then every depôt could in a short time have been converted into a second battalion, and a supplementary army thus raised to support that already under arms.

It is perfectly true, and the truth must never be lost sight of, that in 1852 the term of service for the soldier with the colours stood at twelve years; that the militia, long neglected, had practically died out; and that the sole reserve in existence was what remained of Lord Hardinge's enrolled pensioners. We are far, therefore, from censuring those who, in 1872, made the first serious move towards atoning for the blunders which in 1854 their predecessors in office had committed. But that for which we do blame them is, that they failed to lay their hands on the true cause of the breakdown during the Crimean War, and, instead of building up a new army on the lines laid down by the Duke, and adapting his system to the change of circumstances which time had brought about, they took for their model the military customs of a nation which recruits its army by conscription, and has no foreign dependencies to guard. Nor were they sufficiently consistent with themselves to adopt these customs *en bloc*. Short service for the soldier with the colours, and longer service in the reserve, is thoroughly Prussian. So is the double-battalion system for regiments of the line, with, however, the same peace establishment common to all. But whatever followed in the organic changes introduced seems to have been suggested at random, now this by one trusted authority, now that by another; till not soldiers only, but observant civilians likewise, became thoroughly perplexed, and began to ask one another whether we were ever to have a fixed plan of military administration again.

We are not going to try our own patience and the reader's by any attempt to analyse the reports of the never-ending Commissions

sions and Committees which have already deliberated, or may now be deliberating, on questions of military policy. We must, however, refer to them, because they testify to what is perhaps the most glaring defect in our military system, namely, the handing over the absolute and unrestricted management of the army and all its affairs to a civilian, of whom it is not going too far to say that, however gifted he may be in other respects, however eloquent in debate and wise in counsel, it is simply impossible that he can possess more than the merest smattering of knowledge of the very complicated machine which he undertakes to regulate. Nor does the absurdity end there. So distasteful to Her Majesty's Ministers is the office in Pall Mall, that they all get out of it as fast as they can, thankful to escape from the attempt to master details, the *rationale* of which it passes their powers of understanding to take in. Hence one Minister of War succeeds another, conscious that he is relegated to a task beyond his strength, and feeling that, for a while at least, he must sit at his desk, surrounded by an atmosphere of Cimmerian darkness, through which his predecessor perhaps tells him jocularly that to the last he could perceive only a glimmering of light.

It was not so in former times, when the Commander-in-Chief was a real power in the State, and the Master-General of the Ordnance (an officer of acknowledged ability and experience) presided over the deliberations of a Board through which the army received all its material, and not a few of its intellectual, supplies. Then the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies interfered no more in military matters than became the mouth-piece of the Cabinet, whose duty it was, and always must be, to determine what amount of force the Crown shall keep on foot, and on what services it shall be employed. Now there is not a detail so minute, be it the shape of a soldier's knapsack or the head-dress he is to wear, but must be submitted to the consideration of the War Minister, and by him determined. Yea, and there is one other and perhaps more serious inconvenience attendant on the arrangement. Ever since a special Secretary of State became, under the Crown, the visible head of the army, there has been at work a chronic antagonism between the War Office and the Horse Guards, which, however it may be concealed from the general public, is perfectly well known to all men connected with the army. Hence the constant appeals for advice to Commissions and Committees, of which one not unfrequently contradicts another, and from the recommendations of which the dullest intellect is at no loss to ascertain to which of the rival authorities the reporting body desires to give its support. Why this should be,

be, it is impossible to understand. When England, in imitation of foreign nations, was bamboozled into demanding a War Minister, *per se*, why did the Government stop short of appointing some great soldier to the office? Observe that we do not say that such an arrangement would have been preferable to that under which our greatest military exploits were achieved. Far from it. But surely it would have given better promise of fair treatment, both to the soldier and the taxpayer, than they have hitherto received, or are likely to receive, from whatever chance civilian happens to be pitchforked into Pall Mall. Oh, but, we shall be told, such a proceeding would have been quite unconstitutional. Unconstitutional! Why so? Constitutional Belgium, equally with autocratic Russia, democratic France, the federation of Switzerland, and the United States of America, all entrust the Portfolio of War to a General Officer, who goes out of office when his party goes, and is succeeded by another General, of perhaps a different shade of politics, but quite as determined as he to do his duty both by the country and the army. What good reason can be assigned for our not following the same course when Lord Palmerston's long-cherished desire to abolish the office of Commander-in-Chief was accomplished? Was it because the English army alone among armies had never brought to the front, and was never likely to do so, an officer worthy to take a seat in the Cabinet? Surely this is grossly to libel a service which gave us, in the memory of men not yet old, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Hastings, the Marquis of Anglesey, the Earl of Hopetoun, and Sir George Murray. And the libel is, moreover, without a tittle of historical truth to rest upon. Till times comparatively recent the Master-General of the Ordnance for the time being was always a Cabinet Minister, and stood towards the Government, more decidedly than the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, as their adviser on military questions. Greater difficulty might doubtless be encountered now, than was the case fifty years ago, in finding a seat in the House of Commons for a soldier candidate, if a Commoner the General happened to be. But that is a risk which might very safely be run, as safely, at least, as it is run now, when some able partisan, without any special qualification for the task, is called upon to exchange the quietude of private Parliamentary life for the most laborious and thankless office in the gift of the Prime Minister. Let this pass, however, that we may take a rapid survey of all that our civilian War Ministers have done to promote the efficiency of the army.

Taking only a bird's-eye view of the many changes of plan which characterized the interval between 1872 and 1883,—the

three years' service with the colours, merging first into five, then into seven, and ultimately, under special circumstances, into eight; the outlay of three millions upon undersized barracks, which were to constitute the common home of recruits for the line and the militia; the linking of battalions which still retained their distinctive regimental numbers and traditions;—passing by these and many other schemes, neither more beneficial while in operation, nor more enduring—we find ourselves face to face with an Infantry told off into sixty-nine regiments, of which, as far as the line is concerned, two consist of four battalions, one of a single battalion, and all the rest of two battalions respectively. To these, by a stroke of the official pen, have been added, as subsidiary battalions, militia regiments, in most cases two, in others as many as four, with which our line regiments now share a common territorial designation. For each accumulated body—the two or more line battalions, and the two or more militia regiments—one, and only one, *depôt* is provided, on which, in theory at least, they are all to depend for making good such gaps in their ranks as may be occasioned by the waste, under which head casualties, however brought about, are classed. In or near these diminutive barracks resides a colonel on the staff, to whom is committed the charge of superintending and directing the operations of a considerable body of recruiting agents, and whose duty it is to inspect and exercise a general superintendence over both the line and the militia, as well while both are in an embryo state, as when the militia are embodied. Under him act, first the adjutant—a captain or major of the line—whose services are extended both to line and militia; next the major, who has charge of the four skeleton companies which make up the line *depôt*; then the captains, lieutenants, and non-commissioned officers, attached to these companies; and last of all the permanent staff of the militia. The machinery thus created is expensive, to which, however, no serious objection could be offered, did it prove adequate to the purposes expected from it, of establishing such a connection between the two military bodies as might induce a rapid and continuous flow of militiamen into the line. So far, however, as we can learn, this is certainly not the case, to any perceptible degree above what used to prevail in the days of volunteering. With respect again to direct recruiting, recent experience has certainly shown that, under the new system, the country has been more thoroughly searched than it ever was under the old. Yet whatever advantage may have been gained in the increased number of recruits, has been lost through a defective mode of dealing with them.

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the dépôt, as now constituted, is nothing more, and unless barracks be considerably enlarged, can never be made anything better, than a receiving-house for recruits. There is not accommodation in the largest of these barracks for more than two hundred men, which, considering that they are intended to house militia as well as line recruits, is of itself sufficient to condemn the policy which wasted so much money on them. The consequence is that, so far as concerns the first, the regimental dépôt is the merest farce. Men pass out of every day, to home or second battalions, uninstructed in the elements of drill, and each second battalion becomes in consequence neither more nor less than a nursery to the first.

It will not do to meet this objection by urging that such was the case during the great war, and such must always be the case, in this country, so long as a double-battalion organization is adhered to. The conditions of the double-battalion regiments during the great French war were very different from those which attend the double-battalion organization of the present day.

Every regiment in the service started at the beginning of the great war with its single battalion. As the pressure for men increased, one regiment after another was instructed to form a second battalion, which it did by forming a nucleus of its own officers, non-commissioned officers, and old soldiers, around them collected recruits, who were trained. The transfer of drafts from one of these battalions, under the command of their own officers to the other, affected the men composing them no more than if they had been passed from number five company to number six or seven. They found every duty carried on, every usage in force, exactly as they had been accustomed to find it all their military lives. Can this be said in the case of two battalions, both of old standing, each proud of its cherished traditions, and neither at all satisfied with the connection that has been forced upon it? We venture haphazard to quote an example.

The 53rd and 85th, both excellent regiments, were condensed under recent regulations into the Shropshire Light Infantry. Now the 85th, prior to the junction, was the King's Light Infantry, well known also as the Bucks Volunteers. The 53rd was the Shropshire regiment, and, not being Light Infantry, prided itself on the excellence of its drum-band. Now light infantry regiments have no drums, they are guided on all occasions by bugle calls. Regiments not light infantry, on the other hand, though they do not quite neglect the bugle, are guided on almost all occasions of barrack-duty by the tap of the drum. What is the 85th man, now a soldier of the second battalion of the Shropshire

shire regiment, to do when he finds himself directed, on joining the first battalion, by the tap of the drum? And must the 53rd, the older regiment of the two, lay aside the drums which they had taken infinite pains to render perfect, for no other reason than because their junior section happens to work entirely with bugles? This is only one out of many inconveniences which attend the present system, and the mischief may not end there. The 53rd used to be, we believe, great favourites in Shropshire. A large proportion of the recruits came from that county. Is there not a risk, now that the *depôt* is composed mainly of 85th men, that the connection between the county and its territorial regiment may be damaged?

The single *depôt*, common to two battalions of the line, and we really cannot venture to say how many of the militia, was established while as yet the colour service for the soldier extended to seven years. From the first it failed, though aided by recruiting at head-quarters, in keeping up the army at its Parliamentary establishment. But in due time arrived a crisis, on the possible occurrence of which the War Office seems never to have calculated: the twelve years for which some men, the seven or eight for which more had taken on, came to an end, and applications to be transferred to the reserve came in, especially from India, by the thousand. What was to be done? We could not send out untrained boys to take the places of time-expired men, even if we had had them to send. And the depleted condition of the majority of the battalions at home showed that we had them not. Well, money can achieve much in most cases, if it be judiciously handled; and money, supplemented with a good deal of soft solder, prevailed upon rather more than six thousand of the Indian garrison to prolong their services to twelve years. Still, however, the waste continued to exceed the supply, and measures still more decisive became necessary to stop it. What does the reader imagine the measures were? Nothing short of a return to three years' service with the colours, accompanied by an assurance to the recruit that he shall be allowed, if so disposed, at the expiration of that term to serve on for twelve; and then if further disposed to abide in the ranks he shall be permitted to do so, till after completing his twenty-one years he becomes entitled to a pension. Nor was it thus only that inducements were held out to the youth of England to enlist. The foot-guards, on whom the experiment was first tried, had the minimum standard height lowered from 5 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 7. The bait took, and now we are informed that the vacancies in this brigade, which amounted at one time to upwards of 1000, have

have come down to something like 100 or 150. And next came the line to be dealt with, of the condition of which the report of the Director-General of Recruiting gives, we believe, an honest account. The minimum age at which a recruit is to be secured continues to be officially 18. There is some reason to believe that a good many lads make their way into the ranks at 17 and even less. But, that deception on that head may be more easily practised, the minimum height measurement has been lowered to 5 feet 3, and the minimum measurement round the chest to 32 inches. Great, we are assured, has been the success of these regulations. The deficiency, which not long ago amounted to above 14,000, has been reduced to half that figure, and more and more aspirants for military glory are daily coming in. Nothing could be more jubilant than the tone of Lord Hartington's speech in moving the army estimates the other day. We wonder in what key he or his successor will sing when three years hence, or possibly sooner, he finds himself called upon to tell the nation in what state its army is.

Not yet, however, have we reached the extreme limits to which, in dealing with armed men, our rulers seem disposed to carry the system of coaxing. They are as well aware as we, that an army composed exclusively of three-years'-service men cannot possibly perform the colonial, much less the Indian duties, on which English soldiers must be employed. And they likewise know that the chances against any man holding on for either twelve years or for a pension are at least as many, probably more than in favour of his doing so. It is rumoured, therefore, that against this contingency they are preparing a remedy. Every soldier serving, or under orders to serve, abroad, is to have his pay raised perhaps by sixpence a day; and it is confidently anticipated that he will not only embark cheerfully, whether his three years' term be near or far away, but that, once landed either in the far East or the far West, he will be perfectly satisfied to abide and do duty there as long as his superiors may desire. Will any statesman in his senses rely on such chance? Is it probable that a young man who at twenty-one years of age has knocked about for three years in the world, especially if he come from that better educated class from which modern enthusiasts count upon gathering in their recruits, will be tempted, if any opening in civil life present itself, to postpone the advantage of it by the offer of sixpence additional pay, especially when he can claim three years' reserved pay whereabout to equip himself for his new employment? But this is not

Is this additional pay to be handed over to the soldier when he is actually serving in the East or West Indies?

Just

Just think of the effect upon his temper and subsequent conduct when, on returning to England, he finds himself engaged for what will appear to him a never-ending servitude, and at the same time cheated out of the price at which he had been lured into selling his liberty. Or is it intended to continue to the returned warrior his extra sixpence, and thus in an underhand manner, and without the sanction of Parliament, to raise the pay of the whole army?

We could pursue this line of argument much further, and point out many more glaring defects in the military system which has still, to our great surprise, some, though not, we believe, many, advocates in the army itself. It will be more to the purpose, however, if we devote what space remains for us to a consideration of what, if anything, can be done to put the British army once more on such a footing as becomes the vast empire of which it is the appointed guardian. That we shall succeed in carrying Her Majesty's present advisers with us, we cannot reasonably expect. Nothing short of some great national calamity, or the imminent dread of it, ever induced, in a constitutional country, the party in power to acknowledge that their policy was a failure, and in this case our friends of the Opposition have too much committed themselves to the mistakes of their predecessors to make us sanguine of better success with them. The 'times,' however, 'are out of joint;' the occasion is more than a serious one. We shall therefore take the liberty of stating plainly what ought to be, and what we believe may be done 'to set them right,' comforted by the reflection, if nothing come of it, that we have, at all events, relieved our own minds by telling the truth.

In an earlier portion of this article we described, at considerable length, the leading features of what we called the Duke's system. That it did little for either the cavalry or artillery of the British army, we freely admitted. Its effect, indeed, upon these branches of the service was rather injurious than otherwise, for it cut both down below the proper point without effecting any change in their organization. But the merits of the Duke's system are not to be tried by its effect on one or two descriptions of troops, the full value of which in war was, in truth, by no means recognized in the Duke's day. In his eyes the infantry was the backbone of all armies, and in an especial manner of the army of England, which has duties to perform in numberless places, where both cavalry and field-artillery would be of no use. His grand object, therefore, was to fit the Queen's forces for the parts which they would be required to play, rather in times of peace than against an enemy in

in the field; and how he achieved that end, or persuaded himself that he had done so, we have already explained.

The point, therefore, at which we are aiming is, that for a British army the Duke's system, so modified as to meet the requirements of the present time, is not only the best, but the only system on which it is possible to act with any assured prospect of success. And do not let this statement be met by replying that the Duke's system broke down as soon as it was fairly tried; it did nothing of the sort. A weak Government drifted into a war, on the possible occurrence of which they never allowed themselves to count, and against which to the last moment they refused to prepare. The consequence was that, when the war came, and they found themselves pledged to put five-and-twenty thousand men in the field, they could do so only by destroying the entire army through the hideous process of breaking up depôts and calling for volunteers from one battalion into another. Had the militia been embodied in time, and the word passed to depôts to recruit, we might have had an ample reserve in hand before the first shot was fired, to fill up vacancies as they occurred in the Crimea. Because this was not done, that collapse in our military strength took place, against which it was the object of the Duke's system to provide.

But the Duke's system, we may be told, made no provision for a trained reserve, and was not overweighed by the necessity to which we are now subjected, of keeping half our army, or nearly so, permanently employed in India. This is quite true, but it tells in no degree, as far as our infantry are concerned, against the excellency of the system, considered as a model on which to work. The Indian difficulty is altogether of our own creation. The advice of all men best acquainted with India and its wants was over-ridden, and, instead of holding the country by a combined force of local and general-service British troops, the duty was assigned to the general-service troops exclusively. Now it was part of the Duke's system that this should not be; and, before touching the question of a trained reserve, it is therefore right that we should call to mind both how the Duke arranged for the matter just referred to, and what were the consequences of his arrangement, both military and financial.

We have given previously the details of the force which was lent by the Crown to the Company for the protection of India. It consisted in 1852 of twenty-four battalions of infantry and five cavalry regiments, the expense of maintaining and recruiting which came out of the Indian Treasury. In addition to this contingent the Company had a European army of its own, numbering in all between fifteen and sixteen thousand men.

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The native army amounted to not less than 261,184, of whom 21,327 were cavalry, 2723 artillery, 2700 engineers, and the rest infantry. The expenditure on the maintenance of this array, amounting in all to well nigh 300,000 combatants, was exactly 10,622,602*l.* sterling. Contrast this with the state of affairs which the suppression of the local European army and the handing over the care of India to the exclusive care of troops of the line has brought about. The Indian garrison of 1883-4 ought to consist, if complete, which it is not, of 61,661 European troops—cavalry, artillery, engineers—and of 126,013 natives, of whom 100,889 are infantry, the residue cavalry, artillery, and engineers. The cost of this array to the Indian Treasury was, according to the revised estimate for 1882-3, barely less, by the trifle of some 25,000*l.*, than 16,000,000*l.* Now we are not prepared to say that the 180,000 men now under arms (we speak in round numbers) may not prove a better defence for India than the 300,000 whom they have replaced. But it can scarcely be denied that the cost to the taxpayers of India of the lesser force offers a remarkable contrast to what was paid for the greater. The troops now embodied do not amount to two-thirds of those under arms in 1852, while the expenditure on the army has increased in the proportion of just upon one-half.

We repeat that we are far from questioning the superiority of the present army of India over the past for war purposes. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. The superiority is, we believe, owing, not more to the large increase of the European element, than to the improved organization of the native regiments. These are no longer recruited, as they used to be, in particular provinces, and from men of high caste. Men of high caste and no caste stand shoulder to shoulder together, and are no longer over-officered with Englishmen, many of whom could of late years converse with their inferiors only through an interpreter. We have wisely returned to the custom which prevailed prior to Lord Cornwallis's administration, and thrown open to the sons of native gentlemen the way to advancement in the military service of the Crown. The effect upon the native army is, we are assured, most excellent. That it would be either prudent or fair to leave that army without an adequate support of European troops to fall back upon, we are far from believing. But we do believe that, both in peace and war, the new Indian army is thoroughly trustworthy, and that the European officers under whom it serves would go with it anywhere, and try at least to do anything. Nor is it thus alone that our military hold upon India is firmer than it was in other days. Under the Company's regime, not only was colonization by Europeans held

be impossible, but even to travel in India without a passport as for a European forbidden. All that is changed now. There are English settlers everywhere, the employers of labour, and superior labourers themselves, every one of whom is enrolled in a company of volunteers; and these, as railway communication extends, will become year by year, if Lord Ripon do not interfere with them, more numerous. Under such circumstances it appears to us that the time has come when the strain which India puts upon the English army may with perfect safety be lessened; and there are only two modes by which so desirable an end may be effected. Either the permanent occupation of India may be handed over to a local European force, consisting of all arms, and numbering fifty thousand men, or the force so employed may be made up partly of locals, and partly of troops of the line.

To the first of these proposals it is objected that, besides the risks alluded to previously, there is the perfect certainty that, if this expedient were adopted, a serious blow would be given to our military efficiency. India has been for a hundred years England's great war-school. There Clive, Wellington, Lake, and others, learned how to command armies in the field; and there, in the petty operations which are continually going on at the frontier and among the hills, the officers and non-commissioned men of the present day acquire no small amount of military experience. Deprive them of this, and you will reduce your army through constant service in garrisons to the condition of militia. There is some force, we must admit, in this objection, but not very much. The Prussian army spends all its time, except when at war with a neighbouring State, in home barracks; yet nobody will speak of the Prussian soldiers as mere militia men. And our own Guards never leave England, except to meet a foreign enemy. Yet they used to be considered, and justly so, the best infantry in the world. Still, we are far from denying that the line-army—its cavalry and artillery, as well as its infantry—learns useful lessons from service in India, from which it would be a pity to exclude them. There remains, therefore, the second proposal to be considered, as well as the best mode—should no overwhelming opposition be offered—of carrying it into effect.

The Duke's system, if, indeed, it may be said to have extended to the occupation of India at all, will, in considering the point immediately before us, serve both as a guide and a warning. It will guide us in fixing the numerical strength to which the local regiments intended for service in India ought to be reduced; it may warn us against following too closely the process by

by which arrangements were made for keeping line regiments complete. It may help us likewise in determining what shall be both the strength and the composition of the local European army. In both respects it is self-evident that a local army, built upon the scantling of the old Company's European army, would be insufficient. If any useful measure of relief is to be afforded to the line-army—indeed, we will go further—unless we be prepared to see the line-army melt away, a force considerably more imposing, in every respect, than served the purpose forty years ago must be embodied for exclusive Indian service. The lowest figure at which we could venture to put it is 25,000 of all arms. The work would be more satisfactorily done were the numbers raised to 30,000. Be this, however, as it may, on one point all competent judges will, we think, agree. The local artillery ought not to fall short of 5000, the local cavalry of 3000, and if we cannot be persuaded to add to these 20,000 infantry, at all events let us have 16,000 or 18,000. How these troops are to be raised, and on what footing placed as regards pay allowances and prospects, we are not called upon to explain. But we venture to express the opinion that, if the opportunity be afforded them, more than enough, both of officers and men, will gladly exchange a service which, in many respects, is less popular than it once was, for one which they can really regard as a profession, and in which they shall be able to secure a moderate competency against old age.

It is self-evident that enlistment into the Indian local army cannot be for a term of less than twelve years. It is equally clear that to the soldiers who complete this term, and whom it may not be considered prudent to re-engage, either a moderate pension must be awarded, with which they may return home, or profitable employment found for them, with the sure prospect of a pension in the future, on railways and other Government works. With such inducements held out to them, there will be no difficulty in keeping the local force up to its proper strength through just such a recruiting machinery as was at work in the Company's day. Let us look, then, for the rest, exclusively to the line army, and endeavour to point out how—without either adding to its expense, or unnecessarily reducing it in numbers, we may make it, what it certainly is not at present, capable of meeting any calls that are likely to be made upon it.

And here at the outset we must press upon the Government the necessity of cancelling the latest insane order for recruiting. The term of service fixed while Mr. Childers presided at the War Office was as brief as is consistent with the safety of the
empire.

empire. To that an immediate return must be made. And if it be urged that men enough cannot be found on these terms, our answer is, then try to do with fewer men. The enrolment of 25,000 or 28,000 local soldiers will enable you to dispense with an equal number of line soldiers; and a better organization applied to such as remain may help you to a still further reduction not unattended by increased efficiency.

The estimated strength of the regular army for 1883-4 appears to have been, independently of the corps employed in India, 134,793; of these 12,424 are cavalry, inclusive of the household corps; 2,777 are horse artillery, 18,807 field and garrison artillery, and 80,710 infantry. The residue amounting to 7,152 is made up, partly of colonial, partly of departmental corps. The strength of the army, after providing for the Indian contingent, was in 1882, 116,816. Of these 8,493 were cavalry, 13,721 artillery, 2,361 engineers, and 92,743 infantry. The remainder consisted of West Indian regiments and Colonial corps, numbering in all 8,967. The disparity in numbers between these two armies is not very great, unless we include in our present army militia and volunteers, on which, however, though they add enormously to our purely defensive force, the expenditure is comparatively inconsiderable. The difference in the estimates voted for the maintenance of each is startling. In 1852 the army cost England a trifle less than nine millions sterling. In 1884 the House of Commons has handed over to the Secretary of State for War something over sixteen millions sterling. It thus appears that, whilst England and India (still under the Company's rule) between them contributed rather more than nineteen millions for the defence of the State, the united contributions of these two portions of the empire amount now to a trifle under thirty-two millions. Let us enquire a little, next, into the constitution and organization of the home army.

Of the organization of the cavalry and artillery it is unnecessary to say more than that, in all essential points, it was in 1852 very much what it is in 1884. We have indeed, of late years, added to our cavalry five regiments without rendering them really either individually or collectively more effective; and our artillery, besides a large increase in numbers, has been told off into brigades, each with a local name and a local habitation, more ideal perhaps than real. Whether, after providing for the Indian garrison a considerable portion of both arms, some reduction might be safely made in the numerical strength of the one and a radical change be effected in the organization of the other, are points which well deserve serious consideration;

consideration; yet they are not, as it seems to us, in the same category. Artillery has taken a place in the composition of armies far in advance of that assigned to it half a century ago; and from this, in all probability, it will never recede. Whatever may be done, therefore, in the way of reduction in that arm, if anything be done at all, must be looked at from every point of view before it is attempted.

The case is different with our cavalry. Leaving out of account the regiments stationed in India, there is positively not one which could take the field, except by making shipwreck of another, perhaps of two others, by inviting both men and horses to leave the officers and comrades with whom they had long been connected, and throw in their fortune with strangers; and this simply because we insist on crowding the army-list with the names of 31 corps, of which all, except seven, are mere skeletons. When you have handed over five of these regiments to the local army, there will remain 26, which with great advantage to the service, and at a considerable saving to the Exchequer, may easily be reduced to 20. Let the peace-establishment of each be settled at 400 mounted and 100 dismounted troopers, and none of them need hereafter complain of having their best horses and men taken away from them, just as the chance of seeing active service may have been brought within their reach. Now what about the infantry?

Sir Patrick MacDougall, in an elaborate paper in which he dissents from many of the proposals of Lord Airey's Committee, makes use of the following expressions:—'The general result (of the new system) is, that eight years after its establishment there is as much friction in its working as there was at the beginning, and things have now come to such a pass that it is necessary to choose one of the three following courses:—(1) To revert to the old system of separate regiments, each resting on its own dépôt. (2) To continue the linked battalion corps, but to administer them in precisely the same manner as the first twenty-five regiments of infantry. (3) To extend to the whole infantry the same organization as is possessed by the first twenty-five regiments.' Sir Patrick Mac Dougall was—and, for aught we know, continues to be—a staunch adherent of the new system, and has had the satisfaction of seeing the second and third of his recommendations acted upon. Is he satisfied with the result? Considering that, among other suggestions, he proposed three years ago that the soldiers' length of service with the colours should be prolonged beyond six years, we cannot believe that he is. The friction of which he complains has gone on increasing to such an extent, that in order to prevent the

by from melting away, we are obliged to fall back, not on shorter service with the colours, but on diminished element both in height and round the chest. Surely then we have a right to count upon the gallant general's support, and to pronounce in favour of the adoption of the first of the expedients which he brings under our notice.

The system to which he would thus advise us to resort is no more nor less than the Duke's system. Indeed, if we take his views 'au pied de la lettre,' we shall insist on separating the battalions recently linked together, and restoring each the dignified position of a complete regiment. We offer no objection to this arrangement, were the Government seriously disposed to consider it, because if our opinion were asked before the linking took place, we should have been fully pronounced against it. But it is one thing to prevent a move being made—it is quite another to undo what has been done, at the risk of creating confusion. We have got our double-battalion regiments all save one, and if the War Office were with this scheme, by all means let us keep it. But, whether it or not, let us at once make arrangements for causing each battalion to rest on its own *dépôt*. It was thus in the old day that the 60th and the Rifle Brigade, both double-battalion regiments, filled up their vacancies, and an arrangement was answered admirably forty years ago is not likely to be inconvenient now. But we will go further. The present organization of regiments, and the wanton disparity in their establishments, are alike fatal to efficiency and even to discipline. One distinction, and only one, in an army such as we ought to operate in determining the chronic strength of regiments. Even the battalions serving or intended to serve in the line, though placed on a distinct establishment, ought to take the organization common to all the rest. Let us consider next how these bodies are to be dealt with in reference to the particular system on which it is proposed to employ them.

The numerical strength of the force employed as a contingent in the Indian garrison will depend, of course, upon that of the European army. If the latter show a muster of five regiments, of 5,000 artillery, and eighteen battalions of infantry, India will be adequately guarded, if there be added to these from the line, two cavalry regiments, 5,000 horse, and twenty infantry battalions. Be the numbers of regiments or battalions, however, what they may, it seems desirable that the cavalry should, as in other days, bring sabres on parade, and each infantry battalion 1,000 men. This will necessitate the fixing of the establishment of

of a battalion employed in India at 1,200. Four weak companies thrown off from each before embarking will prove, in every respect, a better *depôt* to rest upon than the single company to which it trusted in 1852, while at the same time one uniform system is established for the whole British army.

It is calculated that under ordinary circumstances there will be engaged in colonial service twenty battalions at the least. Taking into account the organization which we propose to apply to them, they may fairly be reckoned at twenty-two. And thus, in the absence of wars great or small, there must be at all times forty English battalions serving abroad. Is there any necessity for keeping on foot for home duty more than eighty battalions? We think not, provided care be taken so to fix their establishments, that all of them shall be in a condition to take the field at a day's notice. And this we are very certain may without the smallest difficulty be effected, if only our rulers can be induced to admit that the great man, of whose powers as a military administrator they have heard of late so much in disparagement, knew a great deal better what were the real needs of the British Empire and army than the clever and enthusiastic admirers of foreign systems, on whose advice they have thus far acted.

The establishment of an infantry battalion of the line, if it be fixed at 800 rank and file, will give you a home army of 64,000 bayonets, independently of the brigade of Guards. For these, so long as their home service lasts, no *depôt* is necessary. They will receive and train recruits, as was the custom in past years, at headquarters, whether they be enlisted in their respective territorial districts or elsewhere. When the time arrives for exchanging home for foreign service, they will throw off each its four-company *depôt*, and march on board ship, the Indian relief ten companies each a hundred strong, the colonial relief, six, of a like strength. In plain language, arrangements so obviously reasonable as these will give back to our infantry the organization of which its great commander was justly proud, and restore the country to a condition, in which the only inconvenience to which a little war can put it will be the increased expenditure in money which it occasions.

We have expressed ourselves, as we feel, well pleased with the alteration effected by Mr. Childers in that part of the new system which determines the term of the soldier's service with the colours. We cannot but think that, after the first outflow into the reserve had subsided, his plan could have been made to work satisfactorily with 141 battalions. When these are brought down to 120, there can be no reasonable doubt of its
success.

success. Yet we heartily wish that he had made certainty more sure by abolishing one of the most objectionable items in the new system. Reserved pay has done infinite mischief. The country saves nothing by it—and to the soldier it proves, in nineteen cases out of twenty, to be a misfortune. He looks forward to it as to a mine of wealth, counts the days till it shall come into his possession, and, when he gets it, in a vast majority of cases he wastes it in gross dissipation. If we cannot get men at the present rate of pay, would it not be wiser to raise the pay to something like or above the level of the labour market, rather than over-stimulate the desire to escape from the restraint of military discipline by offering men a bounty to shorten their service as much as possible? Indeed we will go further. Unless the soldier acquire while serving habits of thrift and self-denial, he is little likely to learn them when he suddenly finds himself a free man with eighteen or twenty pounds in his pocket. Whereas all experience proves that, if only a beginning can be made in inducing him to lodge his little balance in the regimental savings-bank, the soldier takes increasing pleasure in seeing it grow steadily larger. Our persuasion therefore is that, by adding the amount of the soldier's reserved to his colour-service pay, not only will a better class of men enlist, and in increased numbers, but that no bribe will be necessary to induce the best of these to prolong their services whenever they are required. Deal with them as you deal with clerks in a Public Office; let there be, after some given interval, an annual increment to their salaries, and your great difficulty will be to prevent them from serving on, till they shall have established a legal right to a pension.

But granting all this to be so, will not the army become so truly a plaything that the House of Commons may refuse to give the money necessary for its maintenance? It appears to us that the army is at this moment a toy so expensive that the House of Commons has scarcely done its duty in passing the estimates. Were the army a really effective army, effective, is, say in all its parts, in the physique and training of the men, in the appliances required for putting a single army corps in the field, the House of Commons would stand in no need of apology for voting the large sum of 16,000,000*l.* and upwards for its maintenance. But when we bear in mind Lord Cardigan's frank confession that the home army is a young man, when we further know that for lack of appliances it could not be promptly mobilized, the comparison of the article with a toy for which a price paid for it is far from making us contented with our gain. Nor will it avail to cast in our teeth the exploits of

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the troops that fought in Egypt and the Soudan. The army which won the battle of Tel-el-Kebir was composed to a large extent of men drawn from the reserve to take the places of some thousands whom, because of their extreme youth, the regiments left behind; and in Sir Gerald Graham's force the number of immature soldiers is exceedingly small. But supposing the necessity should arise of reinforcing the army in Egypt, where are the reinforcements to come from? You cannot for such a purpose call upon the reserve again, and must therefore apply either to India or to our Mediterranean garrisons, where, up to the other day, only seasoned soldiers were quartered, but whose places must in this case be filled by regiments composed of such materials as Mr. Tottenham, in a recent speech in the House of Commons, so fitly described. Surely this is not a state of things to which the country ought to submit, merely because in changing it statesmen on both sides may be forced to acknowledge that they proved themselves unequal to the task which a mistaken public opinion constrained them to undertake.

There is yet very much to be said concerning the misconstruction and mismanagement of departments, on which the space now at our disposal will not permit us to enter. Let us hope that the suggestions we have here ventured to offer may induce those in authority to look more closely than they appear thus far to have done into the practical results of their policy. If they find it impossible all at once to go further, let them, at least, so modify their arrangements, that they shall fill our ranks with a different class of men from those whom we see scattered in awkward squads among the huts at Aldershot and elsewhere. We cannot, however, bring our observations to a close without reference to two points—both of them weighty—one at least very seriously so. The present system of feeding one battalion from another not only keeps the home-battalion in a state of chronic weakness, but necessitates the compression of the recruits' period of training within the shortest possible compass. The consequence is that to the young man first joining life is made a burthen, and long before he has become a soldier he is disgusted with his profession. Unless effectual means be adopted of remedying this great grievance, not only may we expect desertions to increase in proportion to the number of undersized lads enlisted, but the source of supply opened up by recent regulations will gradually fail us. Again, having got our men, let us clothe both them and their officers in a plain and becoming, as well as convenient and inexpensive uniform. Why the kilt, the most inconvenient and barbarous dress ever worn, should have been forced of late on fresh regiments, instead of being discarded

By all, we are quite at a loss to imagine. Is the War
 ulous enough to believe that the kilt, being the
 ess of Scotland, is therefore popular with Scotchmen?
 igh ceased to be heard of beyond the Grampians, it
 y unknown in the Lowlands, till the Court established
 imoral and the game of clan-gathering was revived.
 he so-called Highland soldier, is he ever seen, except
 l dress for walking out, or for duty, in the barrack-
 e canteen, in the recreation room, in any other nether
 an the trews? And if the kilt be barbarous, the
 net is at once ridiculous and uncomfortable. Watch
 d regiment advancing in line against a strong
 and observe how sorely the men are put to it to
 bonnets from being blown off—an accident which,
 chin-straps, is apt to befall them. Besides, you
 to turn up the engravings in Grose's 'Military
 ' to satisfy yourself that when the Black Watch
 ormed, and for half a century after, the round blue
 scone, was worn without any ornamentation except
 eagle's feather which distinguished the head-gear of
 from that of the private. This surely is a case in
 Great Wizard, who created our interest in the
 may claim to be heard: 'Rob Roy remained for
 standing on the rock . . . conspicuous by his long
 g tartans, and the single plume in his cap, which in
 denoted the Highland gentleman and soldier;
 observe that the present military taste has deco-
 Highland bonnet with a quantity of black plumage
 that which is borne before funerals.'
 However, we must stop, not without feeling that a
 fact work has been done by touching, as we have
 ly the fringe of a subject, the importance of which,
 al point of view, cannot be over-estimated.

- ART. IX.—1. *More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands.* From 1862 to 1882. London, 1884.
 2. *Alice, Gross-Herzogin von Hessen und bei Rhein, Prinzessin von Gross-Britannien und Irland. Mittheilungen aus ihrem Leben und aus ihren Briefen.* Darmstadt, 1883.

WE have placed these two volumes at the head of this article, because there is in them an affinity of subject as well as of authorship. They both unconsciously portray, in the most vivid manner, though by very different methods, the home life, the simple human characteristics of our Queen and her children, and make us better understand the devotion felt for them by those who live within the immediate range of their influence, and how it is that the loyalty of which they are the object among the great body of the people to whom they are but names, has its roots in a genuine human sympathy and regard. Kindly, sympathetic, considerate in themselves, they are looked at from without with kindly, sympathetic, and tender eyes. Their ways are watched with interest; the manifestations of the strong affection that binds them together awaken a kindred feeling in the highest no less than in the humblest homes; their sorrows become our sorrows, and to see them happy brings happiness to us.

Of the Queen as queen the world has seen enough to know how admirably she discharges the higher duties of her state. She has established for herself an influence at every Court in Europe and throughout the republic of America, which was only to be won by the knowledge that, throughout the anxious and critical years of her long reign, she has on all occasions shown a thorough appreciation of the changing circumstances of an age which is peculiarly one of transition, a clear eye to see on what the strength of her great empire is founded, and a firm will to maintain its titles to respect. When the veil—partially lifted in Sir Theodore Martin's 'Life of the Prince Consort'—shall in fitting season be still further raised, there can be little doubt that Her Majesty's name will stand as high for political sagacity as it has long done for domestic virtue and womanly worth. What the Sovereign may do in England, and what she may not do, has always been so well understood by Her Majesty, that not even the most captious have been able to establish the favourite Radical complaint of encroachment in the use of the Royal Prerogative. But at the same time the legitimate influence of a sovereign, whose eye has watched closely and with critical insight all those movements abroad as well as at home that have gone to make the history of our time,

has

has not been unfelt by the wisest statesmen, neither has it failed to command on many occasions their grateful recognition. Her Majesty's journals and correspondence will probably prove a valuable mine to the future student of our social and political history. That contemporary curiosity should long to have glimpses of their contents is natural enough. But a moment's reflection makes it put aside this desire, remembering that the same impartiality, which is preserved by the Sovereign towards the rival parties in the State, demands that her Majesty's views and opinions on men and on political movements shall be buried in silence, until the pen shall have dropped for ever from the hand that traced them.

From the first the Queen has loved her people, and her people have answered to that love. When the great sorrow of her life fell upon her, they requited their sovereign's love in an abundant measure. What wonder that her heart was deeply moved by the sympathy which has ever since been hers, and that in the 'lonely splendour' of a widow's throne she should have thought to show them, by the unstudied records of her daily life, how great was the happiness of which she had been bereft, and how she had striven through the years that followed to find consolation and strength amid scenes, where the perennial beauty and grandeur of nature soothe while they rebuke the passionate griefs of our transitory life, and in objects of interest which made her for the time forget her own isolation in the story of past generations, or in the patient endurance of her humbler subjects under privation and trial and bereavement? It is to this feeling, plainly enough, that we owed the publication of Her Majesty's first volume, and that we now owe the 'More Leaves from a Journal' which have for the last few weeks been in everybody's hands. However those, whose taste has been pampered by excitement and who have lost the relish for simplicity, may complain that the records thus given to the world are in many respects trivial and unimportant, such is manifestly not the prevailing feeling. The later volume has been welcomed with no less avidity than its predecessor, of which the best evidence is the sale of nearly twenty thousand copies within a few weeks, and the widespread expression of an interest in its contents, for which mere curiosity will not account. Nor is this interest confined to our own country merely. It extends to every country in Europe. Already translations of the volume have, we understand, appeared, or are in preparation, in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Norway and Sweden, while America has diffused the coveted volume throughout its vast continent with more than its wonted piratical activity. Whatever cavil
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the volume may have provoked among us at home, our republican cousins across the Atlantic have appreciated its scope and purpose with an unerring instinct. It delights them to see that a Queen can keep her true womanly heart unspoiled amid the splendours and the obsequiousness of a Court; that she can cherish through the changes of years the memory of her husband; can look after her children; is frank, helpful, and considerate, to her friends; appreciates her servants; has nothing but kind thoughts and words for the poor and suffering. To one of their critics there appears 'something very touching in the fact, that fifty years of royalty, in a household where her lightest word is law, where even an invitation from her is a command, have not yet taught this gentle Queen to accept a glass of water from a menial without considering the service a favour.' The concluding verdict of the same critic is, that 'the book is one to give the simple pleasure which was all that the royal author expected it to give, while at the same time it deepens our respect and sympathy for a Queen who through fifty years of sovereignty has retained simplicity; who has learned from fifty years of deference to herself to be deferent to others, and who has not yet learned, after fifty years of absolute sway in her household, to accept any service as a matter-of-course.' In the feeling here expressed we must look for the explanation of the interest which this book has created. The very absence of anything like literary effort makes part, and no small part, of its charm. The impressions it records find their way into the simplest words. What the Queen saw and felt, the reader is also made to see and to feel. There is no straining after effect; the sincerity of the writer's nature is stamped upon every page, and little touches are scattered here and there of that nature 'which makes the whole world kin.'

Sir Arthur Helps, in his Preface to the Queen's former volume, in calling attention to 'that peculiar memory for persons, and that recognition of personal attachment, which have been very noticeable in our sovereigns,' remarked that 'perhaps there is no person in these realms who takes a more deep and abiding interest in the welfare of the household committed to her charge than our gracious Queen does in hers, or who feels more keenly what are the reciprocal duties of masters and servants.' This characteristic is even more strongly impressed upon the present volume. How strong it is, may be seen in the dedication to Her Majesty's 'Loyal Highlanders,' and to her 'devoted personal attendant and faithful friend, the late John Brown.' The exuberance of grateful feeling which inspires such a dedication is to many of us hard

to understand. We look upon the loyalty and devotion of the personal retinue of Her Majesty as a matter of course, knowing that loyal devotion and service must ever be profusely at the command of such a mistress. Thousands there are as true and loyal, whose lives would gladly be spent in such service; and at first we feel some surprise that thanks so warm should be paid for what is merely duty. And yet how natural is the feeling by which the Queen's language has been prompted! The woman is more than the Queen. It is not of what she might command that Her Majesty has thought, but of what has been actually given. Those she has seen and known have been true and helpful and devoted; others might be the same, but they are not these. They have been much to her; that they have been bounteously rewarded is nothing; a tie has been established between their mistress and themselves founded upon personal regard, and a nature so frank and generous as that of their Royal Lady has apparently seen no reason why it should not be acknowledged.

It would be out of place to make extracts from a volume which has already become so widely known, otherwise we should have gladly called attention to strokes of simple pathos and artless outbreaks of natural feeling on which the mind dwells with pleasure. Again and again in reading its pages have we been reminded of the words addressed by Horace to Mæcenas:—

‘Plerumque gratæ divitibus vices,
Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum
Cœnæ, sine aulæis et ostro,
Sollicitam explicuere frontem.’

‘It is the rich who relish best
To dwell at times from state aloof,
And simple suppers, neatly dressed,
Beneath a poor man's humble roof,
With neither pall nor purple there,
Have smoothed ere now the brow of care.’

A scrambling luncheon on a hillside,—tea in a hollow by the roadside,—the homely fare of a farmhouse, are spoken of with all the relish which might be expected from the lady of simple tastes to whom the ‘fastidiosa copia’ of a palace is oppressive. How naïve is such a passage as this! The Queen is visiting the Dowager Duchess of Athole at Dunkeld:—‘Excellent breakfasts, such splendid cream and butter! The Duchess has a very good cook, a Scotchwoman, and I thought how dear Albert would have liked it all. He always said things tasted better in smaller houses.’ Here we have Horace's thought
illustrated

illustrated to perfection, the 'Mundæ cœnæ sine aulæis et ostro,' which have a zest beyond the reach of Vatel, and threw into oblivion for a time the anxieties that furrow the brow of statesman and of monarch.

Again, how charming is this, in the account of the visit to Abbotsford! 'In the study we saw Sir Walter's Journal, in which Mr. Hope-Scott asked me to write my name, *which I felt it would be presumption to do.*' The appreciation of genius, as distinguished from the accident of position, has never been more beautifully acknowledged.

The interest excited by the Queen's book, great as it is, will not be greater than that with which the volume of the Princess Alice's Letters, named at the head of this article, will be welcomed in England, as it has already been in Germany. It owed its origin, we are informed, to the desire of the Grand Duke of Hesse, that some authentic memorial of his Duchess should be put upon record. He seems to have thought that her character might nowhere be more truly seen than in her correspondence with the mother to whom she was so tenderly attached, and the Duke's appeal was answered by Her Majesty's placing in his hands such extracts from these letters as might illustrate the sweet and noble nature of their writer, without any disclosure of her opinions on public and political men and events that might be regarded as premature. When these extracts came to be brought together for family circulation, they were found to be so full of interest and charm, that the Grand Duke conceived that no better offering could be made to his subjects than to have them translated and made public. To this Her Majesty consented, and the present volume is the result. The task of connecting the letters by an explanatory narrative was entrusted to Dr. Sell, a clergyman at Darmstadt, who had known the Princess Alice well. He has executed his task with judgment and good taste,—so much so, that, as we are informed, in the English edition of the volume, prepared by Her Royal Highness the Princess Christian, his text has been translated with substantially little alteration. But the English book must throw the German into the shade, containing, as it does, the letters as they were originally written, in pure beautiful English, which had undergone material changes, not always for the better, in the process of translation. The volume, moreover, besides having the advantage of being edited by the Princess Alice's sister, is understood to have received the careful revision of the Queen.

The Princess Alice was always dear to the English people from the hour that it was known how, young as she then was,
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she had proved a stay and comfort to the Queen at the time of Prince Albert's death. The words of the 'Times' of that sad period were never forgotten: 'It is impossible to speak too highly of the strength of mind and self-sacrifice shown by Princess Alice during these dreadful days. Her Royal Highness has certainly understood that it was her duty to be the help and support of her mother in her great sorrow, and it was in a great measure due to her that the Queen has been able to bear with such wonderful resignation the irreparable loss that so suddenly and terribly befel her.'

These letters throw much light upon the feelings which then animated and sustained the young girl on whom so great a responsibility had been so suddenly thrown, when herself overwhelmed by a grief the greatest by which she could have been afflicted. At the time of the Duchess of Kent's death, in March, 1861, the Prince Consort seems to have had a presentiment that this duty might at no distant date devolve upon his daughter. More than one reference occurs in these letters to the incident mentioned in the following extract from a letter written on the 14th of March, 1864:—

'MY OWN DEAR PRECIOUS MAMA,—These words are for the 16th, the first hard trial of our lives, where I was allowed to be with you. Do you recollect when all was over [death of the Duchess of Kent] and dear Papa led you to the sofa in the colonnade, and then took me to you? I took that as a sacred request from him to love, cherish, and comfort my darling Mother to all the extent of my weak powers. Other things have taken me from being constantly with you; but nothing has lessened my intense love for you, and longing to quiet every pain which touches you, and to fulfil, even in the distance, his request.'

How the Princess Alice discharged this 'sacred request' cannot be better told than in the words of a memorandum by her companion and friend, now the Grand Duchess of Baden.

'Herself filled with intensest sorrow at her beloved father's death—and what a father! what a head of a family! what a friend and adviser to his wife and children!—she at once took into her own hands everything that was necessary in those first dark days of the destruction of that happy home. All communications from the Ministers and household passed through the Princess's hands to the Queen, then bowed down by grief. She endeavoured in every way possible, either verbally or by writing, to save her mother all trouble. The decision to leave Windsor for Osborne directly after the Prince's death, according to the urgent wish of the King of the Belgians, and which it was so difficult and painful for the Queen to make, was obtained by the Princess's influence.

'It was the very intimate intercourse with the sorrowing Queen at
that

that time, which called forth in Princess Alice that keen interest and understanding in politics for which she was afterwards so distinguished. She also gained at this time that practical knowledge for organizing, and the desire for constant occupation, which in her public as well as in her private life became part of herself. The Princess suddenly developed into a wise far-seeing woman, living only for others, and beloved and respected by the highest as well as by the lowest.

Hitherto the Princess had been conspicuous for the gaiety and brightness of her disposition. From her childhood her movements had been distinguished by an unstudied grace which, it will be remembered, continued to the last to exercise its fascination upon all with whom she came into contact. 'A vein of humour,' says the same loving friend, 'showed itself in her, as well as a certain sharpness in criticizing people who were not congenial to her. . . . To a naturally engaging manner, quite exceptional, joyousness and power of showing affectionate emotion imparted an especial charm, which revealed itself in the fine lines of her face, in her graceful movements, and a certain inborn nobleness and dignity.' She followed her studies in music and painting with enthusiasm, and enough is seen in these letters of her quick sensibility and sensitive imagination, to explain the ability she showed in the dramatic performances with which the Royal children used to amuse their parents. A fine actress was probably lost in her, and her gifts in this direction found but imperfect scope in the dramatic readings which formed part of the recreations of her intimate circle at Darmstadt. The same playfulness of disposition, the same delight in all simple pleasures, the same keen eye for judging character, the same intolerance of whatever was pusillanimous or unworthy, which distinguished her youth, coloured her after-years, but toned and tempered by the grave experiences of a life overshadowed, as we see now, by the untimely loss of the father who was her ideal and guiding star,—a life full of great personal trials, and the keenest sympathy for the sorrows and sufferings of others. Speaking of the grief of her parents-in-law, for example, for the death of their daughter, she writes (21st April, 1865), 'As I have shared their joys, so with all my heart do I share their sorrow. You well understand this, darling Mama. From you I have inherited an ardent and sympathizing spirit, and feel the pain of those I love as though it were my own.'

Her marriage, though shaded by the gloom of the Prince Consort's death, was cemented by an affection which deepened with years. In one of her letters we find the touching confession,

fession, that her betrothed lover feared for a time that her devotion to the Queen in her sorrow might triumph over her love for himself, and that he might not be able to woo her to his home. But this could have been but a transitory fear. Neither mother nor child would have done him such wrong. But with what a pang the Princess quitted England, her first letters from her new home show very plainly. Thus on the 21st of July, 1862 (she had been married on the 1st), she writes from Darmstadt: 'A fortnight already I am here, and away from my dear home three weeks! How much I shall have to tell you when we meet! My own dear Mama, I do love you so much! If I could relinquish part of my present happiness to restore to you some of yours, with a full heart I would do it; but God's will be done!' These were no idle words. Again, four days later, the Princess writes:

'... You tell me to speak to you of *my* happiness—our happiness. You will understand the feeling which made me silent towards you, my own dear bereaved Mother, on that point; but you are unselfish and loving, and can enter into my happiness, though I could never have been the first to tell you how intense it is, when it must draw the painful contrast between your past and present existence. If I say I love my dear husband, that is scarcely enough—it is a love and esteem which increases daily, hourly; which he also shows to me by such consideration, such tender loving ways. What was life before to what it has become now? There is such blessed peace being at his side, being his wife; there is such a feeling of security; and we two have a world of our own when we are together, which *nothing* can touch or intrude upon. My lot is indeed a blessed one; and yet what have I done to deserve that warm ardent love, which my darling Louis ever shows me? I admire his good and noble heart more than I can say. How he loves you, you know, and he will be a good son to you.'

A few days afterwards the Princess, on the eve of going to Coburg, writes:

'You will understand that, happy beyond measure as I am to go there, a lump always comes into my throat when I think of it,—going for the first time with Louis to dear Papa's house, where but recently he showed us everything himself. [In the autumn of 1860.] Dear Mama, I think I can scarcely bear it—the thought seems so hard and cruel. He told us as children so much of Coburg, spoke to us of it with such childlike affection, enjoyed so much telling us every anecdote connected with each spot; and now these silent spots seem to plead for his absence.'

Most beautiful are the ever-recurring references to that beloved father, and the efforts to console her Royal mother in her grief.

'Oh,

'Oh, Mama,' the Princess writes (16th August, 1862), 'the longing I sometimes have for dear Papa surpasses all bounds. In thought he is ever present and near me. Dear, good Papa! Take courage, dear Mama, and feel strong in the thought that you require all your moral and physical strength to continue the journey which brings you daily nearer to *Home* and to *Him*! I know how weary you feel, how you long to rest your head on his dear shoulder, to have him to soothe your aching heart. You will find this rest again, and how blessed will it not be! Bear patiently and courageously your heavy burden, and it will lighten imperceptibly as you near him, and God's love and mercy will support you. Oh, could my feeble words bring you the least comfort! They come from a trusting, true and loving heart, if from naught else.'

Again, a few days later (23rd August), she speaks these wise words of counsel to a cureless sorrow.

'... Try and gather in the few bright things you have remaining and cherish them, for though faint, yet they are types of that infinite joy still to come. I am sure, dear Mama, the more you try to appreciate and to find the good in that which God in His love has *left* you, the more worthy you will daily become of that which is in store. That earthly happiness you had is indeed gone for ever, but you must not think that every ray of it has left you. You have the privilege, which dear Papa knew so well how to value, in your exalted position, of doing good and living for others, of carrying on his plans, his wishes, into fulfilment, and as you go on doing your duty, this will, this must, I feel sure, bring you peace and comfort. Forgive me, darling Mama, if I speak so openly; but my love for you is such that I cannot be silent, when I long so fervently to give you some slight comfort and hope in your present life.

'I have known and watched your deep sorrow with a sympathising, though aching heart. Do not think that absence from you can still that pain. My love for you is strong, is constant; I would like to shelter you in my arms, to protect you from all future anxiety, to still your aching longing! My own sweet Mama, you know I would give my life for you, could I alter what you have to bear!

'*Trust in God!* ever and constantly. In *my* life I feel that to be my stay and my strength, and the feeling increases as the days go on. My thoughts of the future are bright, and this always helps to make the minor worries and sorrows of the present dissolve before the warm rays of that light which is our guide.'

Ever, as the day comes round, on which the Prince Consort died, the same deep-seated love for him, and for her whom he had left behind, breaks out in words warm with the writer's very life-blood, which give a strange significance to the fact that on that same day (14th December) she was herself taken from earth. On his lessons she had moulded her life. To live for the fulfilment of duty, as he had lived, to think and act for others,

as he had done, was her constant aim. To comfort and help the poor and the suffering, and to bring light and comfort into their homes, was a passion with her. When she speaks of the early death of her sister-in-law (31st May, 1865), the predominant thought is to be up and unwearied in well-doing. It brings home to her 'the necessity of labour, self-denial, charity, and all those virtues which we ought to strive after. Oh,' she adds, 'that I may die, having done my work, and not sinned with "*Unterlassung des Guten*" [leaving off to do what is good], the fault into which it is easiest to fall.' Again writing on 30th December, 1855, she says, 'Each year brings us nearer to the *Wiedersehen* [re-union with the dead], though it is sad to think how one's glass is running out, and how little good goes with it, compared to the numberless blessings we receive. Time goes incredibly fast.'

Very early after her settlement in Darmstadt did she enter on practical works of charity and mercy.

'I will tell you of something I did the other day,' she writes (5th March, 1864), 'but please tell no one, because not a soul but Louis and my ladies know of it here. I am the patroness of the "*Heidenreich Stiftung*," to which you also gave a handsome present in the beginning. The ladies who belong to it go to bring linen to poor respectable women in childbed, who claim their assistance. They bring them food, and, in short, help them. All cases are reported to me. The other day I went to one incog. with Christa, in the old part of the town—and the trouble we had to find the house! At length, through a dirty courtyard, up a dark ladder into one little room, where lay in one bed the poor woman and her baby; in the room four other children, the husband, two other beds, and a stove. But it did not smell bad, nor was it dirty. I sent Christa down with the children, then with the husband cooked something for the woman; arranged her bed a little, took her baby for her, bathed its eyes—for they were so bad, poor little thing!—and did odds and ends for her. I went twice. The people did not know me, and were so nice, so good and touchingly attached to each other; it did one's heart good to see such good feelings in such poverty. The husband was out of work, the children too young to go to school, and they had only four kreutzers in the house when she was confined. Think of that misery and discomfort!

'If one never sees any poverty, and always lives in that cold circle of Court people, one's good feelings dry up, and I felt the want of going about and doing the little good that is in my power. I am sure you will understand this.'

Passage after passage in a similar strain might be cited from these letters. It would seem as if King Lear's words had been vividly present to the Princess's mind—

'Take

‘Take physic, pomp!
Expose yourself to feel what wretches feel,
That thou may’st shake the superflux to them,
And show the heavens more just.’

Her efforts were unwearied to establish institutions for the relief of the poor, the helpless, and the suffering. Through her exertions an Asylum for Idiots was established so early as 1866, the condition of the local hospitals was improved, the Alice Hospital was founded, an Institution for the Encouragement of Female Industry, and an Orphan Asylum were organized, and in many other works of a similar nature she strove to fulfil her aspiration, that ‘she might die, having done her work, and not sinned with *Unterlassung des Guten*.’

These letters are full of charming passages, which bring before us, in a way that nothing else could do, how much the children of our Royal House owe to their parents’ training, and how closely knit to each other they are by the bonds of affection, which separation and distance seem in no degree to relax. But upon these we must not dwell, turning rather to what the letters tell us of the sterner trials which the Princess was doomed to undergo.

The first of these was the outbreak of the Prusso-Austrian War in 1866. Hesse took part with Austria, and thus Prince Louis and his family were ranged in hostility to their own kindred. We may read between the lines of these letters that the Princess felt it was a mistake in the smaller states to resist the influences which were gradually giving to Prussia the preponderance, out of which her father’s cherished hopes of a united Germany were ultimately to be realized. But her adopted country, jealous of encroachments that were likely to prove fatal to its independence, ranged itself on the side of Austria, a policy for which in the end it had to pay dearly. What dismay the signs of the impending struggle caused in the Princess Alice’s quiet Darmstadt home, is seen in such passages as these. (2nd April, 1866.) ‘We are living in a state of anxiety and alarm. War would be too fearful a thing to contemplate—brother against brother, friend against friend, as it will be in this case!’ Her husband’s brother, Prince Henry, was in the Prussian service. His position was most painful. ‘He can’t desert at such a moment, and yet if he should have to draw his sword against his country, his brother fighting on the other side! Fancy the complications and horrors of such a war! For Vicky and Fritz [the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia] it is really dreadful.’ These fears soon became realities. The miserable uncertainty as to what might happen
suspended

suspended all business and manufactures; all speculations, buildings, and trade, were at a standstill; ruin and misery threatened the country. 'It is a dreadful time,' the Princess writes (15th June); 'I anticipate it will be the close of the existence of the little countries. God stand by us!' The ruin of her husband's family seemed imminent. 'Without the Civil List, Uncle Louis and the family are beggars, as all the private property belongs to the country.'

To add to the Princess's disquietude, she was about to become a mother. Her children were sent to England to the Queen's care, and Lady Ely went to Darmstadt to be with her during her confinement and her husband's absence with the army. Meanwhile the Princess busied herself in preparing needful aids for the wounded in the coming struggle. We find her (24th June, 1866) writing to the Queen to beg for some of the old linen for rags, which 'in your numerous households is collected twice a year and sent to hospitals. It would be such a blessing for the poor Germans. Here they are not rich, and that is a thing of which in every war there has been too little.' Lint, bandages, cushions, beds for the hospitals, all had to be got ready. She congratulates herself on her 'good nerves,' and buries her own fears in preparing comforts for those who were so soon to need them. 'Louis is very low at times,' she writes, 'nervous at leaving me; and for him I keep up, though at times not without a struggle.' The day comes when they must part; then she writes (25th June):—

'My courage is beginning to fail me, but I bear up as best I can. God knows what a bitter trial it is! He is just in front, so the first exposed. . . . I am going to Frankfort with ever so many poor wives to take leave of their husbands, who march to-day. . . . Being still off and on with Louis, and having things to do, keeps me up; but when he is gone, and I have no man here to reassure me, it will be dreadful.'

Prince Louis was able to come home for three days at the time of the Princess's confinement (11th July), but he had to return to his duty on the 14th, and go at once into action at Aschaffenburg. The sound of the guns could be heard at Darmstadt. The Princess knew that her husband was in the thick of the fight, and that his troops had to retreat, but not till the 16th did she learn that he was safe. Then she writes, 'What a time I have passed during these eight days since baby's birth! . . . the times are hard; it wants all a Christian's courage and patience to carry one through them, but there is *one Friend* who in the time of need does not forsake one, and He is my comfort and support.'

With

With characteristic energy she will not let her own anxieties interfere with her public duty. 'This anxiety,' she says (27th July), 'is killing me, and my love has been so exposed! All are in admiration of his personal bravery and tender attention to the suffering and want of all around.' The same admiration followed her own footsteps. 'Right and left I must help. Even whilst in bed I had to see gentlemen in my room, as there were things to be done and asked, which had to come straight to me. Then our poor wounded—the wives and mothers begging I should enquire for their husbands and children.' Nor did they beg in vain. The Princess thought, and felt, and acted, as if others were alone her care, at the very time she was writing to the Queen, 'I can scarcely bear up longer; I feel it is getting too much. God Almighty stand by us! My courage is beginning to sink. I see no light anywhere; and my own beloved husband still in danger; and we cannot hear, because the Prussians are between us and them.' Day by day came tidings of disaster, and the hospitals filled fast with the wounded. As soon as the Princess was able to stir out, she visited them in person, and saw with satisfaction that her efforts for improved ventilation and cleanliness in the wards had borne good fruit. At length came peace, at the cost of stripping Hesse of some of its fairest possessions, and she could think of baptizing the child born under such sad conditions. Irène (Peace) was fitly chosen as her name, and Prince Louis made his fine cavalry brigade happy by asking 'the two regiments, officers and men, to stand sponsors' for the child.

The calm, so sorely needed, that followed this tempestuous time, showed how much she had undergone, and she felt (29th August) what a strain there has been upon her nerves. 'I have some home sickness after dear England, Balmoral, and all at home, though the joy of being near dear Louis again is so great.' She must forego the delight, however, of accepting the Queen's invitation; there is so much yet to be done at home in looking after the wounded, and otherwise. 'Life is meant for work, and not for pleasure, and I learn more and more to be grateful and content with that which the Almighty sends me, and to find sunshine in spite of the clouds; for when one has one's beloved husband by one's side, what is there in the world that is too heavy to bear?'

Very beautiful is the concluding letter of this eventful year:—

' . . . May the Almighty give you every blessing of peace and comfort which the world can still give you, till you gain that greater blessing and reward above all others, which is reserved for such as my own sweet mother! May every blessing fall on my old dear
home,

home, with all its dear ones! May peace, and the glory which peace and order bring with it, with its many blessings, protect my native land; and may, in the new year, your wise and glorious reign, so overshadowed by dear Papa's spirit, continue to prosper and be a model and an ornament to the world!

'This year of pain and anxiety, and yet for us so rich in blessings, draws to a close. It moves me more than ever as its last day approaches. For how much have we not to thank the Almighty—for my life, which is so unworthy compared to many others, the new life of this little one, and above all the preservation of my own dear husband, who is my all in this life.'

The next few years were years of happiness as pure as may be found by a nature so sensitive to the sufferings of others, but who was blest in a husband and children and kindred who loved her dearly and were worthy of her love. In the summer of 1868 she spent a happy time with the Queen. Not all her love for her own home seems to have weakened her passionate attachment to that of her childhood and youth. 'I cannot tell you how much I felt taking leave of you this time, dear Mama; it always is such a wrench to tear myself away from you and from my home again.' Her gratitude for the Queen's kindness—and manifold are the proofs of that kindness of which these letters speak—is unbounded. Amid many charming expressions of the love which drew mother and daughter ever closer and closer together, none are more touching than the avowals, that her own terrors at what life would have been had she lost Prince Louis had taught her to feel, more deeply than before, how great was the sorrow of which the Queen had, since 1861, borne the burden. A daughter's love never showed itself in more winning colours. A friend writes to her, 'God bless the Queen for her rare human love! for surely there is no one who, in such a position as hers, has preserved a heart like hers, so full of kindness and sympathy for others.' Quoting these words, the Princess adds: 'Dear, sweet Mama, your kind and sisterly words have been balsam to many a wounded heart, and many are the blessings that have been craved for you from above by hearts filled with thankfulness for your true sympathy.'

The apprehension that a war with France was inevitable hung like a cloud from 1867 onwards over the mind of the Princess. Meanwhile, she had set herself actively to remedy the defects in the hospital system which had been disclosed during the Prusso-Austrian campaign; and when that rashest of all rash declarations of war was made by the French in July, 1870, a complete organization of the medical appliances, both in the field and at Darmstadt, had been effected. Again her husband

was torn from her. 'I parted with dear Louis,' she writes (26th July), 'late in the evening, on the high road outside the village in which he was quartered for the night, and we looked back till nothing more was to be seen of each other.' We picture her, like Imogen,

'Following him, till he had melted from
The smallness of a gnat to air, and then
Turning her eye and weeping.'

'May the Almighty,' she adds, 'watch over his precious life, and bring him safe back again! all the pain and anxiety are willingly borne if he is only left to me and to his children.'

Again she assumed her place at the head of the arrangements for the relief of the wounded. It seems at first to have been apprehended that the French would penetrate as far as Darmstadt; but till they did so, the Princess determined not to move. 'I think it my duty to remain at my post, as it gives the people courage and confidence.' The necessity never arose; and soon the passage of French prisoners through the town removed all apprehensions on this score. The Princess felt all the inspiration of the great national movement. 'It is a solemn and great time we live in (5th August), and there is something grand and elevating in the unity of high and low throughout this great nation, which makes one proud of belonging to it.' Though, as she writes, 'very sleepless, and never without headache,' she put aside her own pain and weakness,—she was soon again to be a mother—and was constant in her visits to the crowded hospitals. In them there were over 500 French and Germans intermixed. 'I neither see nor smell anything but wounds,' she writes (19th August). 'And the first sight, which sometimes one does not escape meeting, is very shocking.' Meanwhile her husband's bravery on the bloody field of Gravelotte is told to her by many wounded officers. He was 'always in front, encouraging his men where the battle raged fiercest, and the balls fell thickest. I ought to be very proud, and I am so!' When Field Marshal Wrangel, a little later on (5th December), confirms these praises, this is her remark: 'I am very proud of all this, but I am too much a woman not to long above all things to have him safe home again.'

It was long before that longing was fulfilled. On the 7th of October the Princess gave birth to a son; but it was not till the 21st of March in the following year that Prince Louis reached Darmstadt on a few days' leave of absence from his commander. The child is to be christened on the 11th of February, and the Princess writes:—

'Ho—'

'How I shall miss dear Louis, to-day! The seven months will be round ere we meet, I fear, and he has never seen his dear little boy. It always makes me sad to look at him, though now I have every reason to hope—please God—that I shall have the joy of seeing Louis come home, and of placing his baby in his arms. My heart is full, as you can fancy, and, much as I long to see Louis, I almost dread the moment—the emotion will be so great, and the long pent-up feelings will find vent.'

When at length peace was restored, the Princess's health was found to be severely shaken; but the prospect of a visit to England reanimated her spirits. After a short stay by the sea at Blankenberghe, she went with her children to the Queen at Balmoral. On her way back she visited Sandringham. During her stay there the Prince of Wales had the attack of fever, which nearly proved fatal, and the Princess Alice nursed him throughout all its stages with a devotion all the more precious, in that it was guided by the instinctive skill as a nurse, for which she was conspicuous. It will be remembered that it was on the 14th of December that the Prince's illness first took a turn for the better. Writing on the 12th of December the following year, she says:—

'That time is as indelibly fixed on my memory as that of 1861, where the witnessing of your grief rent my heart so deeply. The 14th will now be a day of mixed recollections and feelings to us—a day *hallowed* in our family, where one great spirit ended his work on earth—though his work can *never* die, and generations will grow up and call his name *blessed*—and where another was left to fulfil his duty and mission, God grant, for the welfare of his own family and of thousands!'

Strange that the day was destined to have in her own death a further claim to be hallowed in the family!

With restored health and spirits the Princess returned to Germany. Her little son, born during the war, who had been christened Frederick, and who appears in these letters under the pet name of 'Frittie,' had shown for a time symptoms of feeble health. These had disappeared, and left the Princess free to fulfil a long-cherished desire to visit some of the most famous cities of Italy. Florence, Rome, and Naples, furnished her with a store of the most delightful recollections, and she returned to Darmstadt on the 2nd of May, 1873, in high health and spirits. But on the 29th a heavy calamity befel her. Her little Frittie, playing in her room with his brother Ernest, fell out of an open window, just as she was returning from the adjoining room, into which she had gone for a moment. The blow struck to her heart, and many a tear will, we are sure, be shed

shed over the expressions in the subsequent letters of a grief with which all must sympathize. Of these, not the least beautiful is the following (2nd August, 1873). Nor is it less interesting that it recalls the words of Constance in speaking of Prince Arthur, 'Grief fills the room up of my absent child,' &c. ('King John,' act iii. sc. 4):—

'Many thanks for your dear letter! I am feeling so low and weak to-day that kind words are doubly soothing. You feel so with me when you understand how long and deep my grief must be. And does one not grow to love one's grief, as having become part of the one one loved—as if through *this* one could still pay a tribute of love to them, to make up for the terrible loss, and missing of not being able to do anything for the beloved one any more? I am so much with my children, and am so accustomed to care for them and their wants daily, that I miss not having Frittie, the object of our greatest care, far more than words can describe; and in the quiet of our everyday life, where we have only the children around us, it is doubly and trebly felt, and is a sorrow that has entered into the very heart of our existence.'

The wound healed over—but it burned inwardly. How could it be otherwise with a nature such as hers? Fight against the feeling of the loss as she might, she could not stifle it. Time went on, and other children were born to her; but the memory of that young life so suddenly quenched seems to have remained vividly and painfully with her to the last. Still she could say (21st December, 1877), 'God is very merciful in letting time temper the sharpness of one's grief, and letting sorrow find its natural place in our hearts, without withdrawing us from life.'

In June, 1877, the death of the reigning Grand Duke opened the succession to Prince Louis somewhat unexpectedly. This gave the Princess Alice the means of carrying out more effectually her various schemes for improving the condition of those who were now her subjects. As if with a feeling that her days were numbered, she applied herself, despite her now delicate health, with even more than her wonted energy to this task. Soon after returning from an autumn visit to England in the following year, first one and then another of her children, and finally the Grand Duke, were seized with diphtheria in a most virulent form. On the 16th of November, her youngest daughter May, the pet of the family, who went by the endearing name of 'Sunshine,' died; and it was not the least of the Grand Duchess's trials, that she had to conceal the fact from the other children. They recovered, so also did the Grand Duke. But on the 7th of December the Grand Duchess, prone, through the exhaustion
of

of protracted watching and anxiety, to catch infection, was herself seized with this terrible malady. The fatal morning of the 14th broke to find her life ebbing gently away, and at half-past eight she died, murmuring to herself, like a child going to sleep, 'From Friday to Saturday—four weeks—May—dear papa—!' Princess May had died just four weeks, and the Prince Consort seventeen years before.

The last of her brothers and sisters, we learn from this volume, who saw the Princess Alice, was the much loved Prince who has been the first to follow her beyond the limits of the grave. There are many references to him in her letters, all speaking of the bright promise of his abilities, and of an earnest hope that he might live to be a stay and comfort to the mother, whose watchful care had carried him through the perils of an inherently feeble constitution, and of repeated serious illnesses. One of these, in January, 1868, had nearly proved fatal. The danger passed away, and on the 2nd of February, the Princess, after giving vent to her gratitude that 'our darling Leopold has been spared to you and to us all,' adds, 'For the second or even third time that life has been given again, when all feared that it must leave us. A mother's heart must feel this so much more than any other's, and dear Leopold, through having caused you all his life so much anxiety, must be inexpressibly dear to you, and such an object to watch over and take care of.' Again, when writing next year (30th January) of the young Prince's confirmation, she says, 'May the Almighty bless and protect that precious boy, and give him health and strength to continue a life so well begun, and so full of promise.' 'His sad life, and the anxiety his health has so often caused us all,' she writes in another place (14th February, 1871), 'endear him particularly.' This anxiety continued through many subsequent years, and, we may believe, was to the last never otherwise than present to the mother, who had so often been reminded by how frail a thread that cherished life hung, even while her heart was gladdened to see him steadily making an honoured name for himself among her people. Reading what is said of him in this book, they will better understand how sorely her heart has been stricken, now that the fate, so often threatened, has snatched him away when he seemed to be most rejoicing in his strength. So, too, will they echo with a kindred warmth the thought of the friends that so lately stood around his tomb,

'Good night, sweet Prince,
And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest!'

ART. X.—1. *Parliamentary Papers on Egyptian Affairs.* 1883-4.

2. *A Bill to Amend the Law relating to the Representation of the People of the United Kingdom.* 1884.

3. *Articles in Provincial Papers on the State of Trade.*

INNUMERABLE signs point to a Dissolution as the probable end of the present Session, in spite of the momentary success gained on the eve of the Easter adjournment by the new alliance with the Irish members. The Government has unexampled luck, but it cannot make headway against its own blunders. Ascribe the cause to what one may—call it accident, folly, or the mere force of circumstances—the fact is palpable to all, that Ministers have done everything which they solemnly protested that it was wickedness in the sight of heaven and earth to do. They have involved the country in difficulties abroad of which no man can see the end. Their long neglect of domestic legislation cannot be atoned for by the introduction of a Franchise Bill, which is intended to place the Radicals permanently in office, or by a Bill for abolishing the present Corporation of London, and making its ancient privileges and property the objects of a general scramble. These measures are designed to gratify the Democracy, but the people at large must see that the Ministry is built upon hollow pretences, that its professions have all been falsified, its promises cast to the winds. The condition of the country has not improved in any way since Mr. Gladstone superseded Lord Beaconsfield. Several large classes have been impoverished or threatened, among them the shipowners, who for years past have been the mainstay of British commerce. They are now exhibited to the world as a merciless set of wreckers and ‘ocean plunderers.’ Their chief aim, it appears, is to defraud insurance companies and to drown poor sailors, over whom Mr. Chamberlain alone keeps watch day and night, like Dibdin’s famous cherub. The trading community, as a whole, does not find the prospect brightening on any side. The agriculturists are denied that reasonable protection against the importation of disease from abroad which would be comprised in the Cattle Diseases Bill. They must see their herds perish, under the pretence that systematic precautions to keep down disease would make meat dear. In the same spirit, the Government has refused to give effect to Mr. Pell’s resolution for lightening the grievous pressure of local taxation, although a majority of the House of Commons affirmed its principles. This, too, might be of benefit to the farmer and the tenant, therefore it must be refused.

The

The working classes perceive all around them the unmistakeable evidences of foreign competition, in various forms, pressing with ominous and undue severity upon their industries. The courage and enterprise of the capitalists engaged in manufactures are almost boundless, and never have they been displayed so brilliantly as during the last few years. But a feeling of discouragement is spreading. In some vague way, the operatives—and perhaps the manufacturers—had persuaded themselves that all which they had to do to revive trade was to turn out Lord Beaconsfield. Six months of Mr. Gladstone's rule of peace and financial magic would set everything right. They have had four years of that rule, and it is impossible even for Mr. Bright, with his old stock of bludgeon arguments, to conceal the fact that an evil influence is at work upon the national trade, much more formidable than any which poor Lord Beaconsfield could exercise. It is also sufficiently clear to the people, that they will get no help from the present Government. Mr. Gladstone has not, indeed, been wholly dumb on the subject, for he came forward some few weeks ago with a remedy for the troubles of the farmers. It was simple enough in its nature; they were to 'turn their attention to jam,' encouraged by the knowledge that 'we have access to a supply of sugar for jam such as is nowhere else to be found,' and by the 'enormous insatiable capacity of the human stomach.'* But, alas! the agricultural population cannot all be set to work making jam, and even if it could, it would not be safe to place too much reliance on the unbounded capacity of the human stomach for that article.

Beyond this remarkable specific, Mr. Gladstone has nothing to offer. The people of the manufacturing districts see their trade going from them, without quite understanding how or why, and perhaps it was a pardonable error on their parts to assume that a Liberal Administration would at once find out the cause, and without difficulty provide a remedy. Bad harvests and constantly declining trade dealt the *coup de grâce* to Lord Beaconsfield's administration. Under Mr. Gladstone, we have had fairly good harvests, and yet trade does not mend. The traffic returns of our great railroads for the first quarter of the present year showed an almost continuous decrease. Let careful enquiries be made in the chief seats of the iron or woollen industries, and of the cotton industries, and it will be found that profits have fallen off, while in some cases—and not a few—business is carried on under a loss which it is fondly

* Speech at Hawarden, January 9th, 1884.

hoped will only be temporary. In London, people may see comparatively little of all this. There are as many gay equipages in the streets as ever, and perhaps as much money is being spent upon luxuries, though we should be inclined to doubt it. But a convulsion of trade which made a manifest difference in these things would be great enough to shake the Empire. We may live to see even that, if wisdom is not shown by the men who govern us, but the real pinch has not yet come. Retail traders are, it is true, painfully aware that the margin between profit and loss is growing smaller and smaller every year. They are always on the watch for the turn of the tide; but it does not turn. Nor will it turn—of that they may rest assured—until public confidence is restored, and until the commercial system of this country is brought into harmony with what Liberals profess to love so much, the ‘spirit of the age.’

The nation, though still ‘under the wand of the enchanter,’ is not without anxiety concerning its position. Events have by no means taken the turn which it anticipated. It counted with certainty, and it had a right to count, if pledges were to go for anything, on absolute freedom from disturbances abroad. Lord Beaconsfield had been too adventurous; he had thought too much about maintaining the Empire, and about the honour of the country. This, too, like everything else, was vanity, and it was our duty to renounce it. We did renounce it, and people rub their eyes even now when they think of what followed. The Ministry, after avowing a policy of universal surrender, have been driven to sacrifice life in a manner almost unheard of in recent years. They take good care that the public shall receive no official information as to the actual number of Arabs and Egyptians who have perished since the destruction of Alexandria; but it cannot be less, and is probably much more, than thirty thousand killed and wounded. No information on that subject—and not much on any subject—is vouchsafed. The Government resents the putting of a question, as vexatious, embarrassing, and obstructive. It claims the right of going to war without explanation of its causes and motives. A well-known Radical declared in the House, towards the end of March, that never before, since he had sat there, had he ‘known the case of a war in which the House was not told some reason or other why it was carried on.’ The present Ministry evidently think it the wiser course to give no reasons. Let a simple question be put, and some official rises in anger, and complains that the ‘whole business of the House is to be interfered with in order that the questioner may

to make a speech;’* or the Prime Minister, with a great show of indignation, vows that he has never seen such conduct before in the House of Commons, and that the enquirer is ‘offer-
ing immense obstruction to important public business.’† The habit of putting questions to a Government is of ancient standing in this country, but it now appears that it is utterly repugnant to Liberal principles. No honest man can avoid wondering what would have been said by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, and by the press, if the proceedings which we have lately seen had taken place under Conservative rule. Lord Beaconsfield was accused of endeavouring to drag his country into war; his accusers and successors have actually plunged us into war, and war from which no honour is to be reaped, while the extremity of suffering is inflicted upon a gallant but over-
matched foe. The only excuse which is given is, that we are fully engaged in ‘military operations,’ offensive, it may be, in form, but not ‘in essence;’ and this, we hope, will be satisfactory to the survivors and bereaved relatives of the slain. Those who hold that justice works itself out, sooner or later, in human affairs, will trace in all that has been going on a righteous retribution. Every unfair weapon which Ministers took up against their predecessors is now piercing their own hands. A day of expiation are they doomed to make for the wrong of which they were guilty. Lord Beaconsfield was turned out with ignominy, because the people were persuaded that he was a man careless of blood, hungering after foreign conquest. His assailants came into power, and their steps, by some malignant destiny, were straightway marked in blood. They pander to sedition, they submit, as one of their own associates has protested, to be ‘blackmailed’ by traitors, and their only reward is that they are to be protected day and night from the stroke of the assassin. The recognized principles of civilized government and of ordinary fair dealing have been set aside, and bribe after bribe has been offered to the Irish; and to-day the bribe has to be increased, and Ireland is more than ever determined to be free. It cannot be denied or forgotten that it was by playing upon Irish grievances that Mr. Gladstone came into power in 1868. Ireland has been a scourge to him ever since, and he has left it more hopelessly estranged from England, and more confident of the success of a disloyal policy, than it has been in the whole course of its chequered history. But there was another force invoked by Mr. Gladstone and

This was the actual language used by Lord E. Fitzmaurice in the House, on the 5th of March.

Mr. Gladstone in the House, April 3rd.

his followers against Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry, and it was the double appeal to the national 'horror of war' and to the claims of 'oppressed nationalities.' The cry of 'struggling and downtrodden peoples,' to which Lord Beaconsfield turned a deaf ear, was no longer to go up in vain to Heaven. Noble instincts, generous sympathies, beautiful impulses—these were once more to be our guides. 'It is painful to think,' said the 'Spectator,' in a passage which we are never tired of admiring, 'of the millions throughout the world—from the slaves who meditate escaping, to the wretched Christians whose daughters are carried off by the Kurds in Armenia—whose heartfelt thanks will go up to Heaven because the great friend of the oppressors [Lord Beaconsfield!] has been overthrown.*' People who can indulge in such outbursts as this are not likely to be ashamed of them afterwards, but when they saw General Gordon's proclamation establishing slavery under the protection of the British flag—when they saw the wives and daughters of the garrison at Sinkat 'carried off' into the mountains, and garrisons which trusted in us ruthlessly slaughtered—when they heard of the multitudes who were cut down while fighting for their freedom—then some misgiving, perhaps some pang of remorse, may have touched their consciences—such remains of conscience as extreme party spirit may by accident leave in the human breast.

The Radical party doubtless hoped, when they entered upon office, that the cry of some oppressed nationality would soon arise; and it did. It came, not from Bulgaria, but from Egypt. No one appears to doubt that there was the germ of a national party in that country, however mistaken it may have been in its aims, or however unfortunate in its leaders. The blackened ruins of Alexandria will serve to remind the traveller for years to come how it fared with the first 'struggling people' which ventured to lift its head during Mr. Gladstone's rule. If it had been known that Mr. Gladstone was ready to support the Khedive, the revolt of Arabi would never have occurred. Even after it broke out, the insurrection could have been easily suppressed, by the authority of the Sultan, without our interference. But there were the magazine articles and the Midlothian campaign in the way. How could Mr. Gladstone ask aid from the unspeakable Turk—'the one great anti-human specimen of humanity,' whose track is 'marked by a broad line of blood'?† The Sultan stood aloof, and looked on at the futile attempts of the great

* The 'Spectator,' April 3, 1880.

† 'Bulgarian Horrors' (1876), p. 13.

English Minister to wipe out the consequences of his own acts. Whose track is it which of late has been marked by a 'broad line of blood'? We wish we could get some good and discreet Dissenting minister, or even a progressive journalist, to give a frank and truthful answer to that question. At Tamasi alone it appears that ten thousand Arabs were killed or wounded, and in such a climate, without proper attendance or means of support, the dead are less to be pitied than many of the wounded. Compared with this, what are the stories which were dinned into the ears of the public a few years ago—stories of men in buckram whose heads were seen stuck on poles, unless the eyes of imaginative travellers deceived them? Day after day the Arabs were said to have all dispersed, and day after day we heard of the imperative necessity of fresh 'military operations.' There was no enemy, and no war, but we had to fight, and many of our own brave soldiers were killed. And who were the people that were thus driven to destruction? Rebels—such was the answer. But against whom had they rebelled? Not, surely, against us; scarcely can it be contended against the Khedive; as for the Mahdi, they were his followers. We caused the Mahdi to be proclaimed Sultan of Kordofan on his own terms, and at the same time we set to work slaying his supporters, and pursuing to the death his most trusty lieutenant. No one professes to understand what Mr. Gladstone has been doing. The army itself revolts at the work which it is required to perform.* It sees that its foes are brave, but it cannot see any reason for being sent out against them. The 'rebels' who were taken after the battle of Teb declared that they 'did not know they were fighting against the English.' The whole affair is not a greater mystery to them than it is to the majority of people in this country. Scarcely a dozen persons in the great manufacturing districts could give any intelligible explanation as to why we went to war, or what harm the rebels had done us. But some broad outlines are visible to every eye. The people must be aware, for instance, that if the Government had spoken in time, and spoken with sufficient firmness, there could have been no necessity for the waste of life and money which has so long been going on, and is probably not yet ended.

Our victories—victories of which our soldiers at least are not proud—have been absolutely barren, for the Government still remains without a policy. It disclaims responsibility for the Government of Egypt, and yet it has taken the authority out

* See the war correspondent of the 'Daily News,' 17th March, 1884.

of the hands of the Khedive. The language used in the Queen's Speech is more conclusive on the latter point than anything which Mr. Gladstone has been pleased to say since. 'I have also despatched Major-General Gordon to report on the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the interior of the Soudan'—it being perfectly well known that the Khedive had come to no resolution which England had not forced upon him. 'It should be made clear,' wrote Lord Granville, on the 4th of January, 'to the Egyptian Ministers and Governors of provinces that the responsibility which for the time rests on England obliges Her Majesty's Government to *insist* on the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be *necessary* that those Ministers and Governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their offices.' Thus the entire personnel of the Egyptian Government was informed that it held office during the pleasure of England, and yet we are free to repudiate all responsibility for the events which may take place in Egypt. We have brought chaos upon the country, and hatred and execration upon ourselves. 'On every side,' wrote the 'Times' correspondent at Cairo, on the 6th of April, 'there is the same story—threats of resignation, and expressions of despair and of inability to achieve any success.' We will not let the Egyptians govern; we refuse to discharge the duty ourselves. If the Ministry had done absolutely nothing—if it had not been at so much pains to proclaim that the Khedive should be made to give up the Soudan—the hundreds of women and children at Sinkat might have been saved, and the Tamasi massacre would not have occurred. But even for the first false step which led us into our present position, the Ministry will not take any responsibility. Sometimes it is the fault of the Khedive; sometimes of the 'bond-holders'; sometimes of Lord Beaconsfield's Government. So recently as the 3rd of April, Mr. Gladstone seriously contended in the House that he had only been carrying out the 'covenants' of the late Government. Where the covenants are to be found, or why he has followed them—he having made an express vow to annul all Beaconsfieldian covenants—has not yet been explained. Surely a Minister with an irresistible majority at his back, elected to reverse the policy of his predecessor, cannot for ever obtain absolution for his blunders by pleading that they are the consequences of his predecessor's policy. What one would like to know is, when Lord Beaconsfield's responsibility for events is to be held to have terminated, and when does Mr. Gladstone's begin? Lord Beaconsfield has now been out of office four
years;

years; for three years he has been in his grave. Yet Mr. Gladstone finds him as useful as ever for 'polemical purposes.' Everybody thought he would miss him, but Mr. Gladstone still sees his old antagonist behind every bush. To be sure, Lord Beaconsfield can no longer reply, but that is no reason why he should not be attacked; quite the reverse. There are some Radicals who do not appear to be able to see the justice of all this, and among them is Mr. Cowen, of Newcastle. 'No sophistry,' he told the House,* 'could reconcile the professions of Liberals when in opposition with their practice when in office on this and kindred questions. The subtle art of party manœuvring furnished few more flagrant instances of political tergiversation than the invasion of Egypt at the instance of men who, four years ago, cried themselves hoarse in denouncing the sin of national acquisitiveness and the danger of military adventure.'

Besides Lord Beaconsfield, the Ministry cast about for another scapegoat; and the chivalrous General Gordon was found to be willing to act in that capacity. The Ministry were all aground; in fact, one of their habitual supporters has confessed that they were lost but for General Gordon. What he was expected to do has never been fully told, but the Government, in employing him, seem to have acted under some such impulse as that which leads a savage tribe to call in the great medicine-man. The entire transaction lies out of the range of ordinary human affairs. There was something about General Gordon which puzzled and fascinated the perplexed Ministers; they did not know what it was; perhaps a sort of animal magnetism—at any rate, he was a man peculiarly fitted by nature to deal with a land of mystery. He might, perhaps, succeed in quelling the disturbances in Egypt; and if he did, the Government could claim the credit. If he failed, it was his own look-out. He needed no troops—no support of any kind; above all, there was to be 'no responsibility.' General Gordon had an inexplicable influence over the natives, gained in a way that Ministers could not explain, though evidently they had their suspicions about its origin. They sent him out into the desert, like the forlorn creature represented in Mr. Holman Hunt's picture of the scapegoat; but, as Mr. Gladstone has since been very particular to explain, he 'is under no constraint, and under no orders, to remain in the Soudan.'† He can 'withdraw from the Soudan if he thinks proper'—another method of 'hedging' against events; for now, if General Gordon

* February 19th, 1884.

† Speech in the House of Commons, April 3rd.

is killed, it can always be said that the Prime Minister gave him a broad hint to come home. Mr. Gladstone has never been troubled with Lord Palmerston's weakness for holding fast, through thick and thin, to everyone who was serving him. General Gordon began his mission, and it was soon found that he was obliged to resort to contrivances which savoured strongly of this world's commonplace. Slavery was not only not to be interfered with—it was established by decree. The Mahdi was to have everything he demanded, and General Gordon hastened to proclaim him Sultan of Kordofan. But the Mahdi, with a greater sense of humour than appears to be possessed by the English Ministry, sent by way of reply a dervish's robe to General Gordon, with a message calling upon him to become a Mussulman. Clearly the mesmeric power had not worked upon the Mahdi.

Upon seeing that, another total change of front was made. The very man whom General Gordon has always denounced—rightly or wrongly—as the king of the slave trade, and the scourge of Africa, he required to be placed in authority over the Soudan. 'I would hand over the troops,' General Gordon said in an interview with the 'Times' correspondent, 'to Zebehr Pasha, who would before the end of the year finish off the Mahdi.' Only a week or two before, the General had made the Mahdi Sultan of Kordofan; suddenly his one desire is to see him 'finished off.' Decidedly, General Gordon is a man who has a remarkable gift for adapting himself to circumstances. He caused Zebehr Pasha's son to be killed, and he held up Zebehr Pasha himself to the execration of mankind as an abominable trafficker in human flesh. Now, it appears, it was all a mistake. Slavery is to be officially recognized, and the chief slave-dealer—if it be so—was to be made ruler over the people. But the Ministry could not stand Zebehr, and he is at present waiting for the next change of wind. So much we have been able to see of General Gordon's movements; the rest is more or less obscure. We only know that he could not save the garrisons in the Soudan, that he was not able to prevent the slaughter of Tamasi, and that he has not put down the Mahdi, or caught Osman Digma, or restored 'harmony' anywhere. To ordinary eyes, he has completely broken down. We do not wish to underrate his services, past or present; we admire the promptitude, courage, and loyalty, with which he undertook an almost desperate enterprise; but will any one explain what is the wonderful work which he has done in the Soudan? What the Government has been the means of doing is very clear. Thousands of Arabs have perished in defence of a cause which they

they believed to be just, and which we do not know to be unjust. On the principles laid down by Mr. Gladstone, we had no right whatever in their country. The disaffected of all classes in Egypt were encouraged—not to say invited—to rise up in revolt against their rulers by the avowal that non-intervention would be the future policy of England. After they had been thus lured on, we were obliged—or thought ourselves obliged—to destroy them. Once more Mr. Gladstone tried the policy which led to the Crimean war, and once more his own words rise up against him. What ‘reparation’ can he make ‘to the memory of those heaps on heaps of dead; to the violated purity alike of matron, of maiden, and of child; to the civilization which has been affronted and shamed; to the laws of God, or if you like, of Allah; to the moral sense of mankind at large?’* There is but one reparation possible—to confer upon the country the blessings of a firm and equitable Government, and this will yet be done, under the compulsion of necessity, and by Mr. Gladstone’s Ministry, should it remain long enough in power. It will have to go, inch by inch, continually further on the road upon which it has started. All the world has seen for months past that we cannot leave Egypt to be overrun with banditti, and thrown into the horrors of civil war. We have compelled the Khedive to give up the Soudan, and we forced him to hold Suakin, much against his will. The phantom of Egyptian government is passing away, and we, who have reduced it to its present state, are striving our hardest to exasperate the people against us. Disorder is spreading throughout the Delta; in many parts of it life and property are alike unsafe. This is the direct result of English intervention, and the only answer to the accusation that the Prime Minister can make, is to assert that the subject has been debated for seventeen nights in the House of Commons.†

Governments have ere now been accused of endeavouring to divert attention from their errors in domestic affairs by pursuing an adventurous foreign policy. The present Ministry has laid itself open to the accusation of adopting the opposite course, and this charge is pressed, not so much by its opponents, as by members of the Liberal party. ‘The embarrassments of the Government are serious,’ said Mr. Cowen recently, ‘and they

* ‘Bulgarian Horrors,’ p. 62.

† As a piece of contemporary evidence, the following is worth preserving: ‘Here we have a population plunged in abject misery, and ready on slight provocation to join the insurrectionary movement; we have government at a deadlock, public works going to ruin, private enterprise paralysed, and debt accumulating. For this universal demoralization and disorganization this country is responsible, and this country alone can apply a remedy.’—The ‘Times,’ April 7th, 1884.

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are trying to evade them by bringing in a Reform Bill.' 'The Franchise Bill,' says another Radical, 'is being used as a species of bogey to frighten Radicals into condoning those aggrandizements of empire, and those schemes of foreign meddling, which Mr. Gladstone so eloquently denounced in his Midlothian speeches,'* and this appears to be the true *raison d'être* of the Bill for the extension of the suffrage in counties, by which 2,000,000 new voters, a large proportion of whom cannot even read and write, are to be pitchforked into the franchise. A measure so vast has never before been introduced into Parliament, and in order to disarm opposition to it, two expedients were put into operation—a substantial bribe was offered to Mr. Parnell, and a total concealment is made of the Ministerial intentions with regard to redistribution. It is not denied—even by Mr. Gladstone—that Ireland has more than its fair share of representation, but it is not to lose any part of it, because the Administration needs the Irish vote in the House of Commons. Mr. Parnell and his followers must be bought, and Mr. Gladstone bids high, of course on grounds strictly consistent with the 'moral law'—for there is nothing, as we now see, which cannot be brought within the scope of that elastic code. Mr. Parnell accepted the bribe—he would have been mad to have refused it—and his phalanx swelled the Ministerial majority on the second reading. But he lost no time in permitting us to understand in what spirit he received Mr. Gladstone's offer. At a dinner in London of the 'Irish Nationalist' party, held on St. Patrick's day—the toast 'Ireland the Nation' having been substituted for 'the Queen'—Mr. Parnell stated that he did not place any reliance upon the 'good wishes of any section of the English people.' Never was the future of Ireland so promising; 'they understood the weak points in the armour of their enemy better than they ever did before; they understood and recognized the most suitable means of attack.' It is too true—Mr. Gladstone has shown the disloyal classes in Ireland that disloyalty alone is rewarded, and that everything will be conceded to clamour and menace. The Irish vote in Parliament must be secured at any price, and it will not be Mr. Gladstone's fault if it is not henceforth put up at auction at the outset of every Session, each party trying to outbid the other for it. But Mr. Parnell fairly warned us that the new present made to him signified nothing. 'The day was very near,' he said, 'when all sections of Irishmen would have an opportunity of meeting together, and celebrating on Irish soil the day that they then celebrated on English soil,

* Mr. Labouchere in the 'Pall Mall Gazette,' March 19th, 1884.

under the protection of an Irish Parliament.' Give what you please, but the ultimate end will still be steadily pursued. In this, as in other speeches, Mr Parnell has made little or no attempt to deceive the English people. He has distinctly told them that all concessions, which fall short of the one great concession demanded by the 'Nationalists,' will be utterly disregarded. On the other hand, Mr. Gladstone has persistently maintained that each of his 'healing measures' would result in attaching Ireland in bonds of sincere affection to England—we should have one country, one people, all devoted to the Crown and to each other, all working in brotherly love and contentment, and all guided by the 'divine light' of justice. And the English people have believed him, and will go on believing him until the time comes when they will be able to take a cool and deliberate survey of his work. The Irish leaders have been in doubt whether he was deluding himself, or simply deluding others; but in whatever quarter the delusion may have been, they have never taken any trouble to encourage it. Even now, when Mr. Gladstone proposes to increase Mr. Parnell's followers in Parliament—for that is what his plan really involves—and while the English people look on with bewilderment, Mr. Parnell himself comes forward and reiterates his one demand—Ireland for the Irish. The English must go; and if the tactics of the present Prime Minister were carried on a few years longer, the English would have to go, unless they preferred the alternative of civil war.

The bid for the Irish vote sufficed, as we saw on the 7th of April, to secure Mr. Parnell's support for the new Bill. A large majority was 'rolled up,' and Mr. Goschen's brave but futile warnings fell on deaf ears. By keeping the scheme of redistribution a profound secret, it was calculated that there would also be secured the support of the small boroughs which must necessarily be disfranchised. And the 'tactics,' as Mr. Chamberlain calls them, were successful; but all the same it is not a fair, it is not even an honourable, method of dealing with Reform, and in this view we are supported by Mr. Gladstone's own authority. In 1866, he introduced a Reform Bill unaccompanied by any scheme of redistribution. But it was not proposed, as it is now, to defer the Redistribution Bill till the following year, and, as a matter of fact, it was introduced in the course of the same Session. 'Nothing,' said Mr. Gladstone at that time—and it is surprising that his words have escaped the recollection of every member of the House of Commons—'nothing could be more contemptible and base than the conduct of a Government which could give out, with a view of enlisting the generous

confidence of its supporters, that it would deal with the subject of Reform, and would stand or fall by its propositions, and which all the while could silently exclude from the scope of their declaration all portions of that question, except only the reduction of the franchise, though among such portions we find one, *I mean the redistribution of seats*, only second in importance to that of the franchise itself.* The line here denounced is precisely that which Mr. Gladstone is following now. We should not like to describe it as 'contemptible and base,' but these are the Prime Minister's own words, and presumptuous indeed would be the man who attempted to explain them away. There was still another principle which was laid down by Mr. Gladstone in 1866, and which deserves the most serious consideration. He defined it in this way:—'I grant that if you approach the subject of redistribution with the intention of what is commonly called "cooking the constituencies," you will, by seeking to destroy the effects of the reduction of the franchise through the redistribution of seats, make redistribution a most dangerous engine as regards public liberty.'† Will any practical man, possessing the least knowledge of politics, explain why a redistribution scheme is not only kept out of the present Bill, but actually pushed over altogether till another year? Could such a man be persuaded, even by Mr. Gladstone himself, that the idea of 'cooking the constituencies' had never entered into the minds of the Ministry? The object of the scheme is so plain that any child may understand it. The Ministry intend to hold an election with the two million of new voters, who will swamp the present county constituencies, and after that, the redistribution will be carried out in such a way as to effect the permanent disfranchisement of the landlords and the farmers. The country will be mapped out to suit the Radicals. Lord George Hamilton put the matter plainly and fairly during the recent debates in the House of Commons. 'The borough members,' said he, 'were mostly Liberal, while the county members were Conservative, and therefore this Bill was intended, more or less, to pack the next House of Commons in order to deprive the Conservative party of the representation which its wealth and numbers entitled it to.' Let the 2,000,000 in *before* redistribution, and power will be lodged for an indefinite period in the hands of the Radicals. And remember that the Bill cannot possibly be worked *without* redistribution. Standing as it does, it introduces inequalities such as would reduce Parliamentary government to a farce. The West Riding of York-

* 'Reform Speeches of 1866,' revised and published by Mr. Gladstone, p. 122.

† Ibid. p. 165.

re, with a population of 497,000, would return two members, the four boroughs, with about the same number of electors, would return five. The whole representative system would become a mass of such anomalies. The south-eastern division of Lancashire, with 76,400 electors, or thereabouts, would return two members, while 76,865 electors in the boroughs would return eighty-six members. In the face of such facts as these, Mr. Chamberlain informed the House, with every appearance of sincerity, that 'sincerity' which is the great characteristic of the present Ministry, that 'he would not accept a position which would further increase the anomalies and inequalities which now exist between the three kingdoms, or which would maintain and perpetuate them.'* This statement is only intelligible upon the theory that the President of the Board of Trade has not the remotest idea of the tendency of the present Bill. He is under the impression that there will be no inequalities created or maintained under it. And yet Mr. Chamberlain is not exactly an amateur in politics. His simplicity on the present occasion is almost startling in a 'Boss,' but it is doubtless appreciated in Birmingham, especially by the members of the Caucus, who do not always assign a literal meaning to the words of their chief when he is talking to the public.

What does anybody suppose will become of the twenty-two English boroughs which have fewer than a thousand electors on the register—boroughs like Petersfield, Tavistock, or Lymington? If the counties are to be represented in proportion to population, what is to prevent nine-tenths of the English boroughs losing half or all their members? Mr. Gladstone is perfectly well aware from the first that if he ventured to show his hand he would have lost his Bill. There would have been such a felling of the dead wood and the smaller branches on the palmiest day in Hawarden woods never witnessed. A member of the Government has inadvertently admitted something of this sort. 'Any scheme,' said Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, speaking at Manchester on the 23rd of January last, 'which is now made for redistributing members, and which is framed on a fair intelligible basis, must have the effect of transferring members from the small boroughs to the great towns and their adjoining counties.' But how far this process is to be carried, Mr. Gladstone will not state, until he is reinforced by the millions of new voters, who will have a vital interest, if he is none, in 'cooking the constituencies.' Some of the Radicals look for equal electoral districts, assuredly without knowing what

* Speech on the 27th of March, 1884.

they are asking for, unless, indeed, they look upon the majority of provincial towns as totally unworthy of representation in Parliament. To give London, Lancashire, and the West Riding their full representation, on the basis of numbers, would require the disfranchisement of 120 boroughs, on Mr. Shaw Lefevre's calculation. It would be 'impossible,' as he says, 'to carry such a scheme against the resistance which would be made by the 120 boroughs to be dealt with.'* The Government, in fact, dare not propound any system of redistribution. Let it be observed, that the chief reason adduced by Mr. Gladstone, in introducing the Bill, for not accompanying it with its due complement, was the somewhat *naïve* one, that the Government would otherwise be endangered. He dwelt much upon the perils of redistribution—on the way it brought about the defeat of the Government in 1866, on the opportunities it afforded to the opponents of the Ministry to rally their forces against it, and on the fact that the question 'raises up a local feeling, which may fairly be described as a selfish feeling.' Are these the reasons which a statesman can seriously allege for not frankly and honestly dealing with a subject the avoidance of which he has himself denounced, under precisely similar circumstances, as 'contemptible and base'? And to justify this avoidance of a great, an imperative duty, Mr. Gladstone thinks it quite sufficient to turn upon the House and say: 'We will not tell you our plan of redistribution, because we do not intend to be caught in any trap.'† It is something new in public life in England, but consistent enough with its declining tone, that the Prime Minister should seek to justify a tortuous course by pleading that he was afraid of being caught in a trap.

Even Mr. Gladstone, however, could not quite conceal the palpable fact, that the small—and not merely the very small—boroughs must go overboard. In 1831, he told the House, there was a 'wholesale slaughter' of constituencies; and the new measure, whenever it comes, 'must be nearer to the measure of 1831 than to the measure of 1867.' At the same time, he would not favour the principle of electoral districts, or 'the adoption of any pure population scale.' Lord Hartington went even further than this, and stated that if he thought the Bill would introduce any 'uniform system, such as that of equal electoral districts,' he would 'not be prepared to support it.'‡ In reality, however, the Bill could not be worked, with any pretence of

* Debate on the second reading, March 24th.

† Speech upon introducing the County Franchise Bill, 'Times' report, February 29th.

‡ Debate on the second reading, March 24th.

fairness, without equal electoral districts ; and this, as we know from his own declarations, is what Mr. Chamberlain really wants. Some day or other, if the Bill comes into operation, it must be supplemented by another, dividing the country into equal electoral districts, as the United States is divided under a very similar form of suffrage, and this result could not be postponed beyond a very brief period. The sole principle to which Mr. Gladstone is willing to commit himself has at least the merit of novelty—he suggests that constituencies should be awarded a representation in proportion to their distance from London, ‘not omitting the element of the sea.’ An argument of some kind was needed to justify the proposed addition to the Irish ‘Nationalists,’ and this was it. Representation based upon mileage—no doubt the plan seems simple enough at first sight, and it would have the advantage of giving John o’ Groats more members than London. When our colonies and dependencies are represented in Parliament, as we hope they will be, Canada will outnumber the British Islands, and Australasia will beat Canada. With similar originality, Mr. Gladstone threw out the idea—though he admitted he would not press it—of making room for the new members by increasing the total number admitted to Parliament. It would ‘materially ease the operation.’ We do not know what operation it would ease, but when the public see a Parliament which is already half buried beneath its own talk, utterly incompetent to transact the business of the nation, they will be slow to believe that anything is to be gained by increasing its numbers. Prince Bismarck, the one great Minister left in Europe who dares to express his real opinions, told the German Reichstag recently that Parliament could do many salutary things, ‘but *rule*, *Meine Herren*, that it cannot, and must not.’ That it *cannot* rule, is becoming painfully obvious to all observers. ‘I am sorry to say,’ said the Home Secretary in the House itself, on the 21st of March last, ‘and the House knows, that it is absolutely impossible for the Government—or, so far as I can see, for anybody else—to pass any Bill on any subject.’ But this, we are told, all arises from the use of obstruction—another weapon from the Radical arsenal, no matter in whose hands it may be found now. It was invented by Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, and their associates, ably defended by Mr. Gladstone when he was out of office,* and practised by those who are now his chief colleagues. These were the men who first

* In the ‘Nineteenth Century,’ August, 1879.

taught the Irish members how to obstruct, and now they are but reaping the harvest which they sowed.

No one has been able to disprove Mr. Gladstone's axiom, that a Bill for enlarging the franchise ought not to be introduced into Parliament with absolute concealment of the redistribution which it involves. But everything under the present Administration is exceptional; its acts are without precedent, and will form no precedents. We are merely told that it is a duty to put our trust in the Ministerial sense of honour. In politics, nowadays, all things seem to be accounted honourable, especially all things which strengthen the Radical party. If the Conservatives choose to put their head into the lion's jaws, let them do so; but they must not expect to get it out again. Enable the Radicals to hold one election under the new Bill, and it will be their own fault if they are defeated at any future election. Therefore it is that before the Easter adjournment they became so impatient of the discussion, and raised anew their voices against 'obstruction.' 'Pass the Bill,' was their cry, 'and leave off considering what we are likely to do with it. That you shall know in time.' And it is the same with regard to the peculiar favours to be bestowed on the Parnell faction. Mr. Gladstone proposes to add to the Irish constituency over 400,000 voters,* and there is to be no constituency sacrificed. Yet on any reasonable basis of computation, Ireland is entitled only to 81 members, instead of 103—or taking Mr. Gladstone's contention,† that her fair proportion is 93, why is she to retain 103? She has sixteen boroughs with fewer than 500 electors on the register—several with from 250 to 300 only. There are 22 boroughs, returning as many members, with a total of 8756 electors only among them all—that is to say, a much smaller number of electors than there are in Birkenhead return 22 members to Parliament, while Birkenhead returns but *one*. Look at the matter in any light, and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Ireland is already greatly over-represented in the House of Commons. It has been incidentally stated, in Ministerial journals, that '120 English boroughs are doomed.' The disloyal part of the population is to be given increased power at Westminster, and then we are to wonder why the Irish should seek to paralyse Government, while we encourage them to believe that separation is within their reach. The Irish vote, as we all know, is not to be reckoned exclusively by the members sent from Ireland. It

* Mr. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons, February 28th.

† Debate on the second reading, April 7th.

carries with it great weight in many English boroughs, and in not a few places it absolutely decides an election. It has lately been calculated that the Irish population in England cannot be put below three-quarters of a million, and this force now works with a precision and under a discipline never known before. It is a force, as a whole, intent upon but one object—the dismemberment of the Empire. Its vote, whatever may be the question nominally under discussion, means invariably the same thing—Secession. Mr. Gladstone will make no reduction in the number of members for Ireland, for fear of setting those members against his Bill. ‘It is a wretched bargain,’ as the ‘Times’ truly said when it was first made known,* ‘that Mr. Gladstone tries to strike, but even the small advantage he seeks will prove illusory.’ It was not illusory. The Irish members jumped at the bait, and voted for the Franchise Bill; but when it comes to the question of redistribution, they will once more leave Mr. Gladstone moaning over their ‘perfidy.’ The followers of Mr. Parnell are shrewd enough to see that a Bill of this kind cannot possibly be manipulated so that there shall be no penal clauses lurking within it.

Thus, then, another great transfer of political power is to be made, and many constituencies are to be disfranchised; and yet no information is to be vouchsafed until some time which is vaguely described as ‘next year.’ The only thing which is not kept secret, is the hope that the new electors will go in a body with the Radicals, and that Tory county members will gradually become extinct. Mr. Goschen has shown that the main increase in the new electorate will be drawn, not from the rural classes, but from the urban and gregarious class—miners, artisans, and others—who will hasten to swell ‘the Democracy to which the large majority of the House is bent on confiding the future destinies of this country.† In thirty counties, as he maintained, returning sixty members, ‘there will be an entire transfer of political power from an agricultural and farming class to the urban class.’ The same fact had been pointed out by Mr. Disraeli in the debate on the Counties Franchise Bill in 1874: he showed that ‘the number of the agricultural classes would not by any means amount to a moiety of those who would be admitted.’ The Radicals are, in truth, doubtful how the agricultural class would vote; they feel pretty confident of

* Monday, March 10th. It must in candour be admitted that on April 8th the ‘Times’ declared that the second reading of the Bill would ‘be hailed by the country with great satisfaction.’

† This statement, it is worthy of note, was received with approving cheers from the Ministerial benches.—Debate on the second reading, April 7th.

the miners and the artisans. It is important that the country and the House alike should bear in mind, that no English Minister has ever till now presented himself before the nation with such a juggle as this. Mr. Gladstone, with characteristic subtlety, urged in vindication of his method of proceeding that there had never been a complete Reform Bill laid before Parliament; that the Bills of 1831-2 were not complete. But he refrained from telling the House that they were quite complete as regards the important detail on which his own Bill is incomplete—that is to say, they included Redistribution. For the first time in our history, the electorate is to be wholly changed, with Parliament carefully blindfolded. It must not even debate, except under continual protest. The motion of Lord John Manners, although thoroughly just and reasonable in itself, and in strict conformity with Parliamentary usage, was attacked as another form of ‘veiled obstruction.’ Every man of sense must see what a mockery of legislation is this. It is, however, but fitting that Revolutionary measures should be forced through Parliament by revolutionary methods. All is of a piece. Under pretence of enfranchising the rural labourer, a Bill is introduced for the real purpose of flooding the agricultural constituencies with the urban classes, and of parcelling out the country to swell a Radical majority. That such a Bill would go through the House of Commons was never doubtful, for the united Irish party was certain to vote for it, and many a member who was afraid of it would follow the example in dread of the party whip and of the Caucus ‘mandate.’ If they did not like the Irish bribe, they had to swallow it all the same, on Mr. Gladstone’s assurance that his sole desire was to ‘do justice to Ireland in this matter, so as to show to the people of the three countries that we, the Government of the Queen, hold ourselves equally bound to them all.’* Justice to Ireland—there is nothing more than that in the Bill which transfers all the Home Rulers to the Ministerial majority. Mr. Gladstone has at length managed to improve greatly upon the Kilmainham Treaty.

In spite of this triumph, the Government is losing ground in the country. Egypt will prove its Nemesis. But the Conservative party is not eager to precipitate its fall. Any one who looks at the state of public affairs in this country, and at the position we have been drawn into abroad, may easily understand that the Liberals have far more reason to wish to get out than the Conservatives have to get in. Ireland, all

* Speech in debate on second reading, 7th April.

bribes notwithstanding, is a point of great and serious danger; dynamite plots are frequently hatched, although by the mercy of Providence they usually fail; there is great dissatisfaction among the working men, not yet loudly or noisily expressed, but deeply felt, and growing more general; the burden of heavy direct taxation presses with great severity on tradesmen and the middle classes; we see Russia advancing steadily towards India, the only country in the world which we can keep open for true free trade; in Egypt we have been committed to a policy which is not far removed from annexation. To escape from all these difficulties, and to go to the country with a 'Reform Bill' which has been thrown out by the House of Lords, is no doubt part of the Ministerial programme. Yet the House of Lords must do its duty, even at the risk of assisting the 'tactics' of the Ministry. The Cabinet is not always so compliant as Mr. Gladstone could desire, and he must be strangely constituted indeed, if he does not feel mortification and disappointment at the results of his long and daring experiments in Ireland. Something better he must have looked for than dynamite conspiracies and armed guards set at his doors. His bitterest enemy can scarcely suppose that he looked forward, when he formed his Ministry, to the record of bloodshed which has stained its history. In 1880, could some political astrologer have shown him all that was to happen in four years, no one can doubt that he would have kept to that resolution of final retirement, which he adhered to with singular consistency all the while his party was plunged in the slough of unpopularity.

Put the Conservatives in power, and every evil consequence of the ruinous policy of the last four years would be saddled upon them. They would stand no shadow of a chance of receiving fair play; the Liberal press would immediately recover its hatred of 'Jingoism,' and the exercise of force in any part of the world would be stigmatized as a manifestation of the old Tory hatred of popular liberties. The Radical caucuses would no longer be inactive; the 'orators' would be unmuzzled; the Dissenters would break the preternatural stillness with which they have watched the Egyptian slaughters. How hateful was bloodshed to them when Lord Beaconsfield held power! Far different is it now; almost does it appear to send forth a pleasant savour under their nostrils. There are many things in politics which interest or faintly amuse the cynical student of life and human nature, and among them is the horror of war displayed by the Dissenters four years ago, and their toleration of it now. Mr. Spurgeon—a gentleman
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who, apart from his political prejudices, has done much good, and of whom we desire to speak with great respect—fulminated Sunday after Sunday against Lord Beaconsfield because he did not prevent the ‘Bulgarian atrocities,’ although how the luckless Minister was to prevent them was never made clear. What has Mr. Spurgeon to say about the wholesale massacre of Arabs who, after all, were but defending their own land, and a cause which was dear to them? Not a word; all is silent in the streets of Newington; no voice of protest goes forth from the Tabernacle; the ‘Sword and Trowel’ are put away on the top shelf. Before deciding whether a thing is wicked or the reverse, find out which party is in power. One Dissenting Minister has gone so far as to denounce from his pulpit the Members of the House of Commons who have been bold enough to express an opinion that war in Egypt was uncalled for, and might have been avoided. It did not, perhaps, need his example to impress upon the young men of the present day the lesson, taught them in so many other quarters, that wrong and right are unmeaning terms in politics, and that what may be condemned as wrong to-day may be lawfully pronounced right to-morrow. Any one who wishes to preserve loftier ideas than these of public duty should read as many good books and essays as he can lay hands on; but he should not keep notes of Parliamentary or ‘campaign’ speeches, or look too closely into the lives of modern statesmen.

A Conservative Ministry would have to face an opposition very different from that which is at present led in the Lower House by that terrible obstructionist, Sir Stafford Northcote. No great effort of imagination is needed to conjure up the nightly chorus which would be raised when all the lions of the Liberal party were free to roar once again—when Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, and Messrs. Harcourt, Dilke, Chamberlain, Trevelyan, Fawcett, and all the lecturers and stump speakers, with their old allies the Parnellites, were let loose, one after the other, upon a Ministry which would not be very strong in debating power, and which would be clogged at every step by the irrevocable acts of their predecessors. Still, the Conservative party would not shrink from the responsibilities of office, and we venture to say that if it could have just treatment, and be kept in power four or five years, it would be able to render great services to the nation, and especially to the great body of the working classes. Let us look a little closely, if briefly, into this, and see if the Conservatives have an alternative policy.

To begin, a Conservative Government would try by every
means

means within its power to keep order in Ireland, and to do justice to the people at large—which cannot be accomplished by the policy of making continual concessions to disloyalty. There *must* come a time, sooner or later, when these concessions will come to an end; and that time should be now. The Irish—how often must we still be reminded of the fact?—are a people before whom it is not safe to go grovelling upon the ground; they understand and respect courage and firmness; they have nothing but fresh exactions and contempt for those whom they can ride over roughshod. Mr. Gladstone has tried the policy of yielding until the country is weary of it, and now it would like to see Government once more fulfilling its proper functions, and doing its duty without fear or trembling. It is not to be supposed, therefore, that the Conservative party would or could give up any other principle to the Irish party, or consent to the separation of Ireland—a measure which would be followed by a civil war—or be bound by Mr. Gladstone's declaration that the number of Irish Members in Parliament must not be reduced. Whatever the *just* proportion for Ireland is—whether calculated upon a basis of population or of taxation—that it should have, and no more. If public works can be developed in such a way as to improve the condition of the people, it should be done; there are Irishmen, strange as it may seem to Mr. Gladstone, who would rather see their country helped in this way than have it nominally enriched, but actually impoverished, by the wholesale plunder of landlords.

‘But you would oppose any extension of the Suffrage in counties. You are enemies of all Reform in *that* quarter.’ So it is said, but the persons who say it can have but a very slender acquaintance with history. The Tory party has always shown a desire to do justice to the agricultural population. It adopted and supported the Chandos clause in the Reform Bill of 1832, which fixed the qualification of tenant farmers and occupiers at 50*l.* a year. It was a Tory, Mr. Disraeli, who, in 1867, reduced the rateable value to 12*l.* And in 1874, Mr. Disraeli again defended the agricultural labourers, who have generally been described as ‘mere serfs’ by the Radicals and their allies, and declared that he looked upon the movement then taking place among their class as destined to ‘end in a change in their condition very advantageous to the country.’ We have, indeed, bound ourselves by our own precedents not to disregard the just claims of the labourers on the land. The Bill of 1867 settled the question, so far as the Tory party is concerned. We cannot turn back the hands upon the dial, even if we would. There would, then, be no denial

denial of the franchise to the labourers as a class, but assuredly there would be no measure introduced on the trans-Atlantic 'gerrymandering' principle, designed to remodel the constituencies of England for the special benefit of one party. Such attempts to grasp at power have sometimes been successful in the United States, but hitherto the people of this country have regarded them with signal displeasure. In 1867, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's attempts to prove the contrary, redistribution accompanied Reform. The forty-five seats which the Bill rendered vacant were allotted at the time, not in the following year. On this principle the Conservatives would act again. How far they would be prepared to go in extending the franchise need not now be discussed, but they could scarcely undertake to concede universal suffrage, for they must be well aware that it would involve the consequences pointed out on a previous page—the disfranchisement of the larger number of English and Welsh boroughs (as Mr. Disraeli calculated, 147 out of 198) and a very close approach to equal electoral districts. Give universal suffrage to the counties, and we must be prepared, as Mr. Disraeli warned the House of Commons in 1874, to 'have our time entirely occupied in efforts to reassert the balance of the Constitution, and obtain some tolerable representation of the people of England, which we shall otherwise have completely destroyed.' The boroughs of England will do well to remember this warning, before they lend their aid to the passage of Mr. Gladstone's Bill. Some people may say that Mr. Disraeli was no authority on the question; well, let them look into the matter for themselves. They may work the sum how they please, and it will produce only one result. It is because Mr. Gladstone and his followers are aware of this, that they cannot, they dare not, bring forward their redistribution scheme in an honest manner. The Conservatives would not doggedly refuse to play the game; but they would not play with marked cards concealed under the table.

In the next place, it is scarcely probable that a Conservative Government would persistently turn a deaf ear to every complaint which is made in reference to the state of trade. It is a subject of vast importance to the country, and although Liberal writers and Liberal politicians have done their best to belittle and ridicule it, nothing can keep it down, or prevent it from occupying the very foremost place before the public eye. The same prediction was made in these pages three years ago, and every day that passes shows how just it was, and how shortsighted were the theorists who maintained that the alleged existence of depression was a 'mere phenomenon of illusion.'

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The evidence which has recently been taken before the House of Lords' Committee on the Manchester Ship Canal will perhaps be sufficient to show where the illusion really is. The Manchester manufacturers bring but one report with them, and it is that their trade is declining, and that all their efforts to restore it are unavailing. Mr. Samuel Ogden, for instance, informed the Committee that 'the exclusion of the English manufacturer by hostile tariffs from the Continental markets' was crippling the great cotton industries. In one parish in Manchester, 'the rateable value had depreciated to the extent of 6900*l.* a year. In New Cross Ward, in the last ten years, the various mills and manufactories were employing 12,000 fewer hands than ten years ago. Whole streets of houses were empty, and the operatives had migrated or emigrated. He knew of warehouse property in Manchester of the value of 14,000*l.* a year that was entirely empty.' Facts of this kind are not to be explained away by Board of Trade returns. The information which has been elicited during the progress of this enquiry into the merits of the proposed Manchester Ship Canal is of great importance and interest, but only by some accident were the statements which we have just quoted allowed to appear in a solitary evening paper on the 20th of last month. The state of trade, which causes so much anxiety to the millions who depend upon it for their subsistence, scarcely receives so much attention from the London press as a picture sale or a divorce suit.

The working men, however, are not disposed to see their livelihood slip from them without making an effort to keep it. For a long time past they have been aware that trade, especially in finished manufactures,* was gradually getting worse, without being able to form any decided opinion as to the cause. They were brought up to believe in 'Free Trade' as a sort of religion, and it is only of late that they have opened their eyes to the truth that they have never had Free Trade, and are now less likely than ever to have it. They cannot any longer be blinded to the fact, that they are not allowed to compete on fair and equal terms in any foreign market in the world, while all foreigners are allowed freely to compete against them in their own markets. Not Mr. Bright, nor all the Cobden Club put together, can satisfy them that this is a fair arrangement, or that it can be conducive to their interests. They begin to understand better than they once did the real conditions

* The export of *yarns* shows a tendency to increase; we shall still be able to supply foreign countries with materials for their own manufactures, just as we have supplied them with machinery.

of the problem. They perceive that the only quarter where they can look for allies is in the direction of our own colonies, which would gladly give us an advantage in their markets over all other nations if we would treat them in the same spirit.* But the time is passing by when such a confederation as this would be practicable. The colonies are becoming more and more strongly Protectionist, and other nations are making rapid progress in their attempts to supplant British manufactures in their markets. If it had not been for India, the decline in our cotton trade would have been much more marked than it is, but we cannot keep our Indian customers if we persist in our present policy. We need not look to the United States for comfort—they will give us no more of their trade than they can help, and that they will give grudgingly. The same old prophecy, made nearly forty years ago by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, that the Americans would adopt Free Trade, is still sometimes repeated, but by this time it ought not to deceive the most ignorant of the 'serfs.' The party which has governed the United States for nearly a quarter of a century is strongly Protectionist, and their opponents, the Democratic party, cannot even talk of Revenue Reform without subjecting themselves to immediate defeat. They lost the last Presidential election by playing with this fatal weapon, and if they take it up again they will lose the next election also. But the Democrats never propose to adopt what we call Free Trade. The most 'advanced' among them would be thought mad if they proposed to open American ports to all comers. The utmost which is suggested is that duties should be levied for revenue only; and if this is Free Trade, we should be quite willing to accept it here. For it must be slowly dawning upon the minds of all persons who look below the surface of events, that we cannot always go on under the present load of taxation, and that some day we must make up our minds, whether we like it or not, to raise a part of the money which the nation needs by duties levied upon foreign manufactured goods. This may not square with the exploded theories of '46, but we shall have to come to it. The danger is that we shall not come to it till too late.

* The perception of this is not confined to the operatives. A memorial was recently presented to the Council of the Chamber of Commerce, urging it to recommend to the Home Secretary the importance of 'directing the flow of emigration to our colonies,' and to encourage 'our colonial governments to join the Home Government in some scheme of imperial federation, which will unite the whole of our possessions under one flag, in a powerful and sympathetic trading community.' This was signed by twenty-seven firms of the largest dealers in textile fabrics, including Messrs. Cook and Son, Leaf and Sons, Welch, Margetson and Co., Dent, Allcroft and Co., Caldecott, Sons, &c. This scheme, though once possible, will soon be an idle dream.

These things are clearer to the operatives of Lancashire and Yorkshire than they are to the 'cultured' classes. Public meetings are now held in Birmingham, Manchester, Blackburn, and other towns, for the advocacy of some revision of our so-called 'Free Trade' system; and the principles of Mr. Bright are openly controverted by working men themselves in their very birthplace. The alarm among the working classes is spreading, and we should not envy the 'orators' who undertook to go down to Blackburn, for instance, to argue that India was 'no good' to us, and that the sooner we 'scuttled out' the better. Let some bold member of the Cobden Club go down and try that experiment, and come back and tell us how he got on. That would be a more interesting story than any to be found in Cobden Club pamphlets. People may doctor figures to their heart's content, and try their hardest to keep Mr. Cobden on his pedestal; but some day, and at no remote period, the working classes will speak in a tone and to a purpose little contemplated by the upholders of a system long since out of date. Then the statisticians and philosophers will turn round, and prove that the working man is supported by the figures as well as by the facts.

At present, however, the weavers and other operatives do not seek for anything calculated to alarm the most timid organization. They ask only for a Royal Commission to enquire into the actual condition of trade, the cause of its decline, and the remedy. And if the Conservatives came into power, they could scarcely refuse to concede this. They would give some attention to the wants of the tens of thousands of factory hands who are now in danger of seeing their occupation taken from their children, if not of losing it themselves. The manufacturing interest was designed by the Corn Law League to be the scourge of the Conservative party. The whirligig of time brings about some odd revenges, and it seems not unlikely that the rescue of the manufacturing interest by the Conservative party is destined to be among them. It is not possible to invent a system of trade which shall be good for all time, without modifications. Nothing lasts for ever. We, like other nations, must adapt ourselves to the changing era through which we are passing, instead of doggedly adhering to a policy which cannot be made to fit in to the circumstances of 1884. The people begin to comprehend that, even in 1846, no man dreamt of asking for 'Free Trade,' as we now have it. Sir Robert Peel was quite confident that the world would follow our example, and upon that basis all his arguments were built. It can scarcely be doubted that Sir Robert Peel
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and Mr. Cobden, if they could see us as we now are, would counsel us earnestly to retrace our steps, and to take just and moderate measures for the protection of native industries. The re-conversion of Sir Robert Peel would not, perhaps, be difficult, for the conversion was sudden, and it was effected in a moment of panic. Mr. Cobden might hesitate a little longer, for the League or its friends subscribed for his private purse, from first to last, about 200,000*l.*; and incidents of that kind make it difficult for a man to change his point of view. The operatives of to-day, for whom nothing is subscribed, approach the subject with more unbiassed minds. They hear a great deal of the progress made by England under Free Trade, but a thousand newspapers, books, and other sources of information, make them aware that the United States have made much greater progress under Protection. If there is a good argument on one side, there is just as good an argument on the other. Therefore they are still in doubt; but when they come to look at the conditions under which they are required to fight the rest of the world, they are no longer in doubt. Everything of foreign make may come into England duty free; nothing of English make can go into foreign markets without heavy duties. The foreigner is free; the English workman is not. This injustice strikes home deeper than it did, for the workman sees foreign goods increasing in the shop-windows of his own town, wherever that may be, and he does not like the sight. He will like it less and less as time goes on; for no one need suppose that the weavers will succumb to 'economic laws' without a murmur. They will not emigrate, or 'find other work,' or permit themselves to be 'erased.' The silk industries died—or all but died—and made no sign, but the number of persons engaged in them was comparatively few. When the great time of trial comes for the cotton industries—as come it will and must—there will be a noise in England which will be heard all over the world.

Whether or not an effectual remedy could now be applied may be open to question, for every year places the evil a little further beyond our control. But the Conservatives would undoubtedly endeavour to find a remedy; the party now in power will not do so, for they refuse even to admit the necessity for anything of the kind. Trade was never so prosperous; the working men are getting richer; the number of paupers is falling off. Such is the constant burden of the tale told by Liberals to the working-men, and we leave them to deal with it. If we regarded the matter from a mere party point of view, we should desire the Liberals to continue the same tale, for it will bring
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with it its own reward. But the issues at stake are too momentous to be trifled with. The agricultural interest was regarded by Mr. Cobden as a thing to be brought low, and it *has* been brought low. But it does not sink alone. The great cry in the manufacturing districts during the last four years has been, 'give us good harvests; we shall not be prosperous again until the farmers are doing well.' Too late have the manufacturers discovered that the great industries of a nation are inter-dependent; that one cannot be 'punished' without another suffering. The agriculturists were to be sacrificed to the manufacturers, and now the manufacturers look to the agriculturists to save them from destruction. There never was a more injurious warfare of classes seen in any country than that which the manufacturers declared against the agriculturists, and yet the President of the Board of Trade is burning to perpetuate it. In a scandalous outburst in the House, on the 27th of March, he denounced the landlords as robbers—everywhere the 'agricultural labourers are still being robbed'—'robbed of their land,' robbed 'of the funds intended for the poor'—and so forth. If any one is being robbed of his land, or threatened with robbery, it is certainly not the labourer. Mr. Chamberlain looks upon it as a creditable work, in a time of great trouble and difficulty, to revive the animosities of 1846, and to widen the gulf between two classes which ought to have acted together. Until they *do* act together, there can be no prosperity again for this country; but how can any man expect to see such a result under Radical rule? The landlords are being menaced with communistic legislation, and a member of the Government publicly denounces them as robbers. Is this the spirit in which we are to meet the new Socialistic forces? If it is, we may all see what the end must be. The deluge may submerge the landowners, but where will Mr. Chamberlain and his fellow-plutocrats be ten years afterwards?

Thus much as regards some of the domestic questions before us. Even in this rapid survey, we have said enough to show how little meaning there is in the cuckoo cry that the Conservatives have 'no policy.' They have a policy by which all classes would benefit, and no class more than the working-men, who may rely upon it that while the present Liberal leaders live and hold power, they will get no redress of their grievances. Even in the great hardships which are inflicted upon them by being compelled to herd together in unhealthy dwellings, who was it that summoned public opinion to their aid, and set measures on foot which must, under any circumstances, lead to great good? It was not any old member of the Liberal

party, like Mr. Bright, nor any new member, like Mr. Chamberlain, but the much-abused Lord Salisbury. He was the first public man to turn attention to the evil which, more than any other, affects the comfort of the artisan and labourer, and the morals and welfare of their families. And if the Conservatives came into power, they would not allow this subject to sink out of sight, nor seek to evade it by pretending that nothing could be done till the agricultural labourer was enfranchised, and the Corporation of London was turned into a huge, unwieldy, bloated vestry, with unlimited opportunities at its command for jobbery and corporation.

As for Egypt, the course before any party which desired to do its duty has practically been fixed by the 'operations' of the present Ministry. The Khedive, as we have shown, is now less under the suzerainty of the Sultan than of England; we have practically deprived him of all authority. We must now carry on the work of government in his stead. It is not possible to shrink from this duty without inviting grave disasters. Some people feebly suppose that we can retire from Egypt at any moment, and yet Mr. Gladstone has not been able to retire, although we must not doubt his willingness to do so. He has had free scope, unimpeded by popular clamour; and, in spite of all his advantages, he has been drawn little by little to strengthen his hold upon Egypt, rather than to relax it. If the Conservatives came into power, they would have no choice but to accept the logical consequences of Mr. Gladstone's acts, and establish a Protectorate. Every one who knows anything of the internal affairs of Egypt is firmly of opinion that an English Protectorate would very soon restore order to the country. General Gordon has repeatedly stated that there would be no more cause for war if the Egyptian people once understood that thenceforward England would stand by impartially to see that justice was done. This would be a definite policy, and it would lead to that 'rescue' of the people which Sir Wilfrid Lawson demands, but which cannot be accomplished unless we *remain*. There may be difficulties in the way, but so there are in the way of any other method of treatment which may be devised. We have seen, for instance, what the method of letting things 'take their course,' and 'drifting with the tide,' has led and is leading to. The Egyptian campaign has been a source of great anxiety to the English people, for more than once our troops have been in danger of incurring great losses, sometimes from the climate, sometimes from the ordinary vicissitudes of war. Men have been kept there, doing harassing duties, after having gone
through

through the stress and trial of many years' service in India, and sometimes they have been so exhausted by a day's march, that the next day they could not have been moved, no matter what emergency might have arisen.* People have felt that any day the news of some great misfortune might have reached them. All this has arisen because the Ministry would persist in shutting its eyes to the actual circumstances in which it was placed. As Mr. Gladstone has said, it has been trying to make war upon 'peace principles,' and no nation has ever succeeded in doing that. The Prime Minister, no doubt, saw the true position as clearly as anybody in the country, but he had to 'live up' to the celebrated maxims of Midlothian, and any Prime Minister who resolved to be guided by them would bring himself, if not his country, to grievous harm. There have been from time to time other difficulties in the way. Mr. Bright was an encumbrance, but he removed himself. Lord Derby remains, and in him are always comprised vast potentialities of mischief—to his friends. Then there are the Dissenters, whose support Mr. Gladstone cannot afford to lose, and who must be following him now with some reluctance. Many of their number must be much distracted by inward doubts whether, if they are on the right track now, they were not very decidedly on the wrong track in 1880. There will be a reaction, and it may come at any moment. It is the fear of this which leads to the wavering course of the Government—now advancing, now retreating, now falling back upon that 'fiery eloquence' which is always at command, and which has been the means of doing such inexpressible harm to the country. The Conservatives would endeavour to adopt a more straightforward, a more honourable policy; but they may safely stand aside till public opinion is ripe for it. They could not remain in power a single Session under the circumstances at present existing.

The English people have shown a most generous spirit towards Mr. Gladstone, forgetting his errors almost as quickly as he has forgotten them himself, and making allowances for him to the utmost limit he has asked,—and, in that respect, no English Minister has ever asked more. They have formed their own ideal of him, and they will probably adhere to it to the last; but, in spite of all their generosity and credulity, they will ultimately be obliged to realize the dangers which encompass them. We do not believe that it would be wise on the part of the Conservative party to attempt to drive them; rather let them come to a knowledge of the truth in

* See, for instance, the war correspondence in all the papers of March 26th and 27th.

their own time. Any display of eagerness for power would but defeat its own purpose, and there is, we must repeat, no reason for feeling such eagerness, but very much the reverse. Moreover, we would take leave to suggest to our friends that, before they rush into a fray, it would be as well to look to their arms, especially as they will have to meet well-drilled forces. Are we, to speak plainly, in a state of greater preparation for a general trial of strength than we were in 1880? We are often told that there is much 'enthusiasm,' but so there was in 1880, and it all went up like so much smoke into the air. Enthusiasm is good in its way, especially in the young, but unless it is directed into the right channels, we should be as well without it, except for show purposes. We therefore once more advise our friends to make very sure where they stand before trying to bring about a Dissolution; and we strongly recommend local Conservative bodies to bestir themselves about their own affairs, and not put too much trust, if any, in the clever gentlemen of London. Cool and diligent work, with patience, may convert our minority into a majority; but we shall want time. Let the Conservatives mark well what is going on around them, and they will see that the persons who really most desire a Dissolution at the present moment are the Radicals. They believe that our organization is far less effective than theirs, and that the vague hope which they have succeeded in conjuring up among the masses, that 'property' will soon be made more accessible to them than it has been, combined with the new franchise concessions, and the great bribe to the Irish—that all this will give them an enormous advantage over us. They may be wrong; but at any rate their position is worth attentive examination. And the more closely it is examined, the stronger will become the conviction that the proper time to ask for a Dissolution is the *people's* time—the time when the whole nation has become weary of a Government which cannot do its work, which dare not face its responsibilities, and which is fit for nothing but to barter away the highest and best interests of the country.

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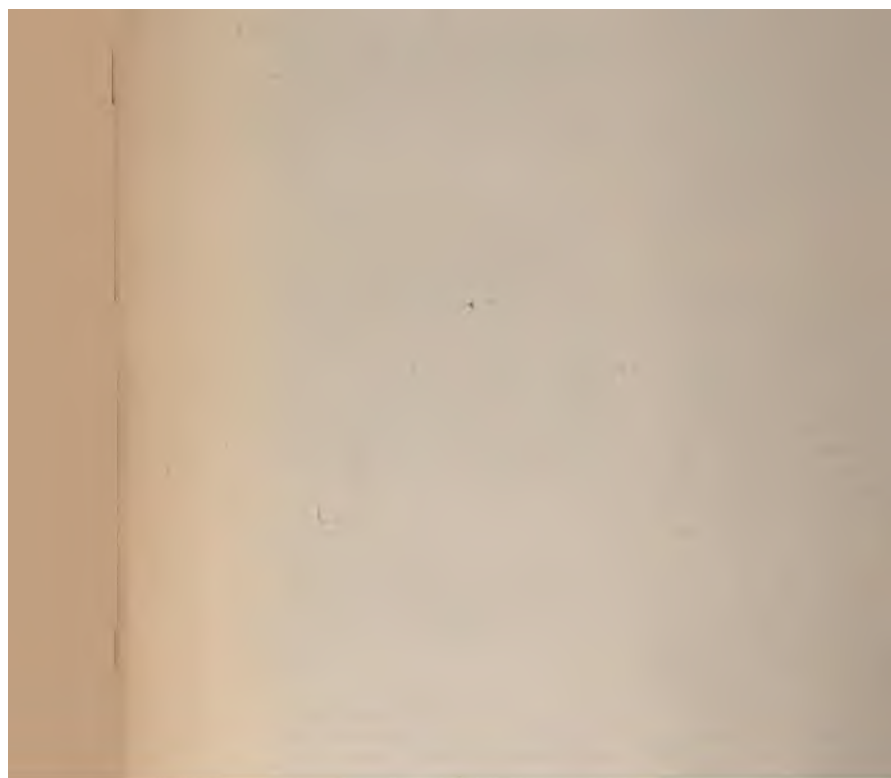
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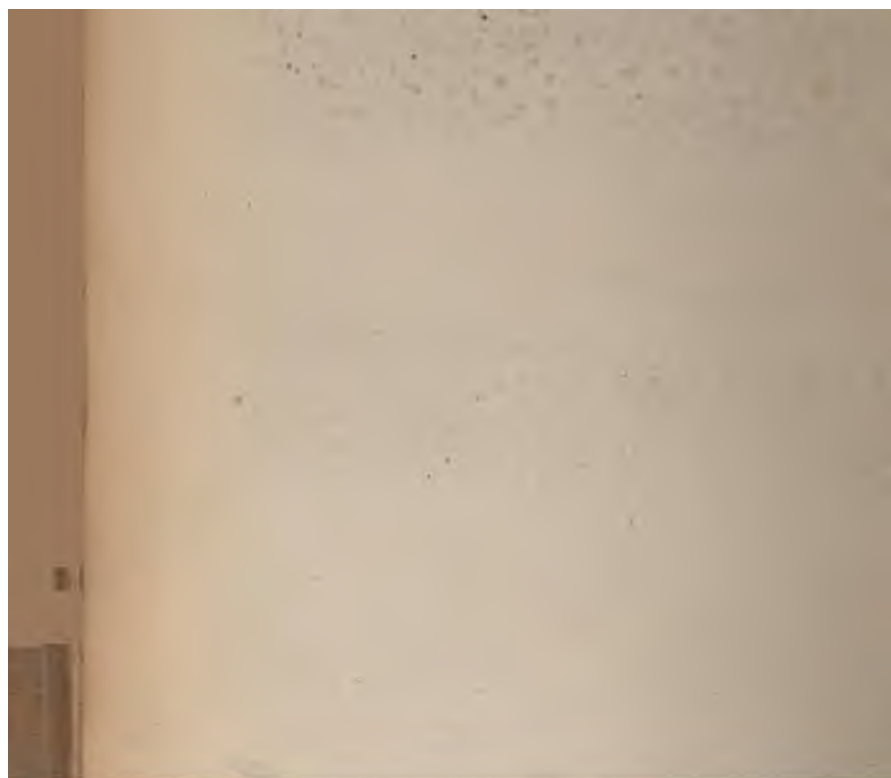
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